

◆BOOK REVIEWS◆

This year (2005) commemorates the 400th anniversary of the publication of Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra's masterpiece: *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, one of the earliest novels in a European language. Throughout the Hispanic world, especially in Spain and Mexico, people are celebrating this anniversary through a variety of events, programs, and celebrations. New editions of the book, richly illustrated, and others in popular, modest editions, have been published.



Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s-1880s. By Miraslava Chávez-Garcia. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004. Bibliography, index, 1 map, notes, 10 b&w photos. 250 pp. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Michelle E. Jolly, Associate Professor, Department of History, Sonoma State University.

This important book makes an important contribution to our understanding of the significance of gender and the multiple roles of women in the conquest and settlement of California. Extending the path-breaking work of Antonia Castañeda and Virginia Bouvier on Spanish California, Chávez-Garcia investigates the ways in which California-Mexican and Native American women negotiated conquest in the Mexican and American periods. By analyzing court cases (including criminal and divorce proceedings) and other evidence from Los Angeles from 1770 to the 1880s, Chávez-Garcia argues that women "of all social classes, ethnicities, and regions have played multiple, key roles in the conquest, colonization, and development of Spanish, and, later, Mexican society," (xiv); that such women "negotiated patriarchal institutions and ideologies as well as the violent transition from Spanish, Mexican, to American rule," (xiv); and finally, that conquest, particularly the American conquest of California, profoundly "affected intimate aspects of personal life, including gender relations, marriage and the family" and "irrevocably altered" women's existence (175-6).

Chávez-Garcia's work is divided in two parts, emphasizing the profound transformation that the transition to American rule effected. In both parts, Chávez-Garcia explores family relations (particularly marriage), women's ability to hold, manage, and benefit from property, and women's challenges to patriarchal structures through formal and, to some extent, informal means. Chávez-Garcia's careful attention to nuances of class, race, and ethnicity, as well as gender, along with her use of court cases, offers an engaging look at the lives of ordinary women in Los Angeles from Spanish settlement through the American conquest. Given the scarcity of sources on women in this time and place, such a window into the lives of ordinary women is valuable and appealing. Historians, students, and casual readers will appreciate the detail of the stories Chávez-Garcia tells as well as the quantitative analysis that accompanies them.

Although Chávez-Garcia's conclusions about the success of women's adaptations in the face of American conquest sometimes seem overstated, she is nevertheless persuasive in her arguments that women were an active and important part of the process of conquest in California, that women of different classes and races had different agendas and strategies for contesting patriarchal power, and that they used the

system of patriarchy, both formally (through the courts) and informally (through flight, extramarital relationships, or violence) to achieve their goals. Her analysis of the impact of the American conquest on personal and family relations as well as economic, political, and cultural relations is particularly valuable. Her use of gender and patriarchy as tools of analysis allow Chávez-Garcia to trace important continuities and changes across three periods of conquest and colonialism in early California, bridging the gap between the Spanish-Mexican and American eras. *Negotiating Conquest* is a must-read for anyone interested in the process of conquest and colonialism or in the history of early California.



Bound for Santa Fe: The Road to New Mexico and the American Conquest, 1806-1848. By Stephen G. Hyslop. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. Index, notes, 38 b&w illustrations, and 1 map. xiii + 514. \$34.95 Hardcover.

Reviewed by Jeffrey W. Christiansen, Ph.D. Candidate, Department of History Oklahoma State University.

Stephen G. Hyslop has produced a superbly written book on a subject that is becoming increasingly popular among historians. *Bound for Santa Fe* is a trail history with a social and military flare, for which Hyslop utilizes numerous literary records left by the people who journeyed to and from the western oasis of Santa Fe during the first half of the nineteenth century. Many western historians conceptualize the history of the American West in terms of “process” and “place.” Hyslop demonstrates effectively that the history of the Santa Fe Trail transcends this dichotomy, integrating the themes of process, place, and peoples. While this may sound prosaic, Hyslop demonstrates singular skill in illustrating the cultural diversity that developed on the Santa Fe Trail. He incorporates into his work encounters between American travelers and Native, Spanish, and later Mexican peoples.

Hyslop divides his work into three sections. In the first of these sections, he explores the nature of the Trail as a cultural exchange between the people who traveled to Santa Fe and those whom they met. It was, as he calls it, an “Avenue of Exchange.” This first part begins with a discussion of the expedition of Zebulon Pike in 1806-1807, and continues through the establishment of a trade route by William Becknell in 1821 and 1822, which became the Santa Fe Trail. The adventures of early explorers and traders such as Pike, Becknell, and others, and the subsequent stories they told, did much to encourage subsequent expeditions. As time passed, and the route became safer, trade became increasingly profitable causing greater numbers of traders and settlers to make the journey. He points out it was the follow-up trip made by William Becknell in 1822 along the route he had traveled the year prior “that truly launched the Santa Fe trade and made Becknell...the father of an enterprise that bridged the plains and linked America inexorably to the Spanish Southwest” (37).

In the second section, the author resourcefully uses first-hand traveler accounts to fashion the cultural geography of the region. Moving beyond physical geography, he looks at the Trail in commercial and cultural terms. The third and final section of Hyslop’s book offers a chronological account of the northern campaign of the Mexican-American War. He also shows that on the Trail, as in the West more broadly, expansion

followed close behind the establishment of commercial interests. From Pike's intrepid mission in 1806-1807 to the American war with Mexico forty years later, the narratives of those who traveled to and from Santa Fe repeatedly foreshadow a great conflict between the nations. Yet, Hyslop shows successfully that, while the war was undoubtedly a clash between nations, it was in hindsight perhaps, not a war between cultures, for it did little to hamper or halt the cultural melding that was occurring in the region—as he alludes to in his final chapter.

While *Bound for Santa Fe* is an excellent work of scholarship, and includes numerous relevant illustrations, Hyslop's otherwise outstanding book would benefit greatly by having more than one map. Though Hyslop's narrative shrewdly tries to give the reader a mental image of place and time, plentiful maps would serve to help the reader conceptualize the landscape and the reasons why the Santa Fe Trail succeeded over other possible routes. His third chapter entitled "The Foundations of Trade" and the chapters in Part Three covering the war are the sections of the book where some readers may wish to consult an atlas.

Much contemporary Borderlands work has focused on the interchange between Anglo and Hispanic culture. Though Hyslop does not offer a self-appraisal of his book's place in the historiography, *Bound for Santa Fe* is nonetheless a fine addition to the already impressive body of literature on the subject. His work demonstrates that the Santa Fe Trail was more than a conduit between two worlds—it heralded the themes of conflict and exchange that would typify U.S./Mexican relations to the present day. The Santa Fe Trail did more than merely connect different worlds, though it certainly did that; it helped to create a region that cultures would forever share "regardless of the boundaries drawn between them (436).



Don Agustin V. Zamorano: Statesman, Soldier, Craftsman, and California's First Printer. By George L. Harding. Second edition with a new introduction by Roberto Carlos Dalton Matheu. First printing, Los Angeles 1934. Spokane: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2003. Drawings, notes, index, and bibliography. 188 pages. Hardback \$45.00.

Reviewed by Iris H. W. Engstrand, Professor of History, University of San Diego.

George L. Harding, former president of the California Historical Society and founding curator of the Society's Kemble Collection on printing, first published this remarkable biography of Agustín Zamorano (1798-1842) in 1934. A versatile soldier who imported the first printing press west of the Rocky Mountains, Zamorano produced reports to the Mexican government and proclamations to the people of California. He was also involved politically in San Diego and served as the acting governor of the Alta California territory for a year. Zamorano, perhaps best known for being the first printer in California, is probably least known for his role in the Plan of San Diego.

Zamorano, born of Spanish parents in St. Augustine, Florida in 1798, first came to California in 1825 as executive secretary of the territory of Alta California. Arriving with Governor José María de Echeandía in the fall of 1825, Zamorano became involved in California affairs during the transitional period following Mexico's independence from Spain in 1821 and its adoption of a republican constitution in 1824.

Late in 1826, Echeandía ordered the election of five representatives to meet in San

Diego for the purpose of choosing deputies to reorganize the territorial assembly and to select a member of the national congress. The representatives who met in San Diego in February 1827 were: Francisco de Haro for San Francisco; Estévan Munras for Monterey; Carlos A. Carrillo for Santa Barbara; Vicente Sanchez for Los Angeles; and Agustín V. Zamorano for San Diego. They chose former Spanish governor Pablo Vicente de Solá as congressman, but California-born Gervasio Argüello finally served.

From 1826 to 1831, Zamorano, as secretary, created letterheads from woodblocks and type, pounding proofs without a press. He then served as commandant of the presidio of Monterey beginning in 1831. With the acquisition of the press in 1834, Zamorano issued eleven broadsides, six books, and six miscellaneous works, in addition to numerous letterheads, before departing California in 1838. These small books and proclamations, marked *Imprenta Del C[udadano] Agustín V. Zamorano*, are extremely rare and represent the earliest printing in the Far West.

When Governor Manuel Victoria fled California in January 1832, Echeandía remained acting governor until the assembly met at Los Angeles. Pío Pico was then chosen governor in accordance with the Plan of San Diego, but officials of the pueblo of Los Angeles refused to recognize him. Zamorano then led a new rebellion in Monterey that resulted in the rule of Echeandía in the south and Zamorano in the north. When Governor José Figueroa arrived in 1833 from Mexico, Zamorano returned to his duties as secretary and printed Figueroa's Manifesto or Declaration of Amnesty to the people of California.

All of these details and documents, several of which are translated in full, are carefully woven together by George Harding in this skillfully written and thoroughly researched work. In addition, a genealogy is included showing Zamoranos and Maria Luisa Argüello's descendants, many of whom lived in southern California. It is well worth the effort for San Diegans interested in California's Mexican period to acquire this beautifully printed book. It contains a wealth of information, making it attractive for researchers, book collectors, and general readers alike.



Confronting Race: Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1815-1915. By Glenda Riley. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. Bibliography, index, and notes. 326 pp. \$39.95, cloth; \$21.95, paper.

Reviewed by Deborah Lawrence, Associate Professor of English, California State University, Fullerton.

Since the publication of Riley's book, *Women and Indians*, over two decades ago, scholarship on women's western history has proliferated. Now titled *Confronting Race*, this newly revised version includes recent findings and theories. However, Riley's argument remains the same: female gender roles on the frontier moderated Anglo women's racial and social-class beliefs, allowing them to empathize with Indians.

Riley examines a selected set of accounts written by 150 women and an equal number of documents written by men. Her sources include the diaries, daybooks, and journals of migrating men and women, as well as newspaper accounts of women and novels that women read. *Confronting Race* opens with an examination of the nineteenth-century American and European discourse on the ideology of domesticity and the separate-spheres concept and a discussion of the racially based perceptions of

Indians that the men and women held prior to setting out for the frontier. Men and women brought these cultural conventions and anti-Indian bias with them on the trail west. According to Riley, women began to alter their perceptions once they found that their original fears were unjustified. She also argues that women's attitudinal change toward Indians was linked to their shifting perceptions of themselves as they realized their own abilities to adjust to harsh frontier conditions. She contends, in an argument that is not entirely persuasive, that men who did empathize with Indians did not do so because they were changed by frontier conditions—they simply retained the sympathetic views that they brought with them.

Based on her findings, Riley argues that, in contrast to Anglo women, men did not modify their preconceived prejudiced opinions, and their relations with Indians remained adversarial. Men and women had different work roles on the frontier, and this contributed to their different perspectives regarding the western experience. Anglo men's responsibilities included fighting, hunting, and conflict, and consequently they regarded Indians as foes. Women's tasks, according to Riley, encouraged a collegial relationship with Indians. They offered food, traded, and even made friendships with Indian women, and they were less likely to resort to violence than were Anglo men.

As a final point in her book, Riley contends that, although women who migrated west displayed increasing empathy toward Indians, they were not able to change their views toward other racial, ethnic, and religious groups. She discusses the Anglo women's lack of compassion toward Mexicans, Asians, African Americans, Mormons and the natives along the Panama Route to California, with an emphasis on the latter two groups. Despite the women's changing views of Indians, the women were not able to free themselves from colonialist attitudes and, according to Riley, helped perpetuate racial problems.

By identifying and examining a variety of westering women—settlers, teachers, missionaries, army wives—Riley allows the complexity of their divergent attitudes to come forth. The book is not without its flaws, however. Although Riley's sources span the period between 1815 and 1915, the book's chronology skips all over the place. Consequently, Riley rarely takes into account that Native American-emigrant relations varied during each phase of the trail's development. For example, relations with the Indians in Wyoming deteriorated badly during the period of the Powder River War in 1866-67, and women's attitudes reflected the increased hostilities. Readers need to be able to factor in the dimension of time if they are going to evaluate for themselves westering women's attitudinal changes toward Indians. That criticism aside, Riley is to be commended for drawing our attention to the role that gender played in Indian-white relations.

Frontier experience was gendered. If we want to understand western history, we need to appreciate the women's perspective. By examining the shifting attitudes of migrating white women toward Native Americans, *Confronting Race* is a valuable addition to the literature on Indian-white contact in the West. Scholars and interested readers in the history of the frontier will not want to be without a copy.



Sunset Limited: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West, 1850-1930. By Richard J. Orsi. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Photographs, maps, index, and notes. 637 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Theodore Kornweibel, Professor Emeritus, Department of Africana Studies, San Diego State University.

Was the Southern Pacific Railroad really the “Octopus” of Frank Norris’ muckraking novel and popular perception ever since? Retired California State University Hayward historian Richard Orsi concludes that the SP was generally a force for public good. Largely ignoring California’s Progressive-era battles to regulate allegedly monopolistic railroads, he focuses instead on the Southern Pacific’s promotion of land settlement, water exploration, irrigation, scientific agriculture, wilderness preservation, and resource conservation. While the book focuses primarily on California, it addresses these topics wherever the SP had tracks, from Oregon and Nevada to Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Louisiana.

Sunset Limited is not a business history. It resembles the railroad “colonization histories” which have assayed the impact of other land-grant lines on the growth of the West. Surprisingly, for a book about the Central Pacific Railroad (which by the end of the nineteenth century had evolved into the much larger Southern Pacific), the main actors are not the “Big Four” (Huntington, Stanford, Crocker and Hopkins) but civic-minded, middle-level executives and technical experts. The result is a revisionist work that “does not try to convert the Southern Pacific from an all-evil into an all-public-spirited entity” (xvii), but instead sees the railroad pursuing vigorous business initiatives which simultaneously served its own interests and the general good.

The book is divided into five thematic sections, each containing several chapters. Part I chronicles the birth of the Central Pacific and its march to Promontory, then its growth into the mighty Southern Pacific stretching from Portland, Oregon, to New Orleans. As the only transcontinental line headquartered in the West, led by westerners, and built from west to east, it pursued policies that reflected the fitful growth and underdevelopment of that region in the late nineteenth century. Part II addresses land development. According to Orsi, the SP’s leaders envisioned a Jeffersonian West built on individual ownership of small farms. Consequently, the railroad tried to deter speculation by selling its federally-granted land in small parcels, often extending credit to farmers at low interest rates. The SP reasoned that even if little was earned from land sales, successful settlement would eventually generate freight and passenger revenues.

The Southern Pacific’s influence on water development in the West is the subject of Part III. The railroad’s need for water supplies for its locomotives every twenty miles led to the establishment of numerous towns, particularly in California’s Central Valley. As it met its own requirements, it also furnished water (often at no cost) to town residents. The SP stimulated private irrigation systems by freely making available its scientific data on soils and weather and granting canal easements across its land. But its biggest impact was in fostering public agencies such as the Imperial Irrigation District (after first stemming the disastrous Colorado River floods in 1905 and 1907). Completion of the SP-controlled San Diego & Arizona Railroad to El Centro illustrates how water needs laid a foundation for future general development. Railroad workers “drilled wells, tapped and improved springs, built reservoirs, installed pumps and

windmills, and developed complex distribution systems of pipelines, flumes, purification plants, and giant track-side tanks” (183-4). Another story concerns the Southern Pacific’s frustrating relations with the federal government in Nevada’s poorly-managed Truckee-Carson reclamation project.

Several SP managers were avid scientists who saw profit to society and their company in improving agriculture. Part IV details how the University of California’s struggling College of Agriculture was almost literally adopted by the SP. Not only did it make available its extensive soil and climate data, it sponsored farm demonstration trains which greatly helped the school shed its elitist image and persuade farmers to try new crops and cultivation methods. Understanding that California’s economic health could not be sustained on cereal crops alone, farsighted railroad officials actively promoted fruit and vegetable cultivation and pioneered refrigerator cars to ship perishable crops across the nation.

The book’s final section addresses the railroad’s influence in conservation. It realized early that preserving California’s natural wonders would grow tourism and population and thus the railroad’s prosperity. Consequently the SP helped block Nevada’s attempts to make Lake Tahoe its reservoir. The railroad also allied with John Muir in protecting Yosemite from private development, applying its political muscle to Congress and tipping the balance in favor of a federal park. The SP was also a proponent of resource conservation, helping to abolish hydraulic mining, promote scientific forestry, establish wilderness firefighting resources, and develop cattle trails that did not indiscriminately despoil the landscape. Again, the railroad identified its own business interests with the public good.

Sunset Limited is a persuasively-argued book. The author’s thesis—that many SP policies simultaneously promoted its own and the public good—is anchored in 176 pages of expansive endnotes, revealing three decades of research in Southern Pacific corporate records, federal archives, and private manuscript collections. Yes, one wishes that the political controversies which enveloped the railroad were discussed, to avoid the impression that the railroad’s leaders achieved Olympian detachment from political attacks while nobly pursuing enlightened policies. Readers should consult William Deverell’s *Railroad Crossing: Californians and the Railroad, 1850-1910* (1994) for a more balanced view. Nonetheless, scholars and history buffs alike will enjoy Orsi’s account of California’s most remarkable and significant business enterprise. Attractively priced, well illustrated, and comprehensively indexed, it is a major contribution to railroad, business, and conservation history. And it contains much to interest residents of the Imperial and San Diego counties.



Indians in Unexpected Places. By Philip J. Deloria. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004. Bibliography, index, notes, and 51 b&w photos. 320 pp. \$24.94 cloth.

Review by Todd Kerstetter, Department of History, Texas Christian University.

This book addresses important questions about how American Indian history has been written and how it should be written. The text emphasizes the years between 1890 (a year that many historians of Indians see as a major turning point due in large part to the Wounded Knee Massacre) and the 1930s (when Indians are reintroduced into American grand narratives due to the importance of the Indian New Deal). Philip J. Deloria takes his readers on a tour of those years when Indians have too often been missing in action. Deloria reminds us that Indians did not disappear, but, in fact, entered modernity with the rest of the nation. Using the essay format, he analyzes cultural artifacts (photographs, music, film) that show Indians in what he calls “unexpected places”—getting a manicure in a beauty parlor, riding in a car, playing football, and others. These images catch attention because they show Indians defying expectations of most in mainstream society. Deloria dissects both the images and the expectations, offering thoughtful, inspiring meditations on how historians and other academics can write better about American Indians, giving Indians their due as historical agents. Non-academics will enjoy this thoughtful treatment of neglected times and people.

Deloria’s essays address violence, representations of Indians in films, Indian participation in athletics, Indian use of technology, and music (both Indian production of music and depictions of Indians in music). The essay on athletics reflects on the career of Charles Albert “Chief” Bender, who had a noted baseball career in the early years of the twentieth century. The essay also provides personal reflections on the collegiate baseball and football exploits of his grandfather, Vine Deloria, Sr. In these cases, Indians participated in sports and made places for themselves in American culture, shaping it much as it shaped them. Deloria’s grandfather, for example, used sports to gain a college education at St. Stephen’s College (now Bard College) in New York. When he became a clergyman and returned to South Dakota, he started a baseball program for Indian youths and coached high school football, thus using sport to build community and to incorporate himself into the community.

Deloria’s creative analysis of a variety of cultural artifacts leads him to fascinating conclusions and also makes his finely crafted analysis approachable for non-academics. The fifty-one remarkable black and white photographs reproduced in the book will engage all viewers. By the time readers reach page four, they have already encountered four illustrations. All contribute to Deloria’s mission, but among the most riveting is “Red Cloud Woman in Beauty Shop, Denver, 1941.” It shows Red Cloud Woman, wearing a beaded Plains style dress, sitting under a beauty shop hair dryer and getting her nails done. At first blush, this certainly did seem to this reviewer an unexpected place to find an Indian. But, as Deloria suggests, one must stop and ask, “Why not?” Why would not an Indian woman be getting a manicure and her hair done? Point well made. In his chapter on music, Deloria crafts a beautiful marriage of media. He introduces the topic using a 1904 photograph of Geronimo at the wheel of a Cadillac and proceeds to analyze Michael Martin Murphy’s recording of the song “Geronimo’s Cadillac.” Before concluding, he covers poetry and other representations of Indians

and automobiles and how they shaped expectations about Indians and American history and culture.

Readers interested in southern California history will find little here that is relevant. Most of the action takes place elsewhere, although the book's themes are national. His essay on the film industry's depictions of Indians, and Indians' role in shaping those depictions hit closest to home. The prose sometimes has an informal feel and, compared to a tightly worked monograph, sometimes seems to wander. Ultimately, though, the format works well as Deloria spins out parables laced with thoughtful critical analysis that hit the mark. Readers will leave this book with a new appreciation for Indians in modern America and a better understanding of how to read and write American Indian history.



Bound For Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America. By Douglas Flamming. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Bibliography, index, 5 maps, notes, and 40 b&w photos. 485 pp. \$29.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Mark Wild, Assistant Professor, Department of History, California State University Los Angeles.

After years of neglect the history of African American Los Angeles is finally getting the attention it deserves. Doug Flamming follows a number of historians who have used the West's largest city as a case study to reshape our understanding of the black experience in America. *Bound For Freedom* reaches further back in time than most of this other scholarship, and would be worthwhile for no other reason than that it covers a period of African American Los Angeles which, outside the occasional article and dissertation, has largely escaped scrutiny. Flamming does more than mine fresh territory. His study elegantly bridges Western and African American history by elucidating a theme—the fervent and contentious struggle to remake community—that has preoccupied both fields. The result is an impressive and accessible work of social history.

Bound for Freedom chronicles the generation that established the major social and economic institutions of black Los Angeles in the early twentieth century. Organized around influential community members and institutions, the book begins and ends with the celebrated activist and newspaper editor Charlotta Bass. For Flamming, Bass is emblematic of the middle-class community's character, a character based "less in wealth than in values, lifestyle, and aspirations" (8). It is a rather expansive definition of middle class, encompassing activities ranging from the acquisition of prime real estate to union organizing, but persuasive with respect to the individuals he covers. In building the major political, social, and business institutions of the black community, Bass and her contemporaries consciously strove for the same rights and lifestyles that many of their white counterparts took for granted.

The subtle contradiction in the title encapsulates the book's main argument: despite the very real freedoms that Los Angeles seemed to promise African American newcomers, they remained bound by many of the same constraints that had confined them in the South. Flamming rejects the "Paradise Lost" thesis of early twentieth century Los Angeles as an idyllic golden age. "Regardless of time period," he writes, "the basic rights of black Angelenos always faced attack from some quarter. And, just as consistently, African American leaders in the city always found themselves vying to

preserve rights they already possessed and to win rights they had not yet gained" (2-3). If this seems like a common sense statement, the body of the book yields a more surprising picture – a community committed to the principle of equal opportunity yet divided on the means of achieving it. Few studies devoted to African American life in the early twentieth century pay as much attention to the myriad local disputes involved in black political life. From district elections to the internal machinations of the NAACP, the activities of black Angelenos demonstrate an impressive variety of approaches to the struggle for freedom. In delineating the conflicts and coalitions that ensued Flamming makes perhaps his greatest scholarly contribution: the book eschews the simple dichotomies (Dubois vs. Washington; integration vs. separatism) that too often oversimplify the African American political tradition. Under this approach the middle-class character of black Los Angeles becomes less a confining label than a point of departure, and historians should debate the implications of Flamming's argument for a long time to come.

Like any effective historical analysis, *Bound for Freedom* raises as many questions as it answers. The most obvious involves the relationship between the established black leaders Flamming covers and the self-styled radicals who assumed control of the freedom movement after World War II. To what extent did these later iterations represent a departure from, or continuation of, the prewar activists examined here? Flamming does not pretend to describe black Los Angeles in its entirety, and future researchers interested in this and other questions may in particular want to take a closer look at more proletarian aspects of the community he does not emphasize. But they will not be able to ignore a study which deserves a place in the canons of both African American and Western history.



Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suit, Race, and Riots in Wartime L.A. By Eduardo Obregón Pagán. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003. Bibliography, 15 illustrations, index, maps, notes, and tables. 328 pp. \$49.95 cloth. \$19.95 paper. Reviewed by Jaime R. Aguila, Assistant Professor of History, Department of Humanities and Fine Arts, The University of Texas of the Permian Basin.

Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suit, Race, and Riots in Wartime L.A. by Eduardo Obregón Pagán will undoubtedly become a pivotal addition to ethnic and U.S. urban studies. The factors surrounding the infamous Sleepy Lagoon trial and the ill-fated Los Angeles Zootsuit riots have been misinterpreted in both intellectual and popular works as often as they have been addressed. The author successfully intertwines the international, class, race, and gender factors underlying the sensationalized events surrounding the murder of José Díaz, The Sleepy Lagoon trial, and the summer of 1943 riot, in which U.S. servicemen driven by naïve racist delusion and misdirected wartime nationalism, invaded the Mexican barrios of East Los Angeles in search of young Mexican American males.

Pagán convincingly argues that young Mexican Americans of this period "actively sought to renegotiate their social positioning in ways of their own design and choosing, in dialogue with their peers, their heritage, their times, and their social surrounding" (14). This is a significant corrective to accounts which, on the one hand, label Mexican-American men and women of that generation as gang members (i.e. the

movie "American Me") and, on the other, view these youth as victims with little agency other than the violence used in defending their reputations and neighborhoods.

Pagán clarifies many generalizations about this stage of Chicano history. Perhaps the most significant misnomer has been the term "*Pachuco*." For most Mexican Americans a definition and image of a Pachuco has always been easy to conjure; however, the problem arises when one dominant definition is called upon that transcends generation, class, and region. The label becomes even more problematic when used by period social scientists studying urban life in wartime Los Angeles. "Such observers were outsiders looking in, who, in their quest to understand a strange and fascinating group of Mexicans and Mexican Americans, relied heavily on definition by description or on the testimony of informants trying to explain the existence of a group deemed a nuisance to their own community" (128). The author demonstrates that the *Pachuco* was simultaneously many things to different people: to the average working class Mexican, they were neighborhood boys; to liberal reformers such as Carey McWilliams, they were victims of racist mainstream society; and to the uninformed and ignorant, they were pawns of a fifth column Axis conspiracy.

The misunderstood and vaguely defined nomenclature significantly contributed to the unjust accusation against the 38th Street club boys for the death of Díaz in 1942 and the following summer's Zootsuit attacks. The media, servicemen, mainstream society, and middle class Mexican American leadership (represented by Manuel Ruiz) inaccurately viewed all Zootsuiters as Pachucos and in turn all Pachucos as gang-members. Pagán demonstrates the term's evolution from an adjective describing a style of attire prior to Díaz's death to a noun. Pagán writes that during the summer of 1943, "the Pachuco as a symbol came to embody the essence of juvenile rebellion" (131)

Pagán demonstrates that the Zootsuit was a popular form of attire for Mexican American, African American, and Filipino youth during this era. But only a few could be accurately branded as resembling the *Tirilis*, the underworld operators that arose out of the El Paso/Ciudad Juárez area that spoke Caló and traded in vice during Prohibition. Even so, the *Tirilis* avoided bringing attention to themselves by seldom wearing Zootsuits. The predominance of the term "gang members" continues to plague the historical actors of that period, even within Chicano scholarship. Manuel G. Gonzales in *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States* described Díaz and the boys of 38th Street as gang members. Rodolfo Acuña in the fifth edition of his seminal work, *Occupied America*, also depicted the murder within the context of misguided actions of gang members.

Pagán's smooth style of writing will appeal to those in Chicana/o studies at the graduate and undergraduate level. It is well researched, including oral interviews with those accused in the Sleep Lagoon trial and friends and family members of Díaz.



Wide Open Town: A History of Queer San Francisco to 1965. By Nan Alamilla Boyd. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. Bibliography, index, maps, notes, and photos. xii + 321pp. \$27.50 cloth.

Reviewed by Barbara Berglund, Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of South Florida.

In *Wide Open Town*, Nan Alamilla Boyd has excavated the history of some of the queer communities that thrived in San Francisco's bars and nightclubs from the 1930s through the 1960s. In doing this, she has also brought to light their role in forging an activist movement as well as a larger, more cohesive gay-identified community.

In her work, Boyd seeks to upend the typical periodization of gay and lesbian history that marks World War II as a watershed moment in social movement formation and privileges the activities of two homophile organizations – the Daughters of Bilitis and the Mattachine Society. Rather, WWII is better understood as elaborating and extending trends already underway. Boyd shows that following the repeal of Prohibition, the burgeoning and overlapping industries of tourism and nightclub entertainment fostered the growth of queer venues and communities as visitors and city residents alike displayed an appetite for the performances of female and male impersonators amidst a general climate of sexual permissiveness.

Boyd argues that in order to fully apprehend the significance of these bar-based queer communities, it is necessary to understand that the ways these groups navigated raids and other forms of official harassment and claimed space for themselves functioned as political acts. She wants to free them from being seen “as a stepping stone for the more important project of homophile activism” (14). Boyd sees homophile groups and bar-based activism as comprising “two competing social worlds” (7). She explains that, “While bar-based communities used the First Amendment right to assembly to protect the queer use of bars and taverns, homophile organizations stressed individual rights and based on the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause to lobby for their own protection” (17). The former reveled in “outlaw behavior” while the latter sought legitimacy and embraced “mainstream political action” (17). Although representing different interests, by 1965 the two groups had not only learned how to work together, but in the process, had formed a more inclusive gay community that would become effective in the political arena.

A fairly lengthy excerpt from one of the forty-five oral history interviews Boyd conducted frames each of the five chapters. She uses secondary sources to bring the story back to the Gold Rush, but the tale she is telling really begins with her exploration of the world of female impersonation in tourist-oriented clubs like Finocchio's and the Black Cat and the subsequent rise of the gay bar as a partly defensive maneuver to counter hostile tourist intrusions. Boyd next illuminates the cultures of a few of the bars that grew up around the lesbian community that settled in North Beach and highlights how the harassment and raids of places like Mona's and Tommy's Place made these venues sites of political struggle. She then moves into a discussion of the way the policing of queer spaces intensified in the wake of the increasing militarization of San Francisco during World War II and the legal strategies bar owners and patrons used to defend themselves. Following that, Boyd turns her attention to the development of the Daughters of Bilitis and the Mattachine Society and

“the ideological standoff between bar-based cultures and homophile communities” (18). The final chapter describes the local struggles that brought the two groups together and the resulting reorganization and emergence of a more united gay community.

Boyd has written a provocative book that makes a significant contribution to the field. But it is not without shortcomings. Unfortunately the book lacks the kind of richness one would expect from forty-five diverse voices. The same players appear again and again. There are also too many sections where the secondary material and historiographical debates seem to overshadow and stand apart from Boyd’s main story and others where her analysis is not justified by her primary sources. Moreover, although Boyd seeks to correct a historical imbalance, by privileging bar culture, the homophile organizations get short shrift and are rather derogatorily cast as “mainstream.” It seems it might be time to move beyond using a group’s relationship to the roots of gay liberation as a measure of its value.



No There There: Race, Class, and Political Community in Oakland. By Chris Rhomberg. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004. Bibliography, index, 3 maps, notes, and 25 b&w photos. 328 pp. \$39.95 cloth.

Reviewed by Robert W. Cherny, Professor of History, San Francisco State University.

Chris Rhomberg, assistant professor of sociology at Yale, takes his title from Gertrude Stein’s comment that, for Oakland, “there’s no there there.” Rhomberg, who began this book as a doctoral dissertation at the University of California, Berkeley, discovered that, in fact, “an enormous variety of often extraordinary things have . . . happened in Oakland” (ix). Developing an explanatory framework based on analysis of socioeconomic structure, institutional politics, and urban civil society, Rhomberg focuses centrally on three events—the election of two candidates endorsed by the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s, a city-wide general strike in 1946 followed by election victories for labor, and the accession of African Americans to political power in the 1970s.

Rhomberg structures his analysis around the concepts of political regimes and social movements that pose a challenge to an existing regime. He first describes a patronage regime in the early 20th century, a regime often dominated by the political “machine” (Rhomberg’s term) of Michael Kelly. Allied with progressive Republicans, Kelly relied on support from working-class organizations, especially unions, and ethnic associations, especially Irish Catholics. In the 1920s, Kelly’s organization faced two challenges—from the downtown business establishment, led by Joseph Knowland of the Oakland *Tribune*, and from the rapidly developing middle-class suburbs. The Klan appeared in Oakland in 1921 and soon claimed thousands of members, mostly in the new suburbs. Early Klan forays into politics accomplished little, but in 1926 a scandal led Kelly to cooperate with the Klan, which led to the election of the Klan’s candidate for sheriff and another Klan candidate in 1927. Both Klan candidates quickly self-destructed, and Knowland emerged as central within a “managerial regime” of downtown business interests.

Between 1930 and 1950, Rhomberg argues that Oakland politics “revolved around a central axis of class conflict” (117). Employers broke many Oakland unions in the 1920s, but during the 1930s and World War II unions emerged stronger than ever.

Nonetheless, organized labor had almost no role in the managerial regime. In 1946, police action against a strike by retail clerks at downtown department stores escalated into a general strike. Unions then joined with disaffected business groups, formed the Oakland Voters' League, and won four of five city council seats in 1947. Public housing issues broke up the coalition, and the downtown business elite maintained its power.

Wartime job opportunities had brought many African Americans to Oakland. As job opportunities for African Americans contracted at the end of the war, and as much of the white middle class moved to the suburbs, Oakland and regional civic leaders developed proposals for urban redevelopment, including rapid transit, freeways, expansion of the port, and renewal of poor, mostly black, neighborhoods, producing what Rhomberg calls a redevelopment regime. The War on Poverty in the 1960s brought both federal funds and requirements for neighborhood participation in decision-making. From this emerged a network of neighborhood activists. In the late 1960s, the Black Panthers grew by protesting discrimination and violent treatment by the police; in the early 1970s, a reorganized Panther movement mounted a serious political challenge in Bobby Seale's unsuccessful mayoral campaign in 1973. The concurrent development of a black middle and professional class produced the first successful black candidates in the 1970s, initiating a black urban regime that opened up the city's political institutions to the black middle class.

Rhomberg makes discontinuity a central theme in his analysis. Any given urban political regime serves the interests of its members, he suggests, but excludes others. Thus, for each political regime, political stability rested on the nonparticipation of most groups in the polity. Those on the outside sometimes mobilized as social movements (the Klan, the unions, the Black Panthers), challenging the regime and necessarily calling into question "the content of the political community" (178). Space precludes an adequate summary of Rhomberg's full analysis. Both his narrative and his analysis should interest students of 20th-century urban politics.



Heart of the Rock: The Indian Invasion of Alcatraz. By Adam Fortunate Eagle. With Tim Findley. Forward by Vine Deloria, Jr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002. 66 b&w photos. appendix. notes. xii + 232 pp. \$29.95

Reviewed by James E. Klein, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of History, Georgia State University.

Adam Fortunate Eagle provides a first-hand account and analysis of this Indian demonstration of 1969-1971. In collaboration with former reporter Tim Findley, he places the Alcatraz action in historical context, tying it to events as well as societal attitudes present in America before and after the invasion. He demonstrates that the invasion broke down outdated stereotypes of Indians in popular culture and made the plight of contemporary Native Americans evident to non-Indian society. The invasion and occupation of Alcatraz also inaugurated the pan-Indian movement as the demonstration drew participants from various tribes and cultures, united by white society's disregard for their problems.

Heart of the Rock is a revision of Fortunate Eagle's 1992 work *Alcatraz! Alcatraz!: The Indian Occupation of 1969-1971*. Rather than merely updating the earlier work to

include events of the past decade, the author places the invasion within the twentieth-century Native American experience to emphasize the enormous impact this demonstration had on Indians of different tribes throughout America. In the aftermath of the federal government's termination and relocation programs of the 1950s, increasing numbers of Indians suffered isolated and debilitating urban existences. The Alcatraz occupation relieved this, attracting Native Americans from numerous tribes and sparking the modern pan-Indian movement. Interaction with members of different tribes also triggered interest in the traditional culture of individual tribal groups as Native Americans sought to rediscover their cultural heritage. The demonstrations in San Francisco Bay also had a significant impact on subsequent events, serving as the model for later Indian actions to convince the federal government to rethink its Indian policy. The occupation is understood best, the author states, if viewed in this context – as one of innumerable interrelated events in this cyclical story of social action and public policy.

What distinguishes this work from other studies of the Alcatraz action, such as Troy R. Johnson's comprehensive work *The Occupation of Alcatraz Island*, is that *Heart of the Rock* also is a personal account of Fortunate Eagle's life. The author discusses the reclamation of his Ojibway heritage and his desire to reconcile old differences with other Indian activists. As much as a history, this is the story of a man's life viewed from the perspective of advanced age. He notes that he and Richard Oakes, the spokesman of the Indian students who occupied the island, differed in methodology regarding the invasion, but sought similar goals: an increased awareness of Native American issues among non-Indians and a fundamental change in federal Indian policy. The author's discussion of Oakes' activism and the unfortunate end of his short life lends this book a tragic quality.

Fortunate Eagle's account is an enjoyable read. His writing is warm and informal, an oral story and historical analysis of this significant event. He speaks wistfully of the lost idealism of the 1960s, an indispensable ingredient of the Alcatraz invasion. Like Johnson's work, *Heart of the Rock* views the invasion not merely as an impromptu theatrical stunt. The action represented the culmination of decades and centuries of Native American frustration at federal Indian policy; as the catalyst for subsequent Indian activism such as the occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Washington, D.C.; and the formation of the American Indian Movement in the 1970s. Engaging documents support the work. The appendix contains the proclamation that he drafted and Oakes delivered before the press in November 1969 delineating the Indians' claim to the former island prison. The author includes numerous photographs of the occupation from his own collection and from the archives of the San Francisco Chronicle, some of which have not been published previously.



Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law. By David E. Wilkins and K. Tsianina Lomawaima. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. Bibliography, index, notes, and tables. 336pp. \$19.95 paper.

Reviewed by Akim D. Reinhardt, Assistant Professor of History, Towson University.

In *Uneven Ground*, David Wilkins and Tsianina Lomawaima have crafted a book, for lay and academic readership alike, which tackles some of the major legal doctrines that structure relations between Indian nations and the United States federal government and its constituent states. No mere summary, the authors painstakingly forward their own reasoned interpretations of the validity and meanings of a number of legal doctrines in question: discovery, trust, plenary power, reserved rights, implied repeals, sovereign immunity, as well as disclaimers in tribal-state relations.

Those familiar with Indian law are well aware of the dizzying, labyrinthine nature of the field. It is a quagmire of paradoxes. The primary reason for its contortions is simple: stripped of legalese and constitutional varnish, Indian law is often little more than the federal and state governments' attempt to codify and rationalize the imperial conquest and colonial administration of American Indians. Such is never a simple task, and as conditions, agendas and mind-sets have changed over the preceding two-plus centuries, legislatures and courts have traveled circuitous routes in their efforts to justify maintaining colonial authority over Native peoples, at times contradicting precedent and reason. The result is a highly convoluted body of law. Wilkins and Lomawaima have attempted to undo some of the nastier tangles by interpreting, in a light much more favorable to Native sovereignty, the doctrines in question.

The authors have grounded their work in a bevy of detail worthy of the subject matter. They also do not pull any punches. For example, when discussing the United States Supreme Court's effort to justify the Major Crimes Act (in which Congress assumed criminal jurisdiction on Indian Reservations in certain cases), the authors note that the court "cited extraconstