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Book Reviews

Spain and the Independence of the United States: An Intrinsic Gift. By Thomas E. Chávez. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. xii + 286 pp. 22 color plates, halftones, 14 maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2793-1.)

Examined from an Atlantic perspective, American independence is not just a story of colony against metropolis. Instead, as Thomas E. Chávez states, the American Revolution is a chapter in a long-running contest between imperial France, Spain, and England. In the wake of the Seven Years' War, France actively encouraged American independence to further French economic interests. Spain, in contrast, provided more covert support, entering the war as France's ally rather than America's champion and hoping to gain control over British-held Gibraltar and Florida. While historians have thoroughly studied France's role, Chávez focuses on the lesser-known Spanish contributions, arguing that Spain's financial, material, and eventual military support were decisive both in assuring the United States' separation from England and in foiling British attempts to establish a strategic presence in Central America. To demonstrate the breadth and depth of Spanish influence, Chávez studies Spanish officials and their policies from the high politics of diplomatic negotiations in Paris to espionage on the Mississippi River, and from sieges on Gibraltar and Spanish defense against the British in Central America to the Battle of Yorktown.

This military and diplomatic history makes a case for the importance of contributions by Spain and her colonies to America's independence effort, not least through financing North American and French military action and tying up British forces in Mediterranean and Caribbean waters. However, the reader must work hard to follow the argument through a cascade of details and a jumbling of actors, events, locales, and chronology across rambling chapters. Although Chávez highlights "Hispanic" contributions to American independence, his examples have a distinctly peninsular cast.

Few Spanish Americans play a role in a book that lauds efforts of Spanish politicians, bureaucrats, and soldiers like José de Gálvez, Bernardo de Gálvez, and Matías de Gálvez. By broadening his presentation of “Spain,” Chávez could have fleshed out the breadth of Hispanic—as well as peninsular—efforts on North America’s behalf. Expanding beyond the Spanish diplomatic correspondence that serves as a narrow (if copious) basis for the book might profitably have shown how Spanish American residents or North American, British, and French diplomats, writers, and politicians analyzed Spain’s position and contribution to North America’s independence. His thesis that Spain’s actions not only contributed to but were necessary for American independence would be more defensible if substantial evidence from all sides and a careful engagement of previous literature on the subject corroborated his evidence and analysis.

By placing the battle for American independence in the larger framework of European imperial contests, Chávez demonstrates its place in a broader Atlantic process of rivalry and conflict linked to trade and territorial control. His book contributes toward recovering ties and connections that linked not only Europe and North America, but also South America, the Mediterranean, and Africa in a complex web of strategic, economic, and political relations—of which actors of the period, if not always historians, were acutely aware. *Spain and the Independence of the Americas* is an important project and one that scholars interested in the relations between American revolutions and European monarchies might welcome.

Jordana Dym
Skidmore College

A Short, Offhand, Killing Affair: Soldiers and Social Conflict during the Mexican-American War. By Paul Foos. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. 240 pp. Halftones, map, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$49.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8078-2731-2, \$18.95 paper, ISBN 0-8078-5405-0.)

The Mexican-American War is usually portrayed as a clean, limited conflict fought mainly by the increasingly professionalized U.S. regular army, leaving the Mexican civilian population largely untouched. In *A Short, Offhand, Killing Affair*, Paul Foos examines the motivations, mentality, and experiences of the American soldiers who conducted the war, especially the short-term volunteers recruited by the states and used to supplement the

regular forces. The result is an altogether darker picture of the American war effort.

Foos begins with a brief look at the regular army at the outbreak of the war, stressing the rigid dichotomy between officers and enlisted men and the low status that common soldiers held in American society. He then turns to the volunteer militia tradition that underlay the wartime buildup, linking it to the individualistic, egalitarian White working-class culture of Jacksonian America. Focusing on selected cities and states, he discusses the early enthusiasm for enlistment sparked by the racist ideology of Manifest Destiny and by hopes for bounty land, but he also maintains that compulsion played a role when enthusiasm lagged. Although discipline in the volunteer forces was considerably less stringent than in the regular army, the trend toward harsh military punishments in Mexico clashed with soldiers' sense of manhood and independence, and contributed to low morale and frequent desertions. In his most striking chapter, Foos discusses the climate of atrocity that developed during the American occupation of northern Mexico, attributing it to racism and anti-Catholicism, emulation of the brutal Texas Rangers, and the strain of violence embedded in urban, working-class culture. Foos concludes with brief surveys of soldiers' views on expansionism and the impact of military service on their later lives.

Foos's work supplements other studies of the soldier experience in Mexico, notably James M. McCaffrey's *Army of Manifest Destiny* (1992) and Bruce Winders's *Mr. Polk's Army* (1997). His main contributions are to place military service in the context of contemporary worker culture and to highlight the brutality that accompanied the American war effort. Unfortunately, the book suffers from serious problems of focus and evidence. Given its brevity, it is a curiously disjointed work, with frequent digressions into matters—for example, Mexican resistance to the American occupation (pp. 132–37) and the congressional debate over annexing Mexican territory (pp. 149–54)—that have little connection to its central topic. The author's generalizations on the social background, occupation, and ethnicity of the soldiers rest largely on impressionistic evidence, yet they are central to his effort to link the volunteers to civilian working-class culture. More systematic use of muster rolls and recruitment records of the sort employed by Randy Hackenburg in his 1992 study of the Pennsylvania volunteers would have given the book a firmer sociological foundation. Equally troubling, the voice of the soldier comes through only intermittently, and many of Foos's generalizations on soldiers' attitudes and behavior hang on one or two examples or on the

commentary of officers or other elite observers. The author's claim that coercion played a significant role in the raising of volunteer forces rests mainly on cases involving the suppression of protests by troops already mustered into service and therefore under military discipline. His effort to link service in the Mexican-American War to support for the postwar Free Soil movement is based on skimpy documentation.

A Short, Offhand, Killing Affair raises important questions about the American experience in Mexico and suggests several potentially fruitful paths for future research. The study, however, often lacks coherent focus and sufficient evidence to support its conclusions.

William Skelton

University of Wisconsin-Stevens Point

Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America. By Robert E. May. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. xviii + 426 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8078-2703-7.)

Historians have studied U.S. meddling in the internal affairs of foreign countries but have paid scant attention to the phenomenon of filibustering. Past studies of filibustering were primarily narrative. May's work, however, is analytical, systematic, and provocative. His goal is "to call the filibusters into this country's historical memory, but also to reveal them in a new light" (p. xiii). He explains why individuals joined filibustering ventures, the causes of the expeditions after 1848, the role of filibustering in U.S. popular culture, the federal government's attempts to stop such activities, how filibustering was financed, the impact of filibustering on the nation's diplomacy, and the long-term importance of filibustering in American history. May argues that filibustering "significantly exacerbated the breakdown in North-South relations that led to the Civil War" (p. xv).

Filibusters were men who invaded foreign countries to conquer them or foment revolutions in the mid-nineteenth century, but their ranks also include those individuals who logistically organized and financially backed the expeditions. Their targets were generally Cuba, Mexico, and Central America. Journalists from the United States provided "intensive coverage of filibustering escapades, both arousing and feeding off public interest in adventurers" (p. 67). Although some filibusters, despite their claims, joined expeditions for mercenary reasons, and others participated because of the

vulnerability of the attacked areas, “sensitive observers recognized the impossibility of tracing filibustering to any single source” (p. 85). Filibustering was a product of the urban environment in the United States, and young men departed from port cities without their acquaintances’ or family members’ knowledge. Some filibusters joined expeditions for travel or to prove their machismo. Occasionally, youthful filibusters “saw themselves as exemplars of the contemporary intellectual and nationalistic movement known as Young America and its cousin, manifest destiny” (p. 112). Filibustering expeditions occurred both because Americans believed that the U.S. government did not enforce its neutrality laws and as a consequence of racism, for many adventurers believed Hispanics were inferior and lived in decadent societies. Presidents of the United States attempted to enforce neutrality laws at the national level, but they could not always obtain the cooperation of local, federal, and state officials. Federal prosecutors who tried to stop filibustering could not secure enough victories in court to discourage the activity.

May argues that antebellum filibustering generally impeded territorial expansion and interrupted U.S. commercial growth. He suggests that slavery and filibustering became “entwined,” but he sees no “evidence that secessionists filibustered and that filibustering was linked to other southern radical causes” (p. 274). According to May, there is no “smoking gun” that proves “filibusters invaded foreign territory as part of a secessionist plot” (p. 275). Finally, May believes that filibusters had a far more important “impact on historical memory in the countries that they invaded than in the nation that produced them” (p. 293).

Manifest Destiny's Underworld is a carefully researched and well-written study analyzing filibustering from a U.S. perspective. May does not include much information on how invaded countries reacted to the filibusters who violated their borders, but that was not his intent. This book is a solid contribution that sets high standards for future research. Individuals interested in the U.S. southern, borderlands, or general U.S. history can learn much from this excellent work.

Joseph A. Stout Jr.

Oklahoma State University

Schemers and Dreamers: Filibustering in Mexico, 1848–1921. By Joseph A. Stout Jr. (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2002. xvii + 148 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$27.95 cloth, ISBN 0-87565-258-1.)

U.S. expansionist sentiments did not end in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which granted the United States about half of Mexico's territory. On the contrary, "dreams and schemes of conquering Mexican territory lingered in the minds of some men north of the border well into the twentieth century" (p. xv). Joseph A. Stout Jr. ends his well-researched study in 1921, when Sen. Albert B. Fall encouraged the United States to acquire Baja California or other Mexican territory.

According to Stout, filibusters invading Mexican territory from the United States "were probably dreamers or schemers imagining the impossible" (p. xv). Some were U.S. citizens hoping to establish themselves permanently in Mexico; others were Mexican revolutionaries trying to overthrow the Mexican government. Gringos sometimes joined Mexican-led invasions with the intent to annex part of Mexico to the United States.

Although other scholars have studied this topic, their works are not extensively based on Mexican filibustering documents. Stout consulted newly indexed primary sources related to illegal invasions by the United States in the Archivo Histórico "Genaro Estrada" de la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores in Mexico City.

Stout states, "The objective of this book is to suggest a partial explanation for present Mexican attitudes concerning border problems. . . ." (p. xvi). The author continues, "Filibustering is still important in Mexican–U.S. relations today. While it is only a historical curiosity to *norteamericanos*, Mexicans believe that what happened in the past is relevant to present negotiations concerning mutual border problems" (p. x). Mexicans complained that the United States did not respect Mexico's sovereignty, but Stout argues effectively that policing a two-thousand-mile-border remains a difficult task.

Just as the United States did not end illegal incursions into Mexican territory, Stout maintains that today Mexico fails to stop illegal immigrants and drugs from entering the United States. The author hopes "to show that Mexico's position in respect to their citizens' illegal crossings into the U.S. today is similar, at least in the minds of Mexicans, in many ways to the filibustering era when the U.S. offered that it could do little about border transgressions" (p. xvi).

In addition to famous exploits such as William Walker's adventures in Baja California and Sonora, this welcome monograph focuses on lesser-

known but equally colorful filibusters. "Count" Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon, a Frenchman who recruited followers in San Francisco, claimed to be the future "Sultan of Sonora" until his venture ended in front of a Mexican firing squad in 1854. Another grandiose scheme was proposed by the Knights of the Golden Circle in the 1850s. This pro-Southern group hoped either to create a slave empire or to add Mexico to the South.

Stout offers a fascinating account of little-known filibustering expeditions into Mexico within the context of the tumultuous political events of the period. This book enhances understanding of a significant era in Borderlands history and provides new insight into U.S.–Mexican relations.

Shelley B. Hatfield
Durango, Colorado

Tunnel Kids. By Lawrence J. Taylor and Maeve Hickey. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001. xvii + 148 pp. Halftones. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-1925-0, \$17.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-1926-9.)

Often the U.S.–Mexico border is thought of as a line between the First and Third Worlds. For those who work and live along the line, it is the confluence of two worlds, a unique region that blends qualities of both the United States and Mexico. Focusing on this region, *Tunnel Kids* is an excellent example of how a border ethnography should be done. The title comes from the drainage tunnels that run beneath the two cities of Nogales, Sonora, and Nogales, Arizona. These tunnels, in addition to a passage from one country to another, are a place where *coyotes* (human traffickers) smuggle migrants into the United States and where children—the subjects of this book—cross into the United States, sniff glue, and prey on and victimize those who are moving north for a better life. Although we think of the two Nogaleses as twin cities, the tunnel unites them into a single city bisected by a political border that separates the affluence of the United States from the poverty of Mexico. Standing just over the fence are more than one hundred maquiladora factories in which the First World takes advantage of inexpensive Mexican labor.

Anthropologist Lawrence Taylor and photographer Maeve Hickey have created a sensitive portrayal of the young people who exist on the fringe of Mexico and the United States. The photographs are a series of simple and direct portraits in which kids, standing in front of walls and in doorways,

stare at the camera sometimes proudly, sometimes defiantly, but always with great vulnerability. These images are accompanied by the eloquent writing of Taylor, the combination of which brings these children to life. In fact, as I read the stories, I found myself returning to the poignant portraits to look into the eyes of these dramatic subjects.

The book is structured as a penetrating ethnography in which Taylor empowers the young people to tell their own stories. Chapter 1 is titled "El Boston's Questions." "El Boston" is the nickname of Pedro, a seventeen-year-old boy who has been around the tunnels since he was eleven. An indispensable guide for Taylor, "El Boston" provided a sophisticated set of questions and then volunteered to interview the other members of his community. The questionnaire he created not only offers much information that Taylor needed but also became a window into the important issues framing these children's lives. Taylor also gave a video camera to his subjects. In this way, he encouraged the young people to define the parameters of their world.

The other chapters, in an intimate way, answer important questions about aspects of these disenfranchised people's world. "Geography Lessons," "House and Families," "Where Are You From," and "Important Places" are among the many chapter titles.

On the surface, there appears to be little hope for the tunnel kids, with their destructive glue sniffing, prostitution, crime, and teenage pregnancies. However, the stories told by Taylor and Hickey reveal humanity, community, and a sense of family in what seem like impossible conditions. *Tunnel Kids* is an exquisite glimpse into a hidden world, giving voice to a group of children who have a message for everyone.

Miguel Gandert

University of New Mexico

Crisis in the Southwest: The United States, Mexico, and the Struggle over Texas. By Richard Bruce Winders. The American Crisis Series: Books on the Civil War Era, no. 6. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002. xxx + 172 pp. Halftones, maps, chronology, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8420-2800-5, \$17.95 paper, ISBN 0-8420-2802-3.)

Richard Bruce Winders is historian and curator at the Alamo and has published the awardwinning *Mr. Polk's Army: The American Experience in*

the Mexican War (1997). In his latest work, the author examines the connections between events in Texas, Mexico, and the United States from 1821 to 1850. While Winders recognizes that there have been a number of studies on these participants during that period, he aims to “help the readers see old stories in a new light” (p. xvi). Winders believes that many of the earlier studies on these topics have suffered from an overemphasis on periodization and from provincialism that has obscured the historical continuities involved.

The work begins with a description of the Anglo colonization of Mexican Texas and the cultural differences that eventually helped to produce a revolution. Differing concepts of land ownership particularly caused problems. When the colonists revolted, they resorted to the “frontier military tradition” (p. 18), which was well-suited for dealing with short-term emergencies but faltered when troops had to be kept in the field for extended periods. The existence of several semiautonomous military commands hampered Texan military operations throughout the revolution. The author dedicates a limited amount of space to the well-known battles of the Alamo (one paragraph) and San Jacinto (two paragraphs).

Winders devotes a chapter to the simmering conflict between Mexico and Texas from 1836 to 1844. Chronic financial problems hindered Texas's efforts to consolidate its independence, while continuing political factionalism restricted Mexico's ability to follow through on its claims that it would reconquer Texas. Two Mexican incursions in 1842 alarmed the Texans but never threatened any reconquest.

Texas's annexation to the United States, a process that lasted from 1836 to 1846, is the topic of the next chapter. The war between the United States and Mexico receives considerable attention; the author traces the war's major campaigns and addresses the sometimes tenuous position of U.S. forces. The difficulty of employing large numbers of volunteers is especially emphasized. The last two chapters in the book deal with the diplomacy involved in ending the war and the domestic crisis produced in the United States in the aftermath of its victory.

Winders deftly brings together a number of topics that are often the subject of individual studies. There is solid background information for readers who may not be familiar with the persons and the events involved. Although the author discusses all three sides of the triangular relationship, the emphasis is more on Texas and the United States than on Mexico. The book will be useful in a classroom setting. It comes in a reasonably-priced paperback version, and features a useful chronology and cast of characters. The

maps are excellent, but surprisingly there is not one dealing with the Mexican War, which would have been helpful. Winders has produced an excellent companion piece for his earlier *Mr. Polk's Army*.

Don M. Coerver

Texas Christian University

Racial Borders: Black Soldiers along the Rio Grande. By James N. Leiker. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002. xiv + 241 pp. Halftones, map, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 1-58544-158-9.)

James N. Leiker offers a critical analysis of Black soldiers along the Rio Grande and unravels many of the problems and contradictions engendered by racial, economic, religious, and cross-national contact. This work is the latest contribution to a body of literature on Black soldiers in the West. Unlike its predecessors, however, *Racial Borders* does not limit its examination of Black soldiers in the West to their contributions to westward expansion, nor does it offer a binary study of race relations that belies the region's diversity and intercultural collisions. Rather, Leiker offers a distinct and nuanced thesis. Although he stresses the major role Black soldiers had in securing U.S. control over its southern border and the extent to which racial prejudice influenced their lives, he moves beyond a dichotomous analysis of Black agency and White racism.

Leiker posits that the interactions among Black soldiers, Whites, indigenous peoples, and Hispanics along the Rio Grande after the Civil War—not the history of Black soldiers per se—illuminate the intricate and incongruous nature of American race relations. In fact, Leiker argues that race and racism alone cannot account for the many conflicting relationships along the Texas-Mexico border. Various national and racial loyalties joined to greatly influence the ways in which Whites and people of color “distinguished friends from enemies, and through their confrontations with these ‘others,’ came to define themselves” (p. 17). Leiker maintains, therefore, that race as an analytical tool may be more appropriately deployed if it is “examined through its intersections with nationalism, class, and other groupings” (p. 180).

While stressing the grievous limitations of a fixed racial analysis, Leiker occasionally underemphasizes the salience of race along the Rio Grande.

He maintains that “racism did not motivate the participation of buffalo soldiers in western conquest anymore than it did the white officers who commanded them” (p. 180). His evidence renders this thesis plausible but does not demonstrate it conclusively. Leiker interrogates the desires of Black soldiers to demonstrate their “Americanness” through military service and the suppression of other peoples of color without sufficiently linking these yearnings to a White supremacist ethos that helped foster, legitimize, and sustain these aspirations.

Despite these minor shortcomings, Leiker has produced a fine piece of scholarship that proposes a new, timely model for the study of race, class, identity, and border relations. *Racial Borders* will undoubtedly appeal to a wide audience. Academics, lay readers, and all others who are interested in race relations, African American history, the American West, and military history will find this work lucid and instructive. *Racial Borders* is well organized and supported by primary and secondary sources that give the study breadth and texture. It is clear, concise, devoid of superfluous jargon, and stands as a sensitive yet penetrating testament to the convoluted and uproarious history of race relations and identity in the United States, particularly in the American West.

Matthew C. Whitaker

Arizona State University

Brown, Not White: School Integration and the Chicano Movement in Houston. By Guadalupe San Miguel Jr. University of Houston Series in Mexican American Studies, 3. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001. xiii + 283 pp. Halftones, tables, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 1-58544-115-5.)

Mexican Americans have claimed racial status as Whites since the 1930s in order to avoid the worst features of Jim Crow in the Southwest, especially school segregation. By the 1970s, however, their self-categorization made difficult for Mexican Americans their claim to discrimination based on race. When the Houston Independent School District devised a plan to integrate African American and White schools, it paired predominantly Mexican American schools with predominantly African American schools, while leaving Anglo schools largely untouched. Mexican American community activists sought to challenge the plan by asserting that they were “brown,” an identifiable minority group. While some African Americans supported the

Mexican American struggle to integrate the schools three ways rather than two, most refused to get involved and many undoubtedly remained suspicious. Mexican Americans, after all, had fought hard to have the courts and the census recognize their White racial status. In earlier desegregation cases, before *Brown v. Board of Education*, Texas courts variously ruled that Mexicans were “Whites” and therefore could not be arbitrarily segregated from “other Whites.” The Supreme Court ruled in 1954 (*Hernandez v. Texas*) that Mexican Americans constituted a “separate class” of Whites who had suffered discrimination in schools and in jury selection throughout the Southwest. That Mexican Americans now wanted to be regarded as a “minority group” for the purpose of school integration plans must have come as a surprise to many Houston Blacks.

Although San Miguel Jr. describes in excruciating detail the two-year struggle of the Mexican American Education Council (MAEC) to integrate Mexican Americans into Anglo as well as African American schools, he does not address how issues of racial identity have figured in the growing tensions that have arisen between Blacks and Mexican Americans in Houston and other Texas cities. He argues that school integration struggles occurred precisely at a time when the Chicano Movement of the early 1970s rejected “Whiteness” in order to assert a Brown identity based on their mostly indigenous heritage. But their White racial identity had become a handicap in the era of integration when school officials recognized no *racial* difference between Anglos and Mexicans. For San Miguel, Mexican American activists were simply adapting by rejecting their White identity. In the past a White identity was supposed to protect them from discrimination, but, in the 1970s, San Miguel argues, their White identity “was being used for discriminatory purposes” (p. 201).

The story of discrimination is far more complicated and includes the belief of many Mexican Americans that they are racially superior to Blacks. In shifting to a Brown identity in the 1970s, Mexican Americans were understandably concerned that both African American and Mexican American children would be educated together in some of the district’s worst schools. However, San Miguel Jr. never alludes to—much less examines—the underlying racism of Mexican Americans toward Blacks; nor does he evaluate the reactions of the Black community to MAEC. Missing in this otherwise well-researched history of political struggle is an understanding of the problematic relationship between Houston’s Black and Brown communities.

Neil Foley

University of Texas

Reconfiguring the Reservation: The Nez Perces, Jicarilla Apaches, and the Dawes Act. By Emily Greenwald. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. x + 186 pp. Halftones, figures, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2408-8.)

Reconfiguring the Reservation is a powerful corrective to studies of Indian allotment in the American West. Such monographs follow a basic narrative: between the 1887 Dawes Act and the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act, Native communities lost roughly eighty million acres of land. Due to assimilationist policies advocated by humanitarians and the economic interests of westerners, Native communities watched their homelands disappear. Leasing, competency commissions, and other additions overwhelmed Indian people. Facing assimilation or relegation to the distant past, Indians ended up on the losing end of a zero sum game.

Emily Greenwald tries to correct this "dispossession narrative" with an important study of "Indian agency, negotiation, and resistance" (p. 1). Focusing on the Nez Perces and Jicarilla Apaches, Greenwald investigates the "spatial expression of culture, economics, and power" embedded in struggles over geographic settlement and land division in the American West (p. 2). Indeed, Greenwald claims that she is "reading space to reveal Indians' experiences" during a time of American expansion (p. 9). Her novel perspective draws upon historical geography and environmental history, but she argues that spatial control was implicit in the discourse of reformers promoting agrarianism and private property (p. 34). The result is a compelling, if abbreviated, "spatial history of the Dawes Act, its implementation, and Indian responses to it" (p. 7).

Greenwald chose the Nez Perces and Jicarilla Apaches because they demonstrate the wide range of responses to allotment. The Nez Perces initially opposed allotment, which contradicted the territorial stability encoded in treaties. Yet, when Alice Fletcher came to the reservation and initiated allotment, the Nez Perces conceded to aspects of the policy. But rather than accepting allotments as individual farmers pursuing private profit, they claimed allotments in the river bottoms, where they had cultural ties to the land and access to water. The Nez Perces had resisted cultural assimilation, but when the government opened up the reservation to sell "surplus" acreage, the tribe sacrificed nearly three-quarters of its territorial land base.

In the wake of migration into and around the Southwest, Jicarilla Apaches followed a different cultural and economic logic in their reactions

to allotment. Unlike the Nez Perces, Jicarillas lacked a specific homeland; they perceived the policy as an opportunity to obtain land protected by legal title. Indeed, Jicarillas requested allotment in the 1890s and in 1907. Greenwald elaborates on how the two Jicarilla groups, the Olleros and Llaneros, tried to separate themselves from each other by accepting allotments in different regions of the reservation. She also demonstrates how families and local camps tried to combine their allotments for maximum economic potential. Free from local interests that preyed upon the Nez Perces but plagued by aridity, Jicarillas managed to retain most of their reservation. Greenwald concludes that the “legislation’s main legacy was to serve the Jicarillas as a tool for adapting to territorial and environmental circumstances” (p. 138).

By 1934, tribes had lost an unconscionable amount of land, but Greenwald refuses to accept this monochromatic picture of an admittedly dark hour in western history. With an eye toward Indian adaptation and resistance, her examination of space as an arena of negotiation should become a model for future scholars. Although she might have elaborated on sacred sites and gender as factors motivating the choice of allotments, Greenwald has written an insightful piece of scholarship. Perhaps historians will now move beyond dispossession narratives and top-down policy studies that ignore the persistence and endurance of Native peoples in the West.

Jeffrey P. Shepherd

University of Texas, El Paso

Comanche Society: Before the Reservation. By Gerald Betty. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002. xi + 239 pp. Line drawings, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 1-58544-190-2.)

Students of Comanche history and society have found much to write about and little to agree upon. Throughout the twentieth century, historians and anthropologists heatedly debated whether the prereservation Comanches were a typical or atypical Plains tribe, whether they remained a loose collection of bands or developed centralized political institutions, and whether they are best viewed as hunter-gatherers or horse pastoralists. In recent years, a surge of new studies have argued that the driving forces of Comanche history were alternatively cultural persistence and language-based interactions, vacillating political and economic resources, or ethnogenesis

and intercultural mixing. Now, Gerald Betty adds kinship to the debate. In his view, kinship patterns—the ways in which the Comanches organized themselves along family, clan, generational, and religious lines—explain to a great extent how they behaved socially, politically, and economically and how their communities evolved in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Comanche Society contains five thematic chapters that chart how kinship cut across every aspect of Comanche society and history: family, band, and tribal organization; migration and mobility patterns; trade and economics; and warfare and politics. Betty shows, for example, that the great migration from the southern Rocky Mountains to the southern Plains cannot be reduced to a straightforward effort to gain better access to bison, horses, grass, and other resources. The move and the subsequent conquest of the Apaches would not have been possible without the elaborate kinship relations the Comanches developed among their own families and bands as well as with the Utes, Pueblos, Caddoan tribes, Spanish, and even Apaches. This argument, as well as the discussion of how the Comanches adapted Spanish horse pastoralism to their own cultural values and social traditions, is fresh and insightful.

Although a thought-provoking book, *Comanche Society* is short on narrative and description, and replete with scholarly squabbling and theoretical rumination. There is a striking imbalance between the in-depth analysis of internal social patterns and the meager coverage of historical context. One of the book's stated goals is to explain how internal social dynamics were related to external political behavior, yet there is no systematic discussion of the changing patterns of trade, warfare, and alliance making. The result is a static and deterministic social history that largely takes place in a political and economic vacuum.

Moreover, the very people Betty attempts to understand tend to disappear in the book's analytical maze. Too often, Comanches only seem to react to monolithic, impersonal forces, whether external or internal, economic or social. For example, the conclusion that Comanche migration to the southern Plains was "a historical accident generated by the intermarriage and reproduction of certain geographically located lineages coupled with the availability of particular resources" (p. 73) not only denies any role of individual agency but is also ill-formulated. Can one really make such a definite statement without any direct evidence of the Comanches' thoughts and aspirations some three centuries ago?

Unfortunately, Betty also fails to cite Jane Fishburne Collier's *Marriage and Inequality in Classless Societies* (1988), which discusses many of the same questions and themes he does and draws similar conclusions about Comanche society and horse pastoralism.

Pekka Hämäläinen

University of California, Santa Barbara

Hopi Tales of Destruction. Collected, translated, and edited by Ekkehart Malotki, narrated by Michael Lomatuway'ma, Lorena Lomatuway'ma, and Sidney Namingha Jr. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xii + 230 pp. Notes, glossary, bibliography. \$27.95 paper, ISBN 0-8023-8283-4.)

The romantic notion of Hopis as heirs of a long line of "people of peace" was successfully demolished by careful studies of archaeological remains of ancestral Pueblos. Ekkehart Malotki contributes to these new interpretations by translating Hopi tales as they were told during the twentieth century. They tell of warfare, violence, revenge, and other dark aspects of human life, showing Hopi society as "normal" rather than utopian.

This work is a partial reprint of an earlier book, *Hopi Ruin Legends: Kiqötutuwutsi* (1993). The seven legends, each with its own introduction, relate the downfall of former Hopi villages. Three legends tell of destruction brought on by the village chief to punish the villagers for moral infractions. One village was abandoned due to sorcery; two were destroyed through improper attempts to control the natural forces of water and fire; and one was destroyed as an act of revenge.

An underlying theme of the legends is that the world is dangerous, with a natural tendency toward chaos. When villagers allow evil ways to get the upper hand, the chief has no other alternative than to purify the village through destruction. Chaos can be unleashed when humans overreach in their dealings with the supernatural. Prayers and rites that should be used to insure smooth relations can backfire (in one case literally) on the supplicant when they are used for selfish purposes.

There are other ways to interpret these legends, however. Legends are not timeless; they are invented and altered to suit the purposes of the tellers. These versions were recorded in the late nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries. Consequently, stories of chiefs who called destruction on to their villages because of Hopi factionalism, for example, are told in the context of

the divisiveness that has plagued Hopis ever since the first Spanish incursions in the seventeenth century. Because there are no recorded versions of the legends dating earlier than the late nineteenth century, scholars do not know when they were invented or what particular moral or political purpose they were designed to serve. Nor do scholars know whether foreign ideas influenced their construction: fifty years of missionization in the seventeenth century and the American mission presence since the late nineteenth century may have left their marks on the legends. Nevertheless, whatever the stories may or may not tell us about earlier beliefs, they do provide a window into the Hopi mindset of a particular time.

Although this book will be of limited interest to general readers unfamiliar with Hopi or Pueblo culture, it is full of valuable pieces of information for the specialist. Malotki is to be congratulated for salvaging these tales and making them accessible both to scholars and to Hopis increasingly in danger of losing cultural connections to their own past.

Alice Schlegel

University of Arizona

Defending the Dinétah: Pueblitos in the Ancestral Navajo Heartland. By Ronald H. Towner. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003. xiii + 266 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, graphs, appendix, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth, ISBN 0-87480-774-3.)

This volume details more Navajo pueblitos than does any other single publication to date. Up to this point, literature on the place archaeologically defined as Dinétah (the Navajo homeland) has consisted primarily of professional publications unavailable to the general public. Ronald H. Towner conveniently brings together science, including new analyses and new material on Navajo archaeology, and Navajo oral traditions to introduce another model of Navajo ethnogenesis.

The book begins with a researcher's cache of data and ends with Navajo clan traditions that are rarely printed or discussed by other researchers. These clan traditions are a part of Navajo children's introduction to their place in Diné culture and landscape, but non-Navajo researchers are only recently making an attempt to introduce or use the oral traditions to interpret Navajo history. Towner's work is a good example of an "archaeogenesis" of the Navajo people. The book is a comprehensive document that synthesizes all

analytical material currently available for understanding Navajo pueblitos. Maps of probable routes of migration of the ancestral Navajos into the Southwest are also included; if nothing else, these maps and related discussions could certainly provoke dialogue among Navajo readers. Although I like the book as a scholar, as a Navajo person I found it to be written primarily for the archaeological community.

Towner, who admits that he is criticized for not taking “full advantage of ethnographic and ethnohistorical knowledge,” has attempted to open the door for additional discussions of Navajo ethnogenesis. The researcher uses dendrochronological data from the largest number of pueblitos ever analyzed to provide a clear database from which to assess seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Navajo cultural dynamics in the American Southwest. He combines oral traditions from the limited number of published sources with data on the cultural material of the Navajo pueblitos and the climatological record. His attempt may have initiated controversy among other scholars of Navajo culture, including Navajo scholars. The Navajos are often said to be the most recent arrivals in the Southwest region and a people with the least complex culture and history. These blanket assumptions create an adversarial atmosphere when non-Navajo researchers sit at the same table with Navajos and find out that, according to Navajos, their culture is not as simple and as recent as the researchers thought.

My fellow Navajo scholars and I have been participating for years in the kind of multidisciplinary discussion exemplified by Towner’s book, deconstructing and reconstructing existing research and accessible Navajo oral traditions concerning pueblitos, hogans, material culture, and philosophy. Thus, this book has certainly provoked additional questions for me—questions for the Navajo community and non-Navajo researchers alike. Meaningful discussions between these two groups are rare and vital. Perhaps this book will begin a new dialogue, one of connecting the people to the places being discussed.

Rena Martin

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Navajo Nation, Bloomfield, New Mexico*

Conquest and Catastrophe: Changing Rio Grande Pueblo Settlement Patterns in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. By Elinore M. Barrett. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. xi + 180 pp. Maps, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2411-8.)

Contact between sixteenth-century Spanish explorers and the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico was momentous for both cultures. Contact was not simply a single moment in time but a process that brought about change in both groups. These changes ranged from the mundane to the profound. No less monumental than the technological, ideological, and cultural changes were the demographic consequences of conquest and colonization. The scale of demographic change experienced by Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande Valley has been studied by scholars from many disciplines. Incomplete sixteenth-century documents limit scholars to a few firsthand observations that are frustratingly vague for demographic analysis. In addition, archaeological data from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sites are ambiguous. Elinore Barrett, however, resolutely attempts to use these difficult data sets to establish the baseline of Pueblo settlement patterns along the Rio Grande at contact and then to trace the changes experienced after contact and colonization.

Barrett analyzes site data from the New Mexico Archaeological Records Management Section (ARMS), a database of archaeological records, and published Spanish accounts of the contact period (1540–1598) and the period of initial Spanish colonization in New Mexico (1598–1680). Her first footnote astutely synthesizes the difficulties of the task. The vast majority of contact period archaeological sites are dated on the basis of ceramics with wide dating ranges often spanning pre- and postcontact eras. Few of the site types are dated securely across the region, and survey coverage of areas occupied in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not always complete.

Much of the data presented in Barrett's slim volume will be familiar to scholars in the field, but her compilation of that data in the numerous tables and annotations of secondary sources will have great utility for archaeologists and historians. Barrett approaches that data with caution, noting that her scale of analysis is settlement pattern, not absolute population figures. Her conclusions point to the need for more research. The sixteenth century remains poorly illuminated in documents and nearly indistinguishable in the archaeological databases. We continue to need every scrap of Spanish colonial evidence from untapped documentary sources in Spain and Mexico,

and from contact-period archaeological sites to understand truly the processes of change begun at first contact. For the seventeenth century, Barrett is on firmer ground; she uses more documentary sources, church-based census records, and excavation data. She estimates that fifty villages (62 percent) were no longer occupied after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, with the majority losing their population between 1600 and 1640. In part, this population decline was a continuation of centuries of shifting Pueblo settlement patterns, but some degree of catastrophic loss to epidemics was likely responsible for the change as well.

I will use this book as a ready summary of the gross changes in Pueblo settlements, while continuing to encourage further research on the archaeological and documentary history of specific sites and regions.

Frances Levine

Museum of New Mexico

Santa Fe, New Mexico

When the Rain Gods Reign: From Curios to Art at Tesuque Pueblo. By Duane Anderson, foreword by Bea Duran Tioux. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2002. 143 pp. 21 halftones, 70 color plates, map, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-89013-404-9, \$29.95 paper, ISBN 0-89013-405-7.)

Duane Anderson confronts the conventional wisdom that reduces Tesuque figurines to tourist-oriented kitsch. *When the Rain Gods Reign* is a socioeconomic study of influences on the production of a particular artifact. The book begins by setting the stage for a discussion of rain gods, giving historic outlines of the Santa Fe region during and after the Spanish conquest and then focusing on Tesuque Pueblo. The possible origins of pueblo figurines and their nineteenth-century proliferation are discussed. Two pueblos were noted for production of human forms. Cochiti's potters pursued two traditions of clay people, and Tesuque, in a parallel but distinct movement, made rain gods called *muna* (fun-makers). Discussion of the early dealers in Native American products, who drove the market for rain gods, provides an interesting insight into turn-of-the-twentieth-century Santa Fe. The infamous founder of the *Denver Post*, H. H. Tammen, was an important customer of such artifacts, but Anderson misses an opportunity to add Tammen's flavor to the mix.

Anderson details the production history of this pottery form from the 1870s through the present. Based on his sample of 441 figurines from museums all over the world, the heyday or “reign” of production was from 1886 to 1925. Anderson develops a typology and chronology of rain gods based on slipping and decoration techniques. The author considers the form produced after 1926 to be artistic expressions derived from traditional Tesuque figurines. The potters from the pueblo are explicit that these figures, although called rain “gods,” are made for sale to the outside world and are not sacred (p. 103). The book concludes with a chapter recounting discussions with Tesuque potters who currently make rain gods.

At nearly thirty dollars for a slim paperback, this volume is pricey but it is handsomely produced on heavy coated paper. Figures are linked to text by extensive captions rather than by figure numbers, and bibliographic notes are located at the end of the book. The separation of captions, text, and notes is a common format but complicates the location of specific figurines referred to in the text. Color, black-and-white, and historic photographs are all of good quality, though one exceptionally crude line drawing seems out of place (p. 91).

When the Rain Gods Reign is a detailed catalog of one form of pottery. Many breakdowns of decorative and production techniques are given, and much of the account explains where these figurines are found in collections. For those who have collected figurines—clearly a passion for the author—the book will undoubtedly be a fascinating study, but the detail may be excessive for readers less committed to the field. I enjoyed the book for the attention it pays to how the market and the “experts” influence art, for its adoption of and advocacy for an underdog, and for the attention paid to the interesting and too-little-known community of Tesuque Pueblo.

H. Wolcott Toll

Museum of New Mexico

Santa Fe, New Mexico

Prehistoric Culture Change on the Colorado Plateau: Ten Thousand Years on Black Mesa. Edited by Shirley Powell and Francis E. Smiley. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002. xi + 221 pp. Halftones, line drawings, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-1439-9.)

This edited volume represents the long-awaited comprehensive synthesis of the multidecade Black Mesa Archaeological Project (BMAP). The editors, Shirley Powell and Francis E. Smiley, state that “The organization of

this volume reflects two major goals: 1) to present what we learned about Black Mesa prehistory and 2) to place the work of Black Mesa Archaeological Project in a regional context" (p. 10). In my opinion, the book accomplishes these objectives and provides a much needed overview of the extensive human occupation of Black Mesa and the surrounding Kayenta area.

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the BMAP and sets the stage for the ensuing discussions of the area's cultural history. The chapter documents administrative, theoretical, and methodological changes on the BMAP over two decades of work. BMAP was one of the first large-scale contract archaeology (beyond salvage archaeology) projects undertaken in the Southwest and as the editors point out, the history of BMAP mirrors the development of American archaeology from the late 1960s to the 1990s.

In chapter 2, Smiley describes the preagricultural occupation of Black Mesa and the surrounding region, drawing as complete an understanding as possible with limited data. He suggests that, like other areas of the West, the known, visible suite of Paleoindian and Archaic sites does not represent the full extent of occupation.

In chapters 3 and 4, which document the use of Black Mesa during the Basketmaker era, the authors pull information from adjacent areas in keeping with the volume's pledge to understand processes across the region. In chapter 3, Smiley delineates the White Dog and Lolomai phase adaptations (Basketmaker II age) across the Kayenta region. In chapter 4, Deborah Nichols's treatment of Basketmaker III on Black Mesa is relatively brief compared to the other chapters in the book but this lack of data reflects the reality of the archaeological record—no Basketmaker III habitation sites (and few nonhabitation sites) were identified on the Black Mesa lease.

In chapter 5, Shirley Powell picks up the story of Black Mesa in the early AD 800s, as populations again began to settle into more permanent dwellings. She focuses on the variation and diversity reflected in Puebloan sites on the Black Mesa lease.

Jeff Dean's discussion of Pueblo III developments in the Kayenta area in chapter 6 complements the remainder of the volume. Dean's comprehensive treatment of this period is unduplicated in any prior work. Students of Kayenta archaeology will be pleased by Dean's focus on Black Mesa (the occupation of which essentially terminated by AD 1150) and his ability to paint an integrated picture of the complicated Pueblo III period.

Leigh Kuwanwisiwma broadens our understanding of Black Mesa's history in chapter 7 by providing new knowledge about Hopi use of the area

over many years. Furthermore, he emphasizes that Black Mesa, with important clan sites and shrines that are regularly visited, is very much a part of Hopi life today.

Much of the original research on Black Mesa focused on the historic Navajo occupation. In chapter 8, Miranda Warburton and Richard Begay explore and summarize this work. Begay also provides insights into the ceremonial importance of Black Mesa for the Navajo people.

The only puzzle in this volume is the timing of its release. A note at the end of chapter 8 indicates that most of the chapters were written between 1985 and 1987—prime time for a synthetic statement about Black Mesa. Robert Euler's foreword was penned in 1994; other chapters were clearly updated in the new millennium. Certainly, books encounter publication delays, but I think this work and its audience would have benefitted from some discussion of the editorial and publication process in the introduction.

In sum, this volume represents an important contribution to our understanding of the human occupation and use of Black Mesa and the surrounding region, particularly during the last two millennia. I am sure that all scholars of southwestern history and archaeology will want this book on their shelves.

Paul F. Reed

Center for Desert Archaeology

Tucson, Arizona

The Lost Itinerary of Franklin Hamilton Cushing. Edited by Curtis M. Hinsley and David R. Wilcox. Southwest Center Series. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002. xxxvi + 349 pp. Halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-2269-3.)

This is the second in a multivolume series on the Hemenway Expedition in Arizona and New Mexico (1886–1887) sponsored by Boston philanthropist Mary Tileston Hemenway. The purpose of the expedition was to trace the ancestors of Zuni Pueblo to the Salt River Valley in southern Arizona, where anthropologist Franklin Hamilton Cushing believed the Zunis originated. In the process, he developed the ethnological approach to the study of archaeological remains, drawing on his unique knowledge of Zuni oral history.

The first series volume, entitled *The Southwest in the American Imagination: The Writings of Sylvester Baxter, 1881–1889* (1996), presents work by

Cushing's journalist friend Sylvester Baxter from Boston, covering various aspects of the "Wonderful Achievements of Frank H. Cushing." The second series volume focuses on fragmentary reports written by Cushing during the period 1891–1893 after his oversight board terminated him over concerns about his physical and mental health. In an effort to justify his work and to overcome his failure, Cushing wrote a narrative based on his recollections of the expedition and describing his travels through an exotic land, with rich detail about the biology, geography, and cultural landscape of the region. This second volume repeats the foreword to the multivolume work by Joseph C. Wilder, director of the Southwest Center, and provides a slightly revised introduction to the multivolume work by David R. Wilcox and Curtis M. Hinsley. Following the introduction is a chronology of the Hemenway Expedition, which also appears in both volumes, and a preface to the second volume.

The heart of the work is divided into five parts. Part 1 is an introduction to the "Lost Itinerary" by Curtis M. Hinsley. Part 2, "Envisioning an Expedition," includes an introduction to the expedition by Cushing and notes on the visit of three Zuni chiefs (Palowahtiwa, Waihusiwa, and Heluta) to Mrs. Hemenway in Massachusetts during August–October 1886. Part 3, "Surveying the Territory," contains an introduction and field notes, and a narrative of discoveries that took place in Arizona and New Mexico during fall 1886–March 1887. Part 4 is entitled "Settling on Los Muertos" and recounts initial work at the ruin cluster of Los Muertos from March–April 1887. Collectively these accounts provide a critical basis for much of what is known about the earliest stages of archaeological research in the American Southwest.

Editors Hinsley and Wilcox sum up what has been learned in Part 5, the afterword, in an essay entitled "The Monumental and the Mundane in Southwestern Archaeology." They conclude, "Cushing's Itinerary, unfinished and fragmentary though it is, nonetheless represents a remarkable literary and aesthetic achievement as well as a significant marker in the history of southwestern archaeology." The first two volumes are rich in detail, meticulously researched, and well-documented accounts of the poorly understood pioneering work of Frank Hamilton Cushing. These books will quickly become required reading for scholars, students, and anyone interested in the history and archaeology of the American Southwest.

Duane Anderson

Museum of Indian Arts and Culture

Santa Fe, New Mexico

Native Peoples of the Southwest: Negotiating Land, Water, and Ethnicities. Edited by Laurie Weinstein. Native Peoples of the Americas. (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2001. xxii + 252 pp. Halftones, maps, figures, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$65.00 cloth, ISBN 0-89789-674-2.)

Native Waters: Contemporary Indian Water Settlements and the Second Treaty Era. By Daniel McCool. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002. xv + 237 pp. Tables, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-2227-8.)

Native Peoples of the Southwest, which defines the Southwest as New Mexico, Arizona, and southern Colorado, is comprised of an introduction by the editor and twelve essays by anthropologists, archaeologists, an ethnohistorian, an urban planner, a specialist in American Studies, and a tribal member. The book is divided into three sections. The first and shortest part of the collection covers prehistoric farming practices and water management; the second part focuses on “native people,” among whom the editor includes the Hispanic population; the third and longest section addresses “the interplay between ethnicity, power, and resources in both ritual and practice” as expressed in current litigation over land, water, and land grants (p. xiii). The intent of the editor is to convey the “enormous complexity” of these issues (p. xvi).

Unfortunately, editor Laurie Weinstein, a professor of anthropology at Western Connecticut State University, demonstrates a superficial grasp of the issues in her introduction and summary of the contributed essays. This weakness becomes ominously apparent in the “Timeline for the Southwest” (p. xxiii), which refers to the 1908 Winters Doctrine as “legislation . . . passed by the United States Supreme Court and . . . [giving] priority to prior use rights of Indians when dealing with water conflicts” (p. xxiii). (To those curious about this Winters Doctrine, refer to *Native Waters*, especially pp. 9–15.) Not surprisingly, Weinstein’s background on the Spanish Southwest is rife with errors: Coronado did not arrive in New Mexico outfitted with “priests.” Her contention that, after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Pueblos and Hispanics “began to work together to create irrigation networks, to afford mutual protection against Apache raids, and to meet the demands of a new *conquistador* [sic] — the Anglos” (p. 10) is just plain silly in the first assertion as well as the last. Moreover, while it might be true that “thousands of head of cattle” were brought by the Hispanos to Texas in the colonial period and to Arizona in the Anglo period to compete for water and forage, such was not the case in New Mexico as the author claims (pp. 9–10).

The editor's lack of knowledge is not a particular reflection on the individual articles, which stand alone well enough. Their arrangement, however, is an odd topical hodgepodge ranging from Hohokam farming to the study of caste in eighteenth-century New Mexico and to tourism in Taos. The latter contribution on the Taos fiesta also appears in Francisco A. Lomeli, V. A. Sorell, and Genaro M. Padilla's *Nuevomexicano Cultural Legacy* (2002). The theme of the third section is that, until the arrival of Anglos, the Natives were able to "negotiate" between themselves the sharing of resources and that natural resources were carefully husbanded. In fact, conflicts over water and land were rife in New Mexico both within Hispanic communities and between the Hispanics and the Pueblos; these conflicts were exacerbated but by no means invented, by the Anglos. This point was already explored and well established by William E. deBuys in *Enchantment and Exploitation* (1985).

At the root of this vision of a southwestern *convivencia* is the belief among some academics that somewhere in the past a rural utopia had to exist—a place where everyone shared resources, where conflicts over resources were solved peacefully and equitably, and where human activity, whether Indian or Hispanic, in an arid environment did not ultimately have a deleterious impact on the environment and human communities. This book is recommended for readers who share these sentiments.

For those readers who want crisp, well-informed, jargon-free, and historically grounded scholarship, Daniel McCool's work is a joy to read. A professor of political science and director of the American West Center at the University of Utah, McCool is also the author of *Command of the Waters: Iron Triangles, Federal Water Development, and Indian Water* (1987).

In his new work, McCool focuses on the federal government's reliance on negotiations (i.e. settlements) by the federal government, rather than litigation in water disputes involving tribes and non-Indians since the 1980s. McCool provides a clear-eyed analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of negotiation versus litigation by examining in detail fourteen of the seventeen settlements reached with tribes in Arizona, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, and Idaho. Unlike Weinstein, McCool not only grasps the complexity of the issues, but he also conveys how variables such as Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) funding, fundamental assumptions about resource ownership and use, previous court rulings, and the current political climate shape Indian resources policy. I highly recommend McCool's book.

Hana Samek Norton
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Confounding the Color Line: The Indian-Black Experience in North America. Edited by James F. Brooks. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 396 pp. Charts, map, tables, notes, index. \$70.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8032-1329-8.)

This collection of essays on Indian-Black relations makes a powerful statement about the complexity and inscrutability of race in American society. The volume contains twelve essays organized chronologically, an introduction by editor James Brooks, and an epilogue by Valerie Phillips. In the latter, Phillips reflects on a conference, held at Dartmouth College in 2000, that explored Indian-Black relations. This collection is not a product of the conference, although many of the contributors to this volume did participate in or attend it. The simultaneity of the conference and the publication of these essays constitutes a landmark moment heralding scholars' rising interest in the historical relationships between American Indians and African Americans.

In keeping with earlier studies of this topic, many of the essays in this collection (five of the twelve) deal with the Southeast from the Carolinas to Oklahoma. Such an emphasis is understandable given that the interactions between peoples of African and Indian descent have been especially well documented in this region and, in the case of Indian enslavement of Africans, conspicuously "confounded the color line." Two essays focus on New England, one mainly covers the eastern seaboard, and three essays could be described as transnational or borderless. There is only one article on the West, Dedra S. McDonald's "Intimacy and Empire: Indian-African Interaction in Spanish Colonial New Mexico, 1500–1800," which does a commendable job of documenting the extensive and diverse presence of people of African descent in the colonial Southwest. The West also figures substantially in Brooks' introduction, which uses the history of a Southern Ute family from Colorado to illustrate the volume's themes and purpose.

The rich insights and wide range of problems addressed throughout the volume cannot be captured in a short summary, and indeed, if the volume has any single thread tying the essays together, it is that there are deep contradictions between how race functions in American society and how people live with race and racism. As revealed by these authors, historical relations between Indians and Blacks can be characterized as intimate and intertwined. They married and had children across the color line, they shared languages and customs, and they found refuge in each other's communities. At the same time, racism convoluted this experience and created tensions

as Blacks and Indians navigated the constantly shifting racial hierarchies of American society at large.

Facile renderings of race in American history typically cast Whites as the perpetrators and people of color as allies in their victimization, but this volume jars us from that complacency by exposing racism's even more insidious effect of blurring the line between perpetrator and victim.

Nancy Shoemaker

University of Connecticut

Nuclear Reactions: The Politics of Opening a Radioactive Waste Disposal Site. By Chuck McCutcheon. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. xii + 231 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, index. \$24.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2209-3.)

During the nineteenth-century railroad construction boom, it was said that building a transcontinental railroad was more profitable than actually operating one. Extrapolating these sentiments to the Atomic Age, Chuck McCutcheon studies the political maneuvering behind the Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP) in Carlsbad, New Mexico, suggesting that, while constructing a nuclear waste facility is nearly impossible, opening one is even more difficult. When WIPP finally received its first waste shipments in 1999, some twenty-seven years after the site was initially examined, New Mexico governor Bill Richardson suggested that the whole process was so challenging because "the goal posts . . . seem to be moving back."

Despite such sentiments, WIPP started innocently enough as a Cold War project designed to centralize the nation's transuranic waste. Work on WIPP began in 1972 as a "straightforward construction project." The Atomic Energy Commission engineered the facility as a 2,150-foot-deep salt cavern in which to bury forty years' worth of gloves, clothing, and other items contaminated with radioactive materials used to make nuclear bombs. With the approval of Carlsbad boosters who saw nuclear waste management as a long-term antidote to economic anxiety, engineers dug a seven-mile network of tunnels connecting the huge storage rooms. Once the waste was placed underground, the rock salt would naturally collapse around it, safely encapsulating the materials within fifty years.

From that national-security beginning, WIPP mushroomed into a political football kicked around by New Mexican politicians trying to wrestle greater control over the project from federal bureaucrats, environmental

groups seeking increased public oversight, and local boosters and state business leaders wanting economic stimulus. In addition, leaders in the nearby states of Colorado and Idaho initiated "a high stakes game of plutonium poker" by threatening to no longer accept waste shipments to their own states' nuclear facilities, thereby pressuring the federal government to find a way to open WIPP. Eventually, after countless hours of human energy and millions of dollars, WIPP gained a momentum of its own. Federal courts played an increasingly important role and the Environmental Protection Agency finally allowed WIPP to open in 1999. Commenting on the long process, Department of Energy general counsel Mary Anne Sullivan stated that, as a matter of public policy, the construction of the first deep radioactive-waste repository "shouldn't be easy," nor inexpensive (p. 192). WIPP was constructed at about \$2 billion and costs more than \$200 million a year to operate. Estimates are that the project will have cost almost \$29 billion by the time the six million cubic feet of waste—equal to 850,000 fifty-five gallon drums—is on site.

McCutcheon, a former reporter for the *Albuquerque Journal*, presents this complex story in an approachable fashion that is free of jargon for the general reader. With good maps, interesting photographs, and political cartoons that capture the essence of the debate, *Nuclear Reactions* is an important addition to the burgeoning field of atomic history. It should be read by anyone interested in twentieth-century history, the modern American West, atomic history, and the history of New Mexico.

Michael A. Amundson

Northern Arizona University

Warm Sands: Uranium Mill Tailings in the Atomic West. By Eric Mogren. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. x + 241 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2280-8.)

Yellowcake Towns: Uranium Mining Communities in the American West. By Michael A. Amundson. Mining the American West Series. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002. xxiv + 204 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth, ISBN 0-87081-662-4, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 0-87081-765-5.)

America's flirtation with the atom, like most flirtations, failed to deliver all it promised. On the one hand, the atom provided the free world's nuclear

shield during the dance macabre once known as the Cold War. On the other hand, the atom left behind a landscape polluted from radioactive byproducts and towns struggling to find a way to survive. These two books offer a glimpse into the once-bright promise and inevitable pitfalls of atomic power.

Warm Sands is an absorbing and compelling book recommended for anyone interested in the evolution of the American uranium industry, and the federal policies that built it. Based on research in government and scientific literature, *Warm Sands* depicts how the original promise of nuclear power descended into a nightmare of fear and suspicion. Through the course of eight chapters, Mogren, assistant professor of history at Northern Illinois University at Dekalb, gives readers a chronological view of the rise and fall of the uranium industry in the context of confrontations between its patron, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), and its critics, the growing post-World War II environmental movement.

America's first atomic age, as Mogren defines it, covers the period from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries, when scientists like the Curies began to investigate radium. This new element showed promise in medical applications, such as X-ray screening and treating certain types of cancers, but also had important military applications during World War I, when it was used to produce luminescent dials for watches and other indicating devices. Also arising at this time were the first public health concerns over the effects of radioactive materials. Some scientists conducting medical experiments died as a result of exposure to radium. Workers in defense industries supplying the army and navy with luminescent instruments also died from handling radium-based paints.

Once the U.S. government decided to develop an atomic bomb during World War II, uranium, the other radioactive element in carnotite ores, catapulted quickly from being a worthless mill-waste material related to the recovery of radium and vanadium to becoming the most valuable metal in the world. The successful development of the bomb helped to end the war, but it also cast a mushroom-shaped cloud of fear over the world and launched the Cold War. The race between the United States, Russia, and other nations to build bigger and better bombs spiked a worldwide increase in the demand for uranium. Fearing that it had only a limited supply of uranium, the United States launched a major effort to locate and exploit domestic uranium deposits.

To oversee the acquisition of uranium for defense purposes and to promote publicly the wondrous potential of peaceful applications of the atom,

Congress established the AEC as part of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. The AEC was to promote the development of atomic power for military and civilian purposes, while protecting the public from the harmful effects of this new power. As Mogren shows, this dual role saddled the AEC with an incredible conflict of interest. The situation was like the proverbial fox guarding the hen house. Consistently hiding behind strict interpretations of the Atomic Energy Act that made the AEC responsible only for fissionable source materials such as uranium and thorium, the agency claimed no responsibility for the byproducts—hundreds of millions of tons of mill tailings. These “warm sands,” as Mogren dubs them, were full of radium, the most dangerous of the radioactive elements left over from the milling process. If the AEC could not discredit the scientific evidence brought forth by public health officials and other critics about the dangers posed by the mill tailings, the agency dismissed or downplayed their concerns. The arrogance and secrecy that characterized AEC operations undermined the public’s trust in it. Mogren shows how the agency was forced to recognize the government’s responsibility for public health and safety. The AEC gave political and financial support to the uranium extraction industry, which otherwise would have sunk under the weight of unfavorable economics and public fears.

There are related issues that Mogren, unfortunately, does not address. We do not learn, for example, whether the turmoil surrounding the AEC’s failure to address questions about public health and safety contributed to political movements in Washington that eventually abolished the agency in 1974. Curiously, U.S. Representative Wayne Aspinall (R-Colo.), a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, pressured the AEC to address the mounting body of evidence on the dangers posed by radioactive mill tailings, specifically those used as fill material around homes, schools, and other structures in Grand Junction, “America’s Most Radioactive City.” Could this have been the same Wayne Aspinall who earlier tried to block efforts to have the AEC address health issues affecting uranium miners? In addition, readers unfamiliar with the Colorado Plateau would have benefitted from a map to locate places cited in the text.

In *Yellowcake Towns*, Michael A. Amundson, assistant professor of history at the University of Northern Arizona, draws heavily from newspaper accounts and oral histories to show how four western towns—Jeffrey City, Wyoming; Uravan, Colorado; Moab, Utah; and Grants, New Mexico—grappled with the boom and bust of the uranium rush. He also sketches the federal policies that place these developments within their proper context.

Particularly interesting is his portrayal of how uranium was depicted in the popular culture of the day.

Amundson picked these yellowcake towns—towns supporting the mining and milling of uranium ores—to show the social impact of the federally sponsored uranium rush. Each town existed during the government-backed and later commercial periods of yellowcake production, providing services to the growing uranium industry and its employees. Each faced serious problems related to an exploding population that demanded schools, housing, water, sewer, and other public services. The author richly details how each town coped with these issues. For example, Moab had adequate infrastructure and an economy that was not completely based on uranium, and that enabled it to withstand better the effects of uranium boom and bust cycles compared to the purely company-owned, one-resource towns like Uravan and Jeffrey City. Such towns were devastated, or simply ceased to exist, after the uranium market crashed due to oversupply and increasing environmental problems.

Still, there are a few nagging problems with *Yellowcake Towns*. For example, Uranium Mill Tailings Remedial Action is not an agency but a project run by the Department of Energy; the bombing of Nagasaki was three days after Hiroshima not two; and the book says nothing about the outcome or status of issues like the Union Carbide suit over tailings cleanup costs. Also, the author ought to have included the impact of these boom and bust cycles on the Indian communities near Grants.

Both books are based on dissertations, and their simultaneous publication is a curious coincidence. They fit solidly within a West depicted by the New Western historians as a colony exploited and controlled by outside interests. They join a growing body of literature on the history of a West built by post-World War II federal energy policies, whether centered on uranium, coal or oil shale. Students of the subject will be well served if complementary studies addressing the miners and millers who provided the raw materials are published in the future.

Carl Barna

Bureau of Land Management

Science in the American Southwest: A Topical History. By George E. Webb. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002. xxi + 271 pp. Halftones, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$48.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-2188-3.)

For about twenty-five years, George E. Webb has focused his research on the social and institutional development of various sciences and scientists in the American Southwest, which is defined, for his purposes, as Arizona, New Mexico, and West Texas. The subtitle of the book, *A Topical History*, conveys the intent and derivation of its contents. Several of the ten chapters, or vignettes, are updated versions of articles he has published over the years; others derive from his previous books, *The Evolution Controversy in America* (1994) and *Tree Rings and Telescopes: The Scientific Career of A. E. Douglass* (1983). Collectively, the chapters form a substantial and worthwhile introduction to the history of a selection of sciences and scientists from the nineteenth century to the present. The author clearly intended to write for an educated lay audience, and he succeeds nicely.

Ten chapters are organized into three sections, each with a brief introductory essay. The first section, "The Establishment of Science," briefly reviews observations of Spanish explorers and colonizers after 1598. This is followed by a discussion of the contributions made by the U.S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers and accompanying natural historians after 1846 in geology, biology, astronomy, ethnology, and archaeology. Webb's point, made by others, is that, from the 1840s until after 1900, the Southwest was seen as a colony of the United States, a place filled with exotic peoples—Indians and Hispanics—and numerous resources to be identified and exploited by eastern scientific and financial interests. The exploitation is exemplified by a chapter on Benjamin Silliman Jr., a Yale geologist and consultant for numerous mining interests, whose estimates of mining potential sometimes went awry.

The second section, "The Scientific Community," focuses on the founding and development of universities, museums, and other research centers in the Southwest from 1900 to 1940. Most universities, founded around 1890, grew slowly until after World War II. Webb briefly discusses private centers, such as the Lowell Observatory and the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff, and the Museum of New Mexico and School of American Research in Santa Fe. There is an excellent chapter on women scientists from 1920 to 1950. While few in number, they made major contributions in several fields of science. A separate chapter is devoted to the impact of World

War II, especially the development of the Los Alamos and White Sands research facilities and their links with regional universities.

The final section, "Foundations of Modern Science," has two disparate foci. A chapter on controversies over the teaching of evolution in Arizona from the 1920s to the present is sandwiched between two chapters on the development of astronomy and interplanetary exploration principally at the University of Arizona. The development of the region's major astronomical observatories and their role within the planetary space probe program are cogently presented.

Overall, the book is an excellent introduction to the social and institutional contexts of scientific development in the Southwest.

Dan Fowler

University of Nevada, Reno

Justice Betrayed: A Double Killing in Old Santa Fe. By Ralph Melnick. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. xv + 224 pp. 27 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2901-2.)

Library director Ralph Melnick has produced an excellent nonfiction piece. *Justice Betrayed* is a well-researched and well-written story of the execution of a Black man, Tom Johnson, wrongly accused of raping and murdering a young Hispanic woman during the 1930s. Much like the Brownsville Affair, Martinsville Seven, and the Scottsboro Case, this is another story of racial injustice leading to a "rush to judgment." In the very beginning of the book, Melnick concludes, "It seemed to me then, as it does now, that the young white woman, and her alleged black assailant have left us with a legacy by which we can measure how far we have come in our search for justice. It is ours for the taking, if we will" (p. xv).

Sadly, most ethnic minorities tend to be perceived as guilty before their day in court. The legal standard, "innocent until proven guilty," often does not apply to them. In this case, Tom Johnson was labelled guilty from day one. However, he already had many negative tags, particularly his race and class, applied to him before this case. Melnick provides some interesting commentary about the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was asked to come to the rescue of Johnson.

Melnick presents an excellent sociological supposition concerning the preponderance of Blacks who were railroaded into labor jobs during this

time. He also deftly handles the many conflicts in the case. Melnick demonstrates the power of the press at its worst and draws interesting comparisons between the *Santa Fe New Mexican* and the *Albuquerque Journal*, two of the prominent papers at the time.

During the early 1890s, a Black man was lynched every day, according to *A Red Record* (1895), by Ida B. Wells-Barnett. In the 1930s, a more sophisticated type of lynching appeared, one without the "extra-legal devices" that were used from the 1870s through the 1890s. *Justice Betrayed* is well worth reading to get a bird's-eye view of racial justice in the Southwest during the 1930s.

Finally, Melnick elucidates a system that took Johnson's life while protecting others. Johnson was trapped; he had no recourse available to him. The question readers are left with is whether Johnson was denied justice because he was poor or because he was Black.

Cortez Williams
University of New Mexico

Death on the Gallows: The Story of Legal Hangings in New Mexico, 1847–1923. By West C. Gilbreath. (Silver City, N.Mex.: High-Lonesome Books, 2002. 222 pp. Halftones, map, appendixes, bibliography. \$14.95 paper, ISBN 944383-57-2.)

John H. Behan: Sacrificed Sheriff. By Bob Alexander, introduction by Paula Mitchell Marks. (Silver City, N.Mex.: High-Lonesome Books, 2002. 307 pp. Halftones, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 cloth, ISBN 944383-58-0, \$14.95 paper, ISBN 944383-56-4.)

These two works have a number of similarities. They both deal with people of all creeds and colors in Arizona and New Mexico. They also stress law-and-order themes and the office of the Old West sheriff in these territories. Especially important to both authors are two duties of county sheriffs: collecting taxes and carrying out legal executions.

In *Death on the Gallows*, West Gilbreath brings his own law enforcement experience in New Mexico and Texas to this readable book. Each chapter deals with a county and contains a summary of a particular crime, and includes reprints of newspaper accounts about criminals and executions. The author maintains that including the news stories will give a

“singular view of crime and punishment in the Old West” and that the format of this study “will fascinate the armchair historian” (p. 3).

Capital punishment varied over time from one county to another. Grant and Santa Fe counties had the most executions, with ten each, and Chavez, Eddy, Lincoln, San Juan, and Union counties had the least, just one each. In Lincoln County, of Billy the Kid fame, William Wilson was hanged in late 1875 for killing his employer (probably with the aid of the infamous Murphy-Dolan crowd). The noose was placed around Wilson’s neck twice, for the first attempt to hang him failed.

Of the many duties connected with a sheriff’s office, carrying out legal executions did not rank high on the list. The process of legal strangulation excited no one who held the position. In New Mexico the sheriff received fifteen dollars for carrying out a court-ordered death sentence. The gallows had the usual construction: platform, upright posts, crossbeam, trap door, and rope of hemp fiber. Only one person was executed by the use of weights and pulleys: Milton Yarberry. In early 1883, Yarberry went to his grave in Bernalillo County for shooting a man while serving in the capacity of a police officer. In this type of hanging, the neck was broken by the shock of being jolted upward into the air through the release of heavy weights. A subsequent downward movement insured that the person was dead.

A statistical look at capital punishment in old New Mexico can reveal the way society operated. Sixty-two men (Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites) and one woman were executed. The female hanged in 1861 was Paula Angel of San Miguel County. She killed her married lover with a knife. Everyone legally put to death committed the crime of murder, except for don Antonio Maria Trujillo and Thomas “Black Jack” Ketchum. Trujillo was executed for treason during the U.S.-Mexico War. One of the better-known outlaws in the Old West, Ketchum went to the gallows in 1901 for robbing a train. One series of executions received national attention. Six individuals received the death sentence in Luna County in 1916 after taking part in the raid on Columbus, New Mexico, by Mexican forces under Francisco “Pancho” Villa.

John H. Behan by Bob Alexander, a veteran law officer and college teacher, covers several areas of Behan’s life: his role as sheriff of Cochise County, Arizona; his contentious involvement with Wyatt Earp and others in Tombstone; and his experiences in a variety of positions in war and peace time, including prison work, federal law enforcement, and in supplying the army in the Spanish-American War.

In this well-documented account, Alexander analyzes Behan's activities in the Tombstone saga. The author writes about Behan's arrival in Tombstone; his administrative work as sheriff; his alleged involvement in the nefarious activities of the "cowboys"; and his failure to arrest the Earps before the shootout at the O.K. Corral. Alexander points out that Behan avoided gun play and killing, as did most western sheriffs. Unlike the Earps, sheriff Behan inspired no dime novelists to tell wild and woolly stories about him.

In short, the author uses his considerable knowledge about police work to write a revisionist biography of John Behan. His portrayal of Behan is far more complex and nuanced than those of earlier accounts that villanize or lampoon him.

Harold J. Weiss Jr.

Jamestown Community College

Frontier Blood: The Saga of the Parker Family. By Jo Ella Powell Exley. The Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2001. xiii + 331 pp. Halftones, charts, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 1-58544-136-8.)

Frontier Blood is indeed a saga, featuring fiery Baptist preachers, intrepid Indian fighters, keen politicians, brave frontier women, dispossessed Indians, and a "half-White" Comanche chief representing "the blood of the two races . . . mingled in one man" (p. 263). Using extensive primary sources, author Jo Ella Powell Exley portrays the Parker family's trials and tribulations in an almost triumphalist way. The author's choice of words is indicative of this tenor—settlers faced "ordeals" on the frontier, the Indian "problem" limited settlement, and the inhabitants of Santa Fe were "harried for centuries" by the surrounding Indian population. Nevertheless, in this empirical book, one family's nineteenth-century history is studiously revealed over the course of several chapters focusing on key members across several generations. Exley's extensive research is apparent, although the sources themselves raise complicated questions more than Exley does and require the reader to read between the lines for the nuances. Still, the book is well written and includes a rich collection of source material that would be of interest to historians of religion, family life, nineteenth-century Texas and New Mexico, and the military conflicts between Native Americans and Euroamericans in the nineteenth century.

Exley's treatment of White women's captivity narratives illustrates the book's strengths and limitations. For example, her discussion of Rachel Parker Plummer's captivity among Comanches is based primarily on Plummer's account published in 1839. Reinforcing that story without much question, Exley leaves the reader with the overwhelming image of bloodthirsty, callous savages killing Plummer's children before her very eyes, giving little attention to the Indian perspective on the matter. Limited discussion of captivity in its larger historical context hinders a complete understanding of its impact on Indian communities. Yet Exley's treatment of Cynthia Ann Parker's captivity suggests that this kind of interpretation is possible, especially by reading between the lines. Captured by Comanche warriors in an 1840 raid on Fort Parker at the age of fourteen, Cynthia Ann was eventually returned to her family in 1860. Numerous sources suggest Cynthia Ann had much difficulty, and even resisted, reintegrating into the White community. Noting that she "repeatedly tried to escape" (p. 171), "continued to be unhappy" (p. 175), "still clung to her Indian customs" (p. 177), and that she "was not difficult, just sad and mourning" (p. 178), Exley provides limited interpretation of these intriguing materials. Perhaps she chose to let Cynthia Ann's story reveal itself. Yet, the author could have explored what these narratives reveal about the complexity of White women's captivity in the nineteenth century. What does the story suggest about how captivity fits into Comanche strategies for survival? James F. Brooks offers a more in-depth approach in his recent book, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2002). Despite its theoretical limitations, *Frontier Blood* enlarges the understanding of one family's story and its connections to the history of Euroamerican conquest of the American West.

David A. Reichard

California State University, Monterey Bay

Race and Homicide in Nineteenth-Century California. By Clare V. McKanna Jr. Wilbur S. Shepperson Series in History and Humanities. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002. xii + 148 pp. Halftones, map, graphs, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 0-87417-515-1.)

The "Wild West" was a violent place. For several decades that statement was an accepted and unquestioned "fact." Starting with Robert Dykstra in the 1960s, historians have made a significant effort to explore the reality of

western violence. They now generally agree that the West hardly reflected the popular gunslinger image fostered by films and dime novels. Having put to rest that mythology, scholars are now attempting to give shape and substance to the reality of violence in the nineteenth-century American West. Of particular value in this regard is the work of Clare V. McKanna Jr.

McKanna's latest book, a fruitful mix of statistics and anecdotes, reinforces the centrality of race in American history. Making intelligent use of coroner's records in seven California counties from 1850 to 1900, McKanna explores the human realities behind the numbers—1,317 cases, or 26 homicides per year. Along the way, there are some excellent stories and chilling examples of injustice. The twisted tale of Chief Justice David S. Terry and his wife, each a walking threat to social peace, is especially arresting. Often notions like "honor" are just a cover for sociopathic behavior.

The numbers, circumstances, and outcomes of acts of violence are different in each county studied. However, McKanna observes a few constants: race, alcohol, social status, gender, and guns. Beyond a doubt, racism caused a great deal of violence and warped the legal system of California. Alcohol fit prominently into most murder cases as a spur to violence. The accused from a lower social status were most likely to be convicted. Men tended to be both the murderers (98 percent) and the victims (90 percent) of these homicides. And "guns were an invitation to violence" (p. 85); contemporaries perceived and feared the growing gun culture of the West. In these terms, little has changed about violence in America in the past 150 years.

As McKanna reveals, the reality of western violence was often ugly and corrupt. There were few fair fights and a great deal of bushwacking. Victims were generally unarmed or shot in the back, while the legal system demonstrated great leniency to White offenders and remorseless retribution against non-White defendants.

This valuable book, rich in detail, precise in argumentation, and intelligent in formulation offers several surprises that defy stereotypes of the West and enliven the text. For instance, typically "indigent defendants received court-appointed counsel" during this period regardless of race (p. 62). Less surprising is the stunning bias of the legal system; one study found just three Spanish-surnamed lawyers admitted to the California bar between 1887–1900, and just 2 percent of those serving on juries were Hispanic.

In addition to providing a wealth of valuable information on western violence, McKanna has made a valuable historiographical contribution. He provides several examples of previous historians inventing stories—even to

the point of libel against the victim—so that White bushwacking appears more dramatic and fair. Most of these inventions reflect the racism of the murderer, making Hispanics and Indians the victims of western violence for a second time.

Michael Bellesiles
Glasgow University

Beaten Down: A History of Interpersonal Violence in the West. By David Peterson del Mar. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002. x + 300 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth, ISBN 0-295-98260-8.)

Beaten Down describes the “micropolitics” of interpersonal violence in Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. David Peterson del Mar discerns four broad patterns. First, intertribal warfare and clashes between Indians and Whites resulted over the control of resources. Second, male violence against social inferiors, including women and children, punished insubordination. Third, White-male peer violence was a form of sociability, and a means of defending honor or settling disputes. Finally, reservation Indians and African Americans, although their marginality spawned more frequent and more lethal violence than was the case among Whites, also resorted to violence to defend honor or settle disputes.

Like other researchers, Peterson del Mar finds that recorded violence declined in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The falling assault and homicide rates reflected postfrontier demographic normalization, the growing acceptance of legal institutions, and the discipline of a modernizing society. Domestic violence, however, may not have diminished as rapidly. It may even have increased during the 1920s, as men resorted to blows to counter their wives’ and children’s growing independence. Wives and children were also apparently more inclined to fight back.

Such observations are tentative because the statistical evidence for domestic violence trends is thin. Peterson del Mar refers to “increasing numbers” or “growing numbers” of incidents in the 1920s (pp. 120–22, 125), but rapid population gains make these calculations nearly meaningless. An estimated rate is missing in this discussion. Another reason for skepticism involves Prohibition. Alcohol consumption fell by about half in the 1920s, at least on the U.S. side of the border with Canada. Should not less drinking

(disregarding a booming economy) have translated into less domestic violence per capita?

Peterson del Mar's homicide rates are firmer. From 1859–1871 British Columbia's rate, 16.6 per 100,000, was almost the same as Washington and Oregon's. Was not Canada supposed to be more peaceful? The mining boom attracted a youthful, male settler population to British Columbia. When the author makes an apples-to-apples comparison between British Columbia and demographically similar districts in California or Nevada, he finds that the British Columbian rate was less than a third that of U.S. mining regions. The Canadians' more certain and centralized justice system, respect for the rule of law, and greater reluctance to use violence to settle personal scores (at least among men) explain the difference.

Beaten Down—appropriately titled—ranges over many topics including the murder of Native shamans who failed to cure their patients, the decline of classroom thrashings, and the rarity of violence in the authoritarian Japanese American culture. Sometimes, as the author states, “the absence of violence may signify extensive dominance” (p. 177). Most western historians, however, will be drawn to his treatment of settler violence in the nineteenth century, especially valuable because it considers evidence from both sides of the border.

David T. Courtwright
University of North Florida

Loretto: The Sisters and Their Santa Fe Chapel. By Mary J. Straw Cook. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2002. xvii + 118 pp. 30 halftones, 10 color plates, glossary, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$22.50 paper, ISBN 0-89013-398-0.)

The history of Santa Fe is rife with myth. Beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century with the invention of the wholly spurious Tertio Millennial—the 1883 celebration of the 333rd anniversary of Santa Fe—the town fathers and boosters of the community appeared to compete over who could make the most outrageous claims about the history of Santa Fe. From the site of the “oldest church” in the United States to the “oldest house”—indeed, the “oldest” Spanish City in North America—Santa Feans identified sites willy-nilly as being the oldest or most unusual. This creation of Santa Fe myths, however, did not end with the nineteenth century but continues unabated.

Among the more enduring myths that Santa Fe has held dear is the story of the “miraculous staircase” to the choir loft in Loretto Chapel. Purportedly constructed by a mysterious stranger, possibly St. Joseph, the staircase gained such notoriety before the end of the last century that it was featured on at least one television show and has been the subject of countless lectures and on-site visits and tours. In 1984 historian Mary J. Straw Cook published the first edition of *Loretto: The Sisters and Their Santa Fe Chapel*. Intent upon identifying the mysterious carpenter who built the staircase, Cook continued to research her topic. With the present volume, Cook’s additional research has resulted in the identification of François-Jean Rochas as the individual most likely responsible for the construction of the famous staircase to the chapel’s choir loft.

However, even Cook’s meticulous research does not provide the reader with all the answers. Rochas, as it turns out, is nearly as mysterious as the staircase he built. He was a French artisan and friend to Quintus Monier, the contractor of St. Francis Cathedral; Mother Magdalen Hayden, superior of the Order of the Sisters of Loretto at the time the chapel was built; and Archbishop Jean Baptiste Lamy. Rochas moved to La Luz, New Mexico, after the construction of the staircase. He lived there as a recluse until he was murdered in 1895.

In addition to identifying Rochas as the builder of the circular staircase, Cook commendably includes a number of previously unpublished photographs of the major players in this history. Cook includes a discussion of the Debain harmonium in the choir loft. Appendixes, floor plans, and copious notes also add to the author’s presentation.

Loretto is a must-read for anyone who wants to know the real story of an important architectural feature and a part of Santa Fe’s history.

Cordelia Thomas Snow

Santa Fe, New Mexico

Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico. By Father James H. Defouri, edited by Father Thomas J. Steele, S.J. (1887; reprint, Rock Hill, S.C.: Yucca Enterprises, 2003. xiv + 239 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, index. \$25.00 cloth, ISBN 1-881325-59-8.)

Father Thomas J. Steele continues to provide fascinating sources and insightful interpretations of New Mexican Catholic history in his critical

edition of this 1887 work. The author, James Defouri (1830–1901), immigrated to the United States from his native France shortly after his ordination as a priest and subsequently ministered in Kansas, Colorado, and then New Mexico, where he served as a pastor and as Archbishop Jean Baptiste Lamy's secretary. At Lamy's request, Defouri did some initial historical writing on Catholicism in New Mexico for the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome and later expanded that treatise into a larger book. Defouri's objective as a Catholic apologist is clearly reflected in the volume's opening lines, which opine that "it is customary for a certain class of men to assert at all times and places that this continent is indebted entirely to the Saxon or Anglo-Saxon race for its population, its civilization, and its progress" (p. 2). He then goes on to describe at length the Catholic presence and substantial contributions to New Mexico over three centuries. However, more than three-fourths of the book treats the thirty-five years beginning with Lamy's 1851 arrival in Santa Fe, accentuating the influence of Defouri's French compatriots on faith, morals, and communal life in the region.

As editor, Steele offers helpful commentaries to contextualize Defouri's book, particularly by identifying his sources and deftly correcting historical errors such as the proper dating for the founding of Santa Fe (p. 9). More substantively, Steele fittingly situates the book within a well-known narrative in the historiography of New Mexico and the Southwest: of a golden age of Spanish colonial missions, a period of decline and debauchery under the Mexican church and political system, and finally the redemption initiated by the arrival of Anglo American settlers and, in religious histories like this one, French clergy (p. 47). A particularly poetic and revelatory passage confirms Steele's observation. According to Defouri, various Santa Fe elders told him that, on the day Lamy first arrived in Santa Fe, a devastating drought ended and "a bountiful rain fell, animate and inanimate nature was refreshed, grass sprung up, and the year was one of plenty" (p. 53).

The primary value of this book is its articulation of a French clerical perspective on New Mexican Catholicism during the late nineteenth century. It will be of interest to scholars and general readers of New Mexican, Southwest Borderlands, and U.S. Catholic history, as well as historiographers who examine the issue of how an author's social location, sources, and motivation for writing shape his or her historical analysis.

Timothy Matovina
University of Notre Dame

Acts of Faith: The Catholic Church in Texas, 1900–1950. By James Talmadge Moore. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002. viii + 263 pp. Halftones, table, appendixes, notes, index. \$32.95 cloth, ISBN 1-58544-139-2.)

At the turn of the twentieth century, Texas remained an overwhelmingly rural and Protestant land. Its vast size posed daunting challenges to an institution such as the Roman Catholic Church, which had adherents scattered across the state often in hard-to-reach communities. Although growth in the eastern half of the state had allowed the church to expand to three dioceses and a vicariate apostolic, these jurisdictions were woefully understaffed. The church in Texas, in size could not even support an autonomous organization; most of Catholic Texas fell under the Province of New Orleans, while the El Paso area belonged to New Mexico. During the first half of the twentieth century, Texas's tremendous economic and demographic expansion was also reflected in its Catholic Church, whose numbers swelled more than ten-fold to almost 1.3 million. By 1950 Texas had become its own Catholic province, with the archdiocese in San Antonio and well-respected networks of schools, hospitals, and social organizations serving every corner of the state.

In *Acts of Faith*, James Moore traces the physical growth of the church, continuing the story of church building that he began a decade ago in *Through Fire and Flood: The Catholic Church in Frontier Texas, 1836–1900* (1992). Rather than a study of Catholicism in Texas, *Acts of Faith* is a broad survey of the growth of Catholic institutions in the state. Moore tells the story of the men and women who faced the challenges of providing the sacraments, building churches, and opening hospitals in an often anti-Catholic and racist environment.

The strong narrative and institutional focus of *Acts of Faith*, however, does pose some problems. Local devotion and practice—the life of the laity—were neglected. As diverse as the church was in Texas—the eastern parts of the state had a considerable number of Catholic African Americans; the region along the Rio Grande and as far north as Corpus Christi and San Antonio was heavily Mexican American; and central Texas contained Catholic communities of Polish, Czech, German, and Italian origin—Moore might have dwelt more on issues of church ideology and policy toward its various ethnic constituencies.

The failure to address substantially those themes is, perhaps, a product of the author's overreliance on a single source: the San Antonio–headquartered

Southern Messenger, which was the only Catholic newspaper in the state until the late 1940s. The paper reported on the Texas Catholic Church's response to events ranging from the devastation caused by the Galveston Hurricane of 1900 to the Holocaust. Although its coverage was comprehensive, the *Southern Messenger*, like all newspapers, provided only a superficial and episodic understanding of events. The author could have provided more depth to his narrative by using Texas' plentiful archival resources and numerous parish histories and scholarly works.

Despite its limitations, *Acts of Faith* is an important survey pointing out the richness of the Catholic experience in Texas and the possibilities for future scholarship on this topic.

Jesús F. de la Teja

Southwest Texas State University

Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600–1810. By Ronald J. Morgan. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2002. x + 238 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-2140-9.)

The politics and rhetoric of identity have played a significant role in the history and culture of Spanish America. As a scholar and curator who works with religious images, especially those integral to the spiritual culture and art of New Spain, I frequently consult a variety of research sources and dictionaries of saints. Rarely do the existing references include "New World" saints. Rather, those guides are extremely Eurocentric in their coverage of religious persons. In *Spanish American Saints*, Ronald J. Morgan helps to remedy this situation.

Morgan employs a fascinating interdisciplinary approach to the understanding of *criollo* identity in Colonial Spanish America. He applies a close literary and cultural examination to the hagiographies and lives of five American religious persons: Sebastián de Aparicio (Mexico), Santa Rosa de Lima (Peru), Santa Mariana de Jesús (Ecuador), Catarina de San Juan (Mexico), and San Felipe de Jesús (Mexico).

The introduction, conclusion, and chapter 2, "Writing a Saint's Life in Spanish America," provide the background to the identity politics that took place between Iberian-born *peninsulares* and American-born *criollos* in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Morgan argues that the penning of the *vidas* (sacred biographies) of these five individuals, and the devoted

following of their cults, contributed to the formation of self-affirming community identities in colonial Mexico and Peru. The author scrutinizes the construction of the hagiographies and their respective authors' agendas, even examining word choice. The result is an intriguing look into the strategies utilized by believers, confessors, recorders, historians, and the Catholic Church to gain credence and sainthood for their subject. Criollos believed that, once colonial Spanish America had its own saints, it would achieve equal status with Spain.

Morgan delves deeply into the lives of these holy persons, most of whom were from nonelite backgrounds, and contextualizes them in the social, cultural, and political climate of their times. A chapter containing a biographical sketch and hagiographical elements is devoted to each of the five saints. Brief comparative analysis of the Spanish American religious literature with that published by European colleagues helps to enforce the function and necessity of this discourse. The author also takes into consideration the relationship between hagiographer and subject.

With the recent canonization of Juan Diego, Mexico's first indigenous saint, and the publication of Ronald Morgan's well-researched and multifaceted work, a vital and necessary body of studies on Spanish American saints and holy people will likely emerge from various disciplines that deal with colonial Spanish America.

Tey Marianna Nunn

Museum of International Folk Art

Santa Fe, New Mexico

Wayne Aspinall and the Shaping of the American West. By Steven C. Schulte. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2002. xiii + 322 pp. 21 halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 0-87081-665-9.)

As a young boy, Wayne N. Aspinall fell into the Colorado River and was nearly swept to his death. In *Wayne Aspinall and the Shaping of the American West*, Steven C. Schulte chronicles the powerful congressman's lifelong effort to tame and control this tempestuous waterway. In his prosaic yet thoughtful biography, Schulte effectively argues that "no twentieth-century politician from the American West achieved more success in hoarding and manipulating water for human benefit" than did Wayne Aspinall, Colorado's twelve-term representative (p. 1).

Following a roughly chronological outline, Schulte's three-hundred-page study offers some brief insights into Aspinall's early life and then explores in greater detail his consequential and often cantankerous career in the U.S. House of Representatives from 1949–1973. Despite the author's best efforts to convey "the magic of Wayne Aspinall" (p. xi), the portrait that emerges is one of an arrogant, vitriolic tyrant who increasingly alienated both his House colleagues and the national public.

Aspinall's family ventured to Colorado's western slope frontier at the turn of the twentieth century and was an early beneficiary of federal reclamation projects designed to "make the desert bloom." As a young man, Aspinall cut his teeth on local politics, but his ambition quickly propelled him into national office and an influential seat on the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, where he began to hone his trademark utilitarian, Theodore Rooseveltesque conservation agenda. A bane to the nascent environmental movement, Aspinall used his position as committee chairman to champion reclamation and extractive industries, and he became nationally famous, and infamous, as the principal obstacle to wilderness legislation.

Schulte argues that Aspinall "saw himself as the voice of the increasingly beleaguered western resource user" (p. 231), but as the West's economy shifted from extractive to attractive industries, the congressman was left behind politically as an out-of-touch relic from a bygone era. By the 1970s, Schulte concludes, "the signs were evident that he had overstayed his welcome in Washington" (p. 261). In 1972, despite extensive funding from oil- and forest-products corporations, Aspinall's candidacy fell victim to an aggressive opponent and redistricting. Yet his ideas and perspectives enjoyed a certain renaissance during the Sagebrush Rebellion of the 1980s.

Schulte has clearly done his homework, as his thorough endnotes and bibliography attest, and *Wayne Aspinall* constitutes a useful addition to the growing body of scholarship on the West and its water politics. More narrative than analytical, however, the book falls short of fully illuminating Aspinall's critical, albeit antagonistic, role in the larger drama of the emerging environmental movement.

Sara Dant Ewert
Weber State University

In Fire's Way: A Practical Guide to Life In the Wildfire Danger Zone. By Tom Wolf. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. viii + 168 pp. Halftones, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$16.95 paper, ISBN 0-8263-2096-1.)

Smokechasing. By Stephen Pyne. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. xi + 260 pp. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 0-8165-2285-5.)

Tom Wolf does not want your house to burn down in a forest fire. He offers some useful tips for reducing home flammability similar to the guidelines available from an extension agent or Firewise (www.firewise.org). He shares an interesting personal experience of the “don’t try this at home” variety, describing how a prescribed burn that he initiated got out of control, but the rest of the book is disappointing. Wolf wrestles with the most intractable issue in western fire policy today: how to live in our fire-prone environment. Despite an impressive array of statistics, *In Fire's Way* flounders amidst an overabundance of disconnected data.

Wolf raises key questions about contradictions in the conventional perspectives on fire problems. For instance, should fuel treatments focus on the immediate vicinity of homes or the broader landscape? Should public agencies or private organizations assume responsibility for home fire protection? These kinds of questions cannot be easily answered, but Wolf fails to provide a sound analysis that allows the reader to evaluate the issues. Instead, the questions are superficial, leaving the reader less, not more enlightened. The majority of the research, culled from newspaper or magazine articles, further indicates Wolf’s lack of depth. Toward the end of the book, he presents numerous bulleted lists of “successful” fuel projects that he apparently gathered from organizational brochures rather than developed through actual investigation. One such list was omitted entirely (p. 127), perhaps due to a failure on the part of author and editor to pay attention to the less engaging parts of the text.

The most frustrating element of the book is the reiteration of antigovernment rhetoric. Certainly, federal and state agencies are cumbersome and could benefit from many useful reforms. Wolf’s attack on “the government”—while he fails to note that subdivisions springing up throughout western wildlands are made possible only by large-scale federal subsidies in the form of water projects, military bases, and other projects—is disingenuous. An extended critique of the 2000 Cerro Grande fire, for example, occupies all of chapter 5

and reappears throughout the book. Overall, homeowners concerned with wildfire hazards would do better to pick up *Flames in our Forest: Disaster or Renewal?* by Stephen F. Arno and Steven Allison-Bunnell (2002) for a superior treatment of fire ecology, fire behavior, and practical ways in which fuels can be modified for a safer environment.

The essays collected in Stephen Pyne's *Smokechasing* are also about fire, but their coverage encompasses the globe (Africa, Europe, Mexico, Australia, and the American West). The themes range widely as well, from the eco-social assessment of fire policies in "A Land Between" to the brief but deeply personal "Why I Do It." Pyne's keynote essay, after which the collection is named, defines the term *smokechasing* on several levels: pursuing a thread of smoke through rugged terrain, tracking the vaporous documents that record the history of fire, and approaching the deeper question of how humans comprehend fire. Pyne scoffs at postmodern irony: "Those at a desk have the luxury of asking whether one can ever truly 'find' a smoke" (p. 190), while the "groundpounder" must deal with the dangerous reality of steep hillsides and burning snags.

The theme that links the essays is how—and how poorly—humans understand fire. We have the "dumb problem" of having our houses burn up because of our inability to reconcile the many facets of fire. In reviewing the Cerro Grande fire in "An Incident at Praxis," for example, Pyne offers a perspective that is more subtle than Wolf's litany of governmental screwups. He suggests that National Park Service managers were caught in a worldview centered on the "natural" role of fire to the exclusion of adequate attention to the constraints of modern environments. Their myopia led them to push too hard to burn. In "An Exchange for All Things?" Pyne argues ultimately for a comprehensive scholarship that integrates fire ecology, fire management, and fire philosophy.

Pyne's essays are sometimes repetitious and occasionally lacking detail (the fire history of Europe sounds just like the fire history of Mexico), but the diversity and depth of his thought make this collection a valuable addition to "the literature of forest fires, if there is such a literature" (a quotation Pyne borrowed from Norman Maclean). My favorite essay is "Doc Smith's History Lesson," because it encapsulates the connection between people and fire. Pyne links Doc's personal history as a Forest Service district ranger and fire-suppression boss to the natural history found in tree rings and fire scars and to the political history of western settlement and forestry. The author contends with the choices that face contemporary society: forest

restoration, a new way to live with fire or a continued losing battle to control this most ubiquitous of disturbance forces. Pyne presents Doc as a living example of the integrated scholarship that he sees as the greatest hope for finding this new path.

Unlike Wolf, Pyne is not trying to offer practical or businesslike recipes for how many trees to cut. But in the accelerated crush of increasingly severe fire seasons, and with the shock of burned homes and shrill voices raised in accusation, Pyne provides a broader perspective and raises the most important questions. Do we know what smoke we are chasing? What should we do when we find it?

Peter Fulé

Northern Arizona University

Willa Cather and the American Southwest. Edited by John N. Swift and Joseph R. Uργο. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. 172 pp. Halftones, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8032-4557-2.)

Although Willa Cather remains most closely identified with Nebraska, her travels in the American Southwest had a profound effect on her art. Her first venture into the region, a visit to Arizona in 1912, provided the basis for the Panther Canyon episode in *The Song of the Lark* (1915). By the same token, Cather's 1915 expedition to the Anasazi ruins at Mesa Verde, Colorado, helped inspire the Tom Outland section of *The Professor's House* (1925). Additional journeys amid the deserts, mesas, and mountains of New Mexico led to *Death Comes for the Archbishop* (1927), arguably Cather's masterpiece and one of the finest evocations of the Southwest in twentieth-century American literature.

An essay collection devoted to the rich subject of Cather and the Southwest is long overdue, and editors John N. Swift and Joseph R. Uργο have compiled an admirably readable and closely edited volume. There is not a weak or superfluous essay in the collection. Readers active in Cather studies will appreciate the inclusion of work by such influential and respected Cather scholars as John J. Murphy, Merrill Maguire Skaggs, Tom Quirk, and David Harrell. (The latter's book-length study of Mesa Verde and the making of *The Professor's House*, first published in 1992, remains the definitive work on the subject.) Also welcome are Swift's and Uργο's own contributions, especially Swift's essay "Unwrapping the Mummy," which locates "Mother

Eve," the mummified Native American cadaver that Tom Outland and Roddy Blake discover in *The Professor's House*, within "a complicated web of symbolization, all relating her to specifically masculine needs" (p. 20). Yet what makes this volume truly exciting is the critical acumen displayed by scholars relatively new to the field. Among them are Mary Chinery, who offers a compelling examination of the santos tradition and its influence on *Death Comes for the Archbishop*; Manuel Broncano, who provocatively situates Cather's southwestern fiction within the genre of magical realism; Marilee Lindemann, who boldly and convincingly interprets the Blue Mesa in *The Professor's House* as a utopian refuge from "heteronormality" (p. 52); Matthias Schubnell, who masterfully contextualizes the character Fechtig, a German collector of Native American artifacts featured in *The Professor's House*; and Christopher Schedler, who, in the finest essay in this collection, brilliantly explores the anthropological contours of Cather's reactions to the indigenous cultures that she encountered in the Southwest.

Most of these essays were originally presented at "Willa Cather on Mesa Verde," a three-day symposium organized by Swift and held in October 1999 at the Far View Lodge atop Mesa Verde. *Willa Cather and the American Southwest* recaptures the magic of that memorable event and will prove a rewarding read for anyone with an interest in Cather's southwestern connections.

Steven Trout

Fort Hays State University

La Partera: Story of a Midwife. By Fran Leeper Buss. (1980; reprint, with new preface, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001. x + 140 pp. 23 half-tones, notes, glossary, bibliography. \$14.95 paper, ISBN 0-472-08712-6.)

La Partera recounts, in her own words, the life and times of Jesusita Aragon, a northern New Mexico partera (midwife). Born in 1908, Jesusita began her career as a partera when she was only fourteen, while still apprenticed to her grandmother. One day in her grandmother's absence, an expectant mother went into labor and Jesusita was pressed into service by necessity.

For over fifty years, Jesusita practiced midwifery in northern New Mexico, delivering more than twelve thousand babies. Her experience and wisdom brought many patients to her through word-of-mouth, and they returned to her repeatedly because of her proven skill.

More than the history of an individual, *La Partera* reflects the health-care status of southwest Hispanics in the early part of the twentieth century. Like much of the Southwest at that time, northern New Mexico was an isolated region, with a severe shortage of medical care. The partera served a critical medical function for the Hispano population, which put great faith in her abilities. Due to the shortage of doctors and priests, Jesusita performed other roles as a *curandera*, or folk healer, and as a kind of informal spiritual practitioner as well. For example, Jesusita prayed to the saints during deliveries and also baptized the newborns in her dual role as midwife and “cleric.”

As *curandera*, Jesusita practiced what we refer to today as holistic, alternative, or complementary medicine. She attempted to heal the “whole person” including the patient’s mental, physical, and spiritual being. Jesusita treated clients for certain “folk” illnesses such as *empacho* (said to be a blockage of food in the digestive tract) and prescribed such herbal remedies as *azafrán* (Mexican saffron) for fever, *escoba de la víbora* (snakeweed) for ulcers, and *romerillo* (silver sage) for hemorrhages. To this day, a *curandera* still treats patients suffering from *empacho* or even *mal de ojo* (evil eye), just as Jesusita did for many decades. Although Jesusita Aragon (still living as of this reprinting) has retired from midwifing, the parteras of the Southwest continue to thrive. Hispanics still go to the parteras, not from poverty or ignorance but from a preference for their own cultural heritage. Significantly, the partera and her patient share the same culture and language. The folk midwife traditionally also protects the patient’s modesty (an important consideration, for example, as a young woman Jesusita faced the condemnation of her family and community when she was twice impregnated out of wedlock, reflecting the moral and cultural values of her time and place). *La Partera* honors not only an individual midwife and her contribution but also midwifery itself, a traditional “folk” profession that has not only survived to the present but has been strengthened in recent years with the institution of midwifery training, certification, and birthing centers.

Eliseo Torres

University of New Mexico

Mary Hallock Foote: Author-Illustrator of the American West. By Darlis A. Miller. *The Oklahoma Western Biographies*, vol. 19., ed. Richard W. Etulain. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. xvii + 297 pp. Half-tones, bibliographic essay, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8061-3397-X.)

In this latest installment from the *Oklahoma Western Biographies* series, Darlis A. Miller, Professor Emerita in the Department of History at New Mexico State University, explores the life and work of Mary Hallock Foote (1847–1938), a prominent and critically acclaimed author-illustrator of the *American West*. Born into a wealthy Quaker household in upstate New York, Foote trained at the School of Design for Women at Cooper Union in New York City and began illustrating for popular magazines in the 1870s. Her 1876 trip to California, where she settled with her engineer husband, Arthur, marked the beginning of a western journey that would eventually take her to Colorado and Idaho. Surrounded by an unfamiliar culture and connected only by letters to her family back East, Foote continually struggled to reconcile her eastern upbringing with her new life in the West, one often filled with economic hardship, loneliness, death, and marital tensions brought on by her husband's alcoholism. Yet, in this often ill-fitting environment, Foote flourished as an author and artist, ultimately publishing twelve novels, dozens of short stories and essays, and countless illustrations. How this talented, eastern-born woman and devoted wife and mother became "an authentic voice of the West" is the subject of Miller's book.

Through an exhaustive examination of Foote's correspondence and publications, contemporary reviews of her work, and scholarly treatments of her life, Miller is able to offer a detailed and at times moving portrait of this remarkable woman, whose story has been the subject of only one previous book-length study. One of Miller's primary objectives is to demonstrate how Foote's "resilience, resourcefulness, and quiet resolve allowed her to surmount life's frustrations and adversities" (p. xiv). Miller skillfully achieves that aim. Throughout the biography, the reader gains an intimate understanding of the persistent tensions between Foote's obligations to her family and her passion for her work; her friendship with artist Helena de Kay Gilder, a relationship that steadfastly endured through long years of separation and personal hardships; and the ultimately successful attempt to overcome her self-doubts about her creative abilities during an age when women writers and artists were nearly universally dismissed by publishers and critics. Although she rightly underscores Foote's perseverance and courage as a writer

and a woman, Miller does not romanticize her subject. Rather, she honestly documents Foote's class biases and political conservatism, and highlights the inherent contradictions between Foote's adherence to traditional notions of womanhood and her own position as a public figure.

In attempting to achieve other stated objectives, however, Miller sometimes falls short. One of these objectives is to demonstrate that Foote's illustrations and writings "differed sharply from those offered by male artists and writers" (p. xiii). Although she offers vivid, detailed examinations of Foote's stories and illustrations, Miller usually leaves to implication the extent to which these stories and illustrations depart from those produced by Foote's male contemporaries. Nor does Miller fully situate her subject within a larger historical context. Throughout most of the book, Miller uses historical context merely to highlight aspects of Foote's life and work. Instead, the author should have used Foote's story to illuminate larger historical issues concerning women, writers, and the American West during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Miller has produced a compelling story of the career and personal history of Mary Hallock Foote but reveals little about the historical moment of which this talented and remarkable woman was so much a part.

Jan P. Doolittle Wilson

Fort Hays State University, Kansas

Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull: Inventing the Wild West. By Bobby Bridger. M. K. Brown Range Life Series, no. 21. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002. xx + 480 pp. Notes, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 0-292-70917-x.)

Bobby Bridger is an accomplished storyteller with deep ties to the western plains. A descendant of mountain man Jim Bridger, Bridger is a writer and performer of music about the trans-Missouri West. For the past twenty-five years, he has presented *A Ballad of the West*, a trilogy of one-hour shows: *Seekers of the Fleece* focusing on Jim Bridger, *Pahaska* on Buffalo Bill, and *Lakota* on Black Elk. Performed in various locations around the world, including the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, and available on CD from his website, Bridger's work has been praised by writers including Vine Deloria, Frank Waters, and Dee Brown.

Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull draws on the research that supports Bridger's performance trilogy. The book tells the story of William F. Cody's life on

the plains, his careers as a scout and an entertainer, and his relationship with American Indians, especially his famous collaboration with Sitting Bull in 1885. Readers with an interest in Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull will not find new information here. The book depends on and quotes extensively from the pathbreaking scholarly works that have investigated these two figures, particularly Don Russell's *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (1960), Stanley Vestal's *Sitting Bull, Champion of the Sioux* (1956), and L. G. Moses's *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians* (1996).

The originality of this book lies not in new research but rather in the perspective and the passion that Bridger brings to it. Bridger highlights the interaction of Native American and Euroamerican culture on the western plains. In Cody's long hair and his Lakota nickname "Pahaska," Bridger sees a deep bond with the Plains Indians. In Buffalo Bill's fair treatment of his Indian performers and his many press statements about Native American rights, the author finds a recognition of mutual destiny. This book is unusual in its careful interweaving of the history of the Plains Indians with the life story of the greatest symbol of settler culture. He begins and ends the book with the story of Black Elk, who traveled to Europe with Cody and returned to experience the massacre of Wounded Knee and whose reminiscences offered a tribute of respect to the showman, as Black Elk wrote, "Pahaska had a strong heart" (p. xv).

Bobby Bridger is also well positioned to appreciate Cody's contribution as an entertainer, and his analysis of the Wild West show is perceptive. He has a sympathetic understanding of the toll that demanding performance schedules took on Cody's health. Bridger could say more about the contributions of Cody's partner, Nate Salsbury, and the decline of Cody's fortunes after Salsbury's death, but he evaluates the accomplishments of the Wild West show with the clear-eyed appraisal of a fellow professional.

The book is attractively produced, although it would have benefited from better copy-editing and more illustrations. The famous Notman photograph of Sitting Bull with Buffalo Bill adorns the cover, but the wealth of visual imagery that illustrates so much about the Wild West show and its values has not been tapped.

Joy S. Kasson

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Growing Up to Cowboy: A Memoir of the American West. By Bob Knox. (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2002. 389 pp. Halftones, glossary. \$24.95 cloth, ISBN 0-86534-32-7, \$18.95 paper, ISBN 0-865534-353-5.)

Cowboy memoirs are valuable for details about this poorly paid, insecure, iconic vocation. *Growing Up to Cowboy* is a good example of the genre. The writing is well done, and the voice is self-effacing and good humored. Author Bob Knox shares his recollection of personal and vocational milestones in southeastern Colorado and northeastern New Mexico, beginning with his first paid cowherding job on horseback while under the age of ten. As a young man, he worked at the CS Ranch and the WS/Vérmejo Park Ranch, two large operations in Colfax County, New Mexico. After a long, though interrupted, stint at Philmont Scout Ranch in Cimarron, Knox eventually became ranch superintendent. He moved on to the nearby UU Bar Ranch, which ran twenty-three hundred head of mother cows, and retired from his position as cow boss there after fourteen years. Knox asserts that he wanted to be a cowboy from 1930, when he was adopted from a Denver orphanage at the age of six or seven months by Charles Lyle and Anna Knox. Lyle Knox was a livestock inspector and a deputy sheriff, dealing with horse thieves and cattle rustlers. His work and his cowboy brothers imprinted that vocational pursuit on the boy. Graduating from Manitou Springs High School in 1948, Knox turned down basketball scholarships because “the cowboy bug had me hooked” (p. 111).

The book features all the earmarks of its type including an account of his early acquisition of vocational skills such as equitation, roping, and animal husbandry. Examples of what this reviewer calls “cowboy Zen,” a canny, sometimes elliptical approach to problem solving, appear throughout. These range from the young Knox getting on his horse without a saddle or a mounting block to hauling a full-sized Home Comfort wood-burning stove up a mountain trail. One outstanding example involves shepherding a group of thirty-five young scouts on horseback, and getting caught mid-pasture in a virulent thunderstorm that deposited four inches of hail. The book reflects the tension between city and country and book learning and savvy, and touts a cowboy’s pride in family and contentment with his lifestyle choice.

Of particular note in this memoir is the information about the working of the Philmont Scout Ranch, which was given to the Boy Scouts of America by oilman Waite Phillips in 1941. Also noteworthy is Knox’s willingness in his late fifties, while working at the UU Bar Ranch, to follow Allan Savory’s

method of holistic range management, a revolutionary and controversial approach incorporating rotational grazing and a variety of other factors. This is where the book succeeds, for the narrative demonstrates the way in which cowboy life and ranching have changed over the years. There is one glaring error: Allan Savory is cited as South African. He's from the former Rhodesia.

Nancy Coggeshall

Reserve, New Mexico

The Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca. By Álgvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, edited, translated, and with an introduction by Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2003. vii + 204 pp. Illustrations, maps, appendix, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8032-1528-2, \$15.95 paper, ISBN 0-8032-6416-x.)

Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was the well-known Spaniard who made the famous trek across North America from La Florida to Sinaloa, Mexico, from 1527–1536. He was a survivor of the Pánfilo de Narváez expedition from Cuba to La Florida. From some three hundred men at the outset, the number dwindled to four survivors by its end: Cabeza de Vaca, Alonso del Castillo Maldonado, Andrés Dorantes, and the moor slave Estevanico. Cabeza de Vaca also later served as adelantado of Río de la Plata.

This book is a detailed study of his published *La Relación que dio Álgvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca de lo acaecido en las Indias en la armada donde iba por governador Pánfilo de Narváez* . . . (Zamora, Spain, 1542). Translated and edited by Rolena Adorno and Patrick Charles Pautz, *The Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca* was previously published by the same scholars; this new version adds an introduction and a bibliography to the earlier work.

The editors emphasize that “Cabeza de Vaca’s narrative is a retrospective, highly inflated personal account of his and his companions’ experiences” (p. 23). They also state that the *Relación* “offers the repeated spectacle of first encounters between inhabitants of the Old World and those of the New World lands unknown to them, and it foregrounds native American peoples, their customs, and their interactions with the newcomers in a manner seldom seen in expeditionary writings” (p. 1), a questionable claim in view of other chronicles of expeditions to the Americas.

The book consists of the 1542 *Relación*, useful notes at the bottom and in the margins of pages, an introduction, two clear maps, one figure, an

appendix, and a classified bibliography. The latter, unfortunately, fails to include the works of Donald E. Chipman; especially noted for its absence is his "In Search of Cabeza de Vaca's Route across Texas: An Historiographical Survey," in the October 1987 issue of *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. On a more positive note, there is a useful table—"Analytical Division of the *Relación*" (p. 17)—which enables readers to follow chronologically events of the Narváez expedition and Cabeza de Vaca's overland journey.

In the translated narrative, Adorno and Pautz compare the *Relación* with other works, such as those by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés; the "Naufragios de Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, y relación de la jornada que hizo a la Florida con el adelantado Pánfilo de Narváez"; and the survivors' "Joint Report." This feature enables the reader to follow Cabeza de Vaca's narrative at the same time and read what other sources reveal and to examine experiences, events, and Cabeza de Vaca's digressions about Indian customs, ethnic information, prickly pears, escapes, raft-building, bison, and curing practices. The route of the four survivors is clearly and accurately depicted across West Texas and the Mexican states of Coahuila, Chihuahua, Sonora, and Sinaloa.

Although this edition of Cabeza de Vaca's *Relación* may not contain information about New Mexico's history, scholars and students will profit from reading the narrative and notes. Historians and anthropologists of the Spanish Borderlands (including northern Mexico) certainly will advance their knowledge by consulting this readable and reliable work of scholarship.

Oakah L. Jones Jr.

Albuquerque, New Mexico

Captain Joseph C. Lea: From Confederate Guerrilla to New Mexico Patriarch. By Elvis E. Fleming. (Las Cruces, N.Mex.: Yucca Tree Press in cooperation with Historical Society of Southeast New Mexico, 2002. viii + 260 pp. Half-tones, bibliography, index. \$25.00 cloth, ISBN 1-881325-53-9.)

During the Civil War, Joseph C. Lea rode with William Clarke Quantrill's notorious guerrillas and, when promoted to captain, served with another notorious Confederate cavalryman, Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest. Later associated with Cole Younger as well as Frank and Jesse James, Lea somehow decided to "dedicate his life to the support of law and order" (p. 42).

In 1875, Lea arrived in Colfax County, where he began raising sheep. Two years later, he drove a flock of sheep and a small herd of cattle down the Pecos River in search of good ranch land. Although a few dwellings existed on the site as early as the late 1860s, Lea would become known as the "father of Roswell."

Elvis E. Fleming ably demonstrates that Lea had much to do with the development of Lincoln County, the largest county in the nation at the time, as well as the Roswell area. During the bloody Lincoln County War, he gave notice that Roswell was to be neutral territory, even warning Billy the Kid to behave himself when he came to town. Serving on the Lincoln County Commissioners Court, Lea realized that Roswell would never prosper until the lawlessness ended. Along with John S. Chisum, he was partly responsible for the election of Patrick F. Garrett as county sheriff.

From 1879 to 1885, Lea bought thousands of acres of land along the Rio Hondo and sold most of his sheep to concentrate on raising cattle. Lea also built an elaborate system of irrigation ditches that helped make Roswell much more than just another cow town. In 1889 Chaves County was established with Roswell as the county seat. Along with his wife Mabel Day Lea, he was also the moving force behind the establishment of Gross Military Institute, which became New Mexico Military Institute (NMMI). Lea had wanted a place where his only son, Wildy, could be educated "entirely under strangers and out of the cowboy atmosphere" (p. 177). While Wildy was enrolled at Fort Worth University under the supervision of Col. Robert S. Gross, Mabel Lea suggested to Gross that he establish a military school in Roswell. In 1891 Lea donated five acres of land and an adobe home for the school and persuaded the community to pledge money. Although Wildy Lea became a student at Gross Military Institute in 1891, he suffered severe mental problems that some in the family, perhaps from embarrassment, attributed to a severe skull fracture suffered at a rodeo. Lea hoped that his son would recover and "go to Canada or Montana or Mexico or Texas" where "he will make a success of cattle and a farm or ranch" (p. 212). Sadly, the son never recovered and was confined to the New Mexico Territorial Insane Asylum in Las Vegas, where he was classified as a "lunatic."

Lea hoped to build a hot springs natatorium and park in the center of Roswell, but the project was dropped when Lea died in January 1905. In 1917, Lea County was formed from the "Plains Precincts" of Chaves and Eddy counties.

Fleming, author of several books, honorary official historian for the City of Roswell, and Professor Emeritus at Eastern New Mexico University, provides a well-researched and entertaining book on the remarkable life of Joseph C. Lea. Illustrated with sixty-three carefully chosen photographs of the Lea family and early Roswell, the biography is obviously a labor of love. Fleming provides the reader with lengthy quotations from primary documents, many of them Lea's letters. Unfortunately, there are no footnotes, although the sources are often identified in the text. Anyone interested in New Mexico history, especially Roswell and the southeastern part of the state, will want to read this exciting account of an exceptional frontier individual.

Jerry Thompson

Texas A&M International University

Fort Union and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade. By Barton H. Barbour. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. xvi + 304 pp. Halftones, map, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8061-3295-7.)

In his history of the fur trading outpost called Fort Union, Barton H. Barbour has two broad objectives. One is to present a narrative analysis of this trading post that stood from 1830 until 1867 on the Missouri River at the far-western end of North Dakota. The second is to challenge what the author suggests are facile and erroneous generalizations about the nineteenth-century fur trade. To some extent he achieves both goals, although at times the general context of the Indian trade and efforts by the federal government to regulate it tend to obscure the narrative history of the fort.

Built near the mouth of the Yellowstone River by the American Fur Company, Fort Union operated for more than forty years. Along with Bent's Fort on the southern Plains, it became one of the most important trading posts in the West. Established by Kenneth McKenzie, Fort Union enjoyed a strategic location, allowing its operators to dominate the fur trade of the upper Missouri Valley and the northern Rocky Mountains. The narrative traces the actions of many men who played significant roles in the mid-century trade. Pierre Chouteau Jr., Bernard Pratte, Kenneth McKenzie, John Jacob Astor, James Beckworth, and politicians such as William H. Ashley and Thomas Hart Benton all receive attention. While the discussion moves chronologically, the book is organized topically as well. After detail-

ing the fort's construction, the author examines how the officers of the Upper Missouri Outfit stationed there welcomed visiting artists such as George Catlin and Karl Bodmer as well as Prince Maximilian, John James Audubon, government explorers, and Christian missionaries. Barbour suggests the officers' hospitality was an attempt to generate goodwill toward the company and to overcome objections to questionable trade practices.

In places the discussion of life and conditions at the fort offers fascinating glimpses of the crude, difficult life on the nineteenth-century fur-trade frontier. Company employees labored within a strictly top-down class system, working at boring and dangerous tasks under harsh working conditions for modest pay. The narrative demonstrates what the author calls a "symbiosis" of federal and fur company interests in the Upper Missouri Valley (p. 32). Essentially, Fort Union represented U.S. efforts to gain and retain the trade and allegiance of tribes such as the Crow, Blackfeet, Sioux, and Assiniboiné in direct competition with the traders of the Hudson's Bay Company from Canada. Because Fort Union played that role effectively, frontier government officials overlooked frequent instances of illegal alcohol use by the traders there. In this account, the company never had a real monopoly, although it continually destroyed its weaker competition.

The author presents the story of this trading post in the context of a complex set of relationships between traders, Indians, and the federal government. Barbour's research is solid, the prose is interesting, and he succeeds in overcoming some longstanding and simplistic views of the American fur trade.

Roger L. Nichols

University of Arizona

Valor across the Lone Star: The Congressional Medal of Honor in Frontier Texas. By Charles M. Neal Jr., foreword by Jerry Thompson. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2002. xv + 491 pp. Halftones, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 0-87611-184-3.)

"As for my men . . . they are brave and trustworthy, and each worthy of a medal." First Lt. John L. Bullis, Twenty-fourth U.S. Infantry, used that straightforward language in his report describing a fight with Comanches at the mouth of the Pecos River on 25 April 1875, when three of his faithful Seminole-Negro Indian Scouts had "just saved my hair." For their gallantry,

the scouts were awarded the Medal of Honor, and the commander of the Department of Texas commanded Bullis as an officer who meant "business." As time passed, the episode faded into relative obscurity and took its place among the little-known events of Texas frontier history.

In the 144 years since the Medal of Honor was first authorized by Congress in recognition of valor and extreme courage beyond that normally expected of the American fighting man in face of the enemy, only 3,459 medals have been awarded. The Lone Star State accounted for 67 in the thirty fateful years from 1861 to 1891. Outside the fraternity of military history scholars, the campaigns, battles, and skirmishes that brought forth such individual bravery and shaped the destiny of Texas are shrouded in anonymity. *Valor across the Lone Star* will change that. Charles M. Neal Jr.'s scrupulous research and stirring storytelling result in an exceptionally complete work appropriate for students, scholars, or casual readers. Neal's passion for his subject comes through like the action-packed thrills of a John Ford cavalry movie and with the authenticity of a Frederic Remington painting.

The book focuses on the narratives of nineteen Medal of Honor incidents, each filled with rich detail and human drama. The "Ambush at Salt Creek" incident typifies Neal's detective work. A bullet-riddled stagecoach, missing one horse, limps into Fort Belknap at sunset on 3 August 1872. The soldier guard and ex-soldier driver tell a harrowing tale of Indian attack and narrow escape from death. The soldier receives the Medal of Honor but is subsequently dropped from Army rolls as a deserter, vanishing from history. The driver is later suspected of fabricating a hoax, and the incident gathers more fiction than fact. Neal presents convincing evidence that removes any doubt as to the validity of the event.

Neal also establishes himself as a legitimate authority on the Medal of Honor legacy, following each act from the chaos of combat, through the military bureaucracy, to the ceremony when the medal is proudly pinned on the chest of the recipient. The true merit of the work, however, rests in Neal's genuine respect for the individual soldiers and sailors whose stories he tells so powerfully. In-depth biographical information chronicles the life of each man, following up on his individual glory and the destiny fate had in store for him. Seminole-Negro Indian Scout Adam Paine came to a violent end when fellow Medal of Honor recipient Claron A. Windus, then Kinney County deputy sheriff, attempted to arrest Paine on a murder warrant in 1876.

Neal notes that recipients of the nation's highest honor came to Texas not expecting to become heroes, but that the inscription on the red granite monument at the Buffalo Wallow Battleground site provides a solemn salute and enduring measure of respect from the grateful citizens of the Lone Star State: "Stand silent! Heroes here have been, who cleared the way for other men" (p. 169).

Lt. Col. William F. Haenn
Brackettville, Texas

Riding the High Wire: Aerial Mine Tramways in the West. By Robert A. Trennert. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2001. viii + 140 pp. 40 halftones, line drawings, maps, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-87081-630-6, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 0-87081-631-4.)

American mining in the late nineteenth century was on the forefront of two developments that changed the industry: uniting electricity and aerial tramways. Both would revolutionize the industry and make profitable certain mines and districts that might never have reached that status. Robert A. Trennert, professor of history at Arizona State University and past president of the Mining History Association, examines the developments of the aerial tramway in this first history of these fascinating machines.

Trams, with their buckets running on wires strung between towers, made possible the transportation of ore, supplies, and even miners in and out of remote, isolated mines. That ease of access lowered mining costs and allowed all-weather transportation and the development of low-grade deposits that would not stand the cost of overland transportation.

The idea had been around for years before Andrew Hallidie, future developer of the San Francisco cable car system, developed the first successful plan for what he called the "Endless Wire Ropeway." He had competition and, in fact, English inventor Charles Hodgson developed the plans for the initial tramway placed in operation in White Pine, Nevada, in 1871. Soon Colorado and other mining states adopted the idea, and the boom began.

From this beginning developed the trams that bolstered western and world mining production for the next generation. Modification, adaptations, and new ideas improved the concept, and the industry readily adapted the tram as a vital part of its life. In a mining district such as Colorado's San Juan Mountains (the highest in the United States), trams were a real lifesaver.

Some trams, with their swinging buckets of ore going down and empty buckets going up, ran from three to five miles in this district.

The end came with the gradual decline of mining, high volume trucks, and long-distance conveyors finished the tramway systems. Although a few operated after World War II, their heyday was over.

Riding the High Wire details the rise and fall of the industry and, finally, preservation efforts involving the trams that remain. This topic, previously ignored outside mining publications, has received long-overdue examination and recognition in this book. Trennert has researched and written an appealing and readable study of a significant element in American mining history. Well documented, with an excellent collection of photographs and drawings accompanying it, this book will be the benchmark in the future study of tramways.

The tram, however, is not simply a relic of the past. Skiers riding up the lift at their favorite resort should tip their hats to the concept and early mining trams.

Duane A. Smith

Fort Lewis College

Recollections of Mexico: The Last Ten Days of Maximilian's Empire. By Samuel Basch. Edited and translated by Fred Ullman. Latin American Silhouettes: Studies in History and Culture. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2001. xxiv + 278 pp. Halftones, maps, notes. \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8420-2962-1.)

This insider account of the final months of the Mexican Empire is an essential read for scholars of Mexican history seeking to understand this crucial episode of the nation's past. Samuel Basch, a German-speaking, Prague-born physician, accompanied Maximilian, the emperor of Mexico, during the final ten months of the emperor's life and after the Empress Carlota, frustrated in her attempts to save her husband, had already returned to Europe. Basch became the monarch's closest confidant, the experience of which is told through his memoirs published first in German in 1868 and recently edited and translated for English readers.

Because Maximilian constantly suffered from gastrointestinal illnesses and had been weakened by malaria, he was in need of around-the-clock medical attention. After serving in Puebla at a field hospital for French troops in February 1866, Basch had become the emperor's personal physician by

September. In the following months, Basch accompanied Maximilian into battle, culminating in the siege of *Querétaro*. The emperor was executed on 19 June 1867.

Basch's chronicle of Maximilian's final months is credible both because of his intimacy with the emperor and his keen understanding of the political climate in which the Mexican Empire emerged. Basch's accounts regarding the fate of Maximilian are grounded within a fundamental grasp of Mexican politics, especially as they relate to the various domestic political parties, the French intervention, and the influence exercised by the United States over these events. Basch contends that Europe had an exaggerated impression of U.S. pressure on the Mexican Empire. Although the Americans insisted on ending European meddling in Mexico, they were indifferent about whether a republic or an empire should prevail in Mexico. Basch posits that U.S. policy was to pursue the reestablishment of peace in Mexico.

Accordingly, Basch blames Maximilian's closest and most "trusted" allies—namely the French and Mexican conservatives—for his downfall and execution. Throughout his discussion of this betrayal, Basch is most critical of the French. He asserts that the emperor did not join his French allies in Mexico because they never surrendered their position as conquerors. Maximilian's liberal inclinations and his purported willingness to carry out the liberal program understandably prompted Mexican conservatives to abandon him. However, the French refusal to allow representative government and full sovereignty for the Mexican Empire alienated Maximilian, who, as emperor of Mexico, sought to defend the independence and integrity of the country.

Although Basch does not provide a complete explanation, he does offer ample insight into why Maximilian chose to stay in Mexico and fight Benito Juárez and the Liberals to the death rather than return to Europe. Certainly, his account will provoke debate over an event that perplexes Mexican historians.

Norman Caulfield
Fort Hays State University

Mexico City in Contemporary Mexican Cinema. By David William Foster. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002. xv + 177 pp. 21 halftones, notes, filmography, bibliography, index. \$21.95 paper, ISBN 0-292-72542-6.)

Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance. By Charles Ramírez Berg. Texas Film and Media Studies. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002. xiii + 314 pp. 41 halftones, tables, appendix, notes, index. \$24.95 paper, ISBN 0-292-770907-2.)

David William Foster's book is the first major scholarly study on the topic. Mexico City, one of the world's largest metropolises, has been a major source of thematic and visual inspiration for the nation's filmmakers for over a century—especially during recent decades. Postrevolutionary Mexican society has become increasingly urban, and the country's greatest urban center in cultural, economic, political, and demographic terms is Mexico City. The megalopolis has by now been extensively studied by social scientists and others. Foster's cinematic study is, therefore, very timely.

The author examines fourteen independent fiction features produced in the last three decades. The action of all these films is set wholly or partially in Mexico City. All have received significant distribution and critical acclaim, and several are widely regarded as classics of Mexican cinema. Foster, who is influenced by the work of Mas'ud Zavarzadeh, undertakes close readings of the ideological structures of these filmic texts to examine how Mexico City is interpreted in the film medium. These ideological analyses occasionally draw on the perspectives of genre criticism (soap opera); but there is little attention to formal analysis (mise-en-scène, cinematography, etc.). The analyses generally do not allow for a consideration of the aesthetic significance of a work.

One strength of this study is the author's application of enlightening critical approaches to key elements of selected films. For example, Guita Schyfter's *Novia que te vea*—heralded by Foster as “the first Jewish-marked film in Mexico” (pp. 15–16)—is fruitfully analyzed in terms of “Jewish markers,” such as the extensive use of the Ladino language. The Jewish social universe of the film is productively examined in relation to Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's well-known metaphor of the “closet.”

This well-organized book has other strengths. Parameters and intellectual principles are clearly outlined at the beginning. The author is knowledgeable and up to date on theory, whose sources are properly noted. Foster

is a generally perceptive critic who succeeds in laying out and defending meaningful, in-depth ideological analyses. His explanations convey better understanding of how the sociopolitical processes of the metropolis and the physical dimensions of its urban spaces impact the lives of citizens.

Some of Foster's statements and interpretations are matters of opinion with which knowledgeable readers may not agree. He baldly asserts, "The single best source of material on Mexican filmmaking is *The Mexican Cinema Project*" (p. vii). In my opinion, that honor goes to Emilio García Riera's multivolume magnum opus, *Historia documental del cine mexicano* (1992). Another weakness of Foster's work is that some of the topics explored are not related directly to an idea or interpretation of Mexico City. For instance, in his discussion of Paul Leduc's *Frida*, Foster deals with Frida Kahlo's lesbian relations and with the painter's artistic representations of her body. However, neither of these important topics is considered in light of an understanding of the metropolis.

The principal weakness of this work is frequently shoddy or muddy exposition—in a nutshell, poor writing. Blatant contradictions appear. One paragraph begins with this startling sentence: "*Frida* is essentially a silent film" (p. 26). Later in the same paragraph, Foster spends considerable time commenting on the film's very rich and multifaceted soundtrack, which features many different types of music, dialogue in various languages, and an array of ambient sounds. In another case, the author claims, "The only Mexican film that raises the question of lesbianism is Arturo Ripstein's 1993 *La reina de la noche*" (p. 43), yet Foster had just dealt with lesbianism in *Frida* fifteen pages earlier. Unsubstantiated assertions are made; for example, Foster writes, "Many consider foreign languages to be tongues of the Devil" (p. 24). Who are these "many"? Overly long, syntactically tortured, and needlessly convoluted sentences proliferate throughout the text. The above mentioned writing problems could have been alleviated by a sharp-eyed copyeditor.

Other editorial problems embarrass Foster's text. I encountered many more instances of grammatical errors, informal usage, obvious factual errors, inconsistencies, irrelevant statements, and misspellings of proper names than I would have expected to find in a publication from a distinguished university press. Wrong-word choice, such as "persecuting judge," should have been caught and corrected (p. 113). A competent copyeditor might also have deleted the pointless and distracting repetition of facts in the text: must a reader be informed seven times that Luis Buñuel's *Los olvidados* was produced in 1950?

The University of Texas Press has failed in other aspects of the production process of this volume. The visual quality of several photographs is patently unsatisfactory, and some captions are lackluster, incomplete, and less than informative. The bibliography is incomplete and too many omissions mar the index.

Fortunately, the University of Texas Press did a better job on Charles Ramírez Berg's *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance*, which contains far fewer editorial and production problems. *Latino Images in Film* is a collection of essays, five of which have been previously published, and an interview with the well-known Mexican American filmmaker, Robert Rodríguez.

Berg states that his collection "is meant to serve as an introduction to the operation of stereotyping, to analyze how it functions in film, and then to apply that knowledge to the critical analysis of the depiction of Latinos in U.S. cinema" (p. 3). To accomplish these goals, Berg defines his own theory of stereotyping, examines the semiotics of stereotyping in film, surveys the classic Latino stereotypes, studies certain performers, such as Gilbert Roland, who subverted them, and analyzes the representation of Latinos in three Hollywood genres. These genres include science fiction movies such as *Blade Runner*, social problem films such as *Bordertown*, and John Ford's Westerns. The essay on Ford's Westerns does not confine itself to the use of Latino imagery; the piece offers a wide-ranging consideration of the many disenfranchised outsiders—Native Americans, Irish, and others—in the auteur's oeuvre. The final section on Latino self-representation examines Chicano borderland documentaries, such as Lourdes Portillo's *The Devil Never Sleeps*, within a framework of a "postmodernism of resistance" (p. 197).

The author's methodologies and critical approaches are clearly specified, and the theoretical bases (family systems theory) are precisely established. Berg roams widely and productively across sociology, psychology, semiotics, history, and other disciplines, particularly when examining theories of stereotyping. His most original work pertains to the theory of stereotyping, which is both cogently argued and convincing. The book is clearly organized and generally well written and researched, and its arguments are well reasoned.

Latino Images in Film has one very distracting weakness: a confusing usage of racial, ethnic, and other social categories. One of Berg's most frequently used nouns, "ethnics," remains undefined for two-thirds of the book (p. 129). Other categories—"homeboy," "nerd," "gangsta"—are never de-

fined. Because of this lack of clarity, many questions arise. In what sense can Antonio Banderas, who was born and raised in Spain, be considered a Latino actor (pp. 76, 262)? Are Latinos “people of color” (pp. 67, 196) who cannot be fair-skinned (pp. 266–67)? Are “Brazilian dancers” and “Black dancers” meant to be mutually exclusive categories (p. 80)? Can a “Quechua native” also be Hispanic (p. 57)? In one reference Black and Latino seem to be regarded as mutually exclusive categories (p. 87), but in another Berg refers to “Black Latinos” (p. 27). Since Berg’s work is embedded in the controversies of identity politics, he ought to have used greater care in setting up his framework of social categories.

The book has several minor weaknesses as well. Its suggestively broad title seems misleading, since the author deals only with Latino images in U.S. cinema, not in the cinemas of other countries. References to *Salt of the Earth* turn up in discussions of mainstream Hollywood cinema without, in my opinion, sufficiently emphasizing this film’s exceptional status due to its independent mode of production—it was produced both literally and figuratively far away from “Hollywood.” And, finally, in his case studies of Latino actors whose performances resisted or subverted stereotypes, Berg is not always able to prove that the performers themselves provided the impetus for subversion. The weaknesses of *Latino Images in Film*, however, should not prevent it from earning a well-deserved slot in the stacks of most university libraries.

Dennis West

University of Idaho

Latin America in the Middle Period, 1750–1929. By Stuart F. Voss. Latin American Silhouettes. (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002. xxii + 296 pp. Notes, index. \$65.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8420-5025-6, \$22.95 paper, ISBN 0-8420-5024-8.)

Stuart F. Voss, one of the leading specialists of nineteenth-century Latin America, presents the results of a decade-long project synthesizing the secondary literature for Iberian America in the “long” nineteenth century, 1750–1929. Voss masterfully presents a grand narrative that builds on his previous works, *On the Periphery of Nineteenth Century Mexico, 1810–1877* (1982) and *Notable Family Networks in Latin America* (1984). His new book, *Latin America in the Middle Period, 1750–1929*, is ideal for classroom adoption.

Solidly constructed, the work calls on Latin Americanists to reconceptualize the traditional periodization of “Colonial” and “Modern” into a novel trio of epochs: “Colonial,” “Middle,” and “Modern.” Voss characterizes the new period as one of transition and nation building—“post colonial yet not fully modern”—and most suggestively argues that it is best understood from the perspective of microhistory or regions. The author frames this transitional “Middle Period” as a time of modernization characterized by commercialization, industrialization, and secularization; technological change; urbanization; and the replacement of traditional racial or ethnic categories with class-based social stratification. He convincingly argues that, by 1930, these systemic transformations succeeded in producing not only a modern individual with new sensibilities and sociabilities that made possible the emergence and organization of novel political forms, but also the new nation states that characterized transition to political modernity. Especially impressive is the manner in which Voss addresses issues of class, particularly since he adroitly summarizes the oppositional binary of *gente de calidad* and *plebeyos* in a way that is easy for students to grasp (pp. 76–83). Similarly, Voss uses the word “notable” consistently, avoiding confusing terms such as aristocracy, *hacendados*, *estancieros*, and elites.

While some specialists may not be impressed with Voss’s synthesis which often sacrifices references to significant historiographic controversies or regional variants for the sake of concisely and effectively presenting phenomena applicable to all of Hispanic America, the work is ideal for classroom adoption. My biggest criticism is that it fails to incorporate the growing and sophisticated scholarship of gender, and moreover, by seemingly equating “gender” with “women,” Voss’s book appears somewhat dated.

Víctor M. Macías-González

University of Wisconsin, La Crosse

Book Notes

Americanizing the West: Race, Immigrants, and Citizenship, 1890–1830. By Frank Van Nuys. (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2002. xv + 294 pp. 22 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth, ISBN 0-7006-1206-8.)

Charreada: Mexican Rodeo in Texas. Edited by Francis Edward Abernathy, photographs by Al Rendon, essays by Julia Mabric, Bryan Woolley, and Francis Edward Abernathy. Publications of Texas Folklore Society, no. LIX. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2002. xiii + 99 pp. 73 duotones, index. \$24.95 paper, ISBN 1-57441-155-1.)

Culture and Environment in the American Southwest: Essays in Honor of Robert C. Euler. Edited by David A. Phillips, Jr. and John A. Ware. SWCA Anthropological Research Paper, no. 8. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. x + 218 pp. Tables, maps, bibliography. \$23.95 paper, ISBN 1-931901-12-0.)

Disaster at the Colorado: Beale's Wagon Road and the First Emigrant Party. By Charles W. Baley. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2002. xi + 216 pp. Halftones, maps, appendixes; notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95 cloth, ISBN 0-87421-437-8.)

Hispanic Albuquerque, 1706–1846. By Marc Simmons. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. xii + 164 pp. Halftones, maps, bibliography, index. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 0-8263-3160-2.)

Indian Painters of the Southwest: The Deep Remembering. By Katherin L. Chase, foreword by Diane Reyna. (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: School of American Research Press, 2002. 95 pp. Color plates, halftones, index. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 0-933452-66-7.)

The Land of Journeys' Ending. By Mary Austin, introduction by Melody Graulich. (1924; reprint, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003. xxix + 459 pp. Halftones, glossary. \$24.95 paper, ISBN 0-252-07162-X.)

The Mining West: A Bibliography and Guide to the History and Literature of Mining in the American and Canadian West. Vol. I and II. Edited by Richard E. Lingenfelter. (Lanham, Md.: The Scarecrow Press, Inc. x + 795 pp. \$245.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8108-43240-2.)

Pueblo Pottery Figurines: The Expression of Cultural Perceptions in Clay. By Patricia Fogelman Lange. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. xi + 162 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2799-0.)

Recording a Vanishing Legacy: The Historic American Buildings Survey in New Mexico, 1933–Today. By the New Mexico Architectural Foundation and the American Institute of Architects (Albuquerque Chapter) in association with the New Mexico Historic Preservation Division. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2001. xiv + 147 pp. Halftones, maps, appendixes, notes, selected bibliography. \$29.95 paper, ISBN 0-89013-380-8.)

The Revolutionary Imagination in the Americas and the Age of Development. By María Josefina Saldaña-Portillo. Latin America Otherwise: Language, Empires, Nations. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003. xiii + 366 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$22.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3166-7.)

Subverting Colonial Authority: Challenges to Spanish Rule in Eighteenth-Century Southern Andes. By Sergio Serulnikov. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003. viii + 287 pp. Maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index: \$84.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8223-3110-1, \$23.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3146-2.)

Utah Historians and the Reconstruction of Western History. By Gary Topping. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. xii + 388 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8061-3561-1.)

Zaldivar and the Cattle of Cíbola: Vicente de Zalidívar's Expedition to the Buffalo Plains in 1598. Edited by Jerry R. Craddock, translated by John H. R. Polt. (Dallas, Tex.: William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, 1999. 125 pp. Halftones, appendixes, bibliography. \$24.50 paper, ISBN 1-929531-01-X.)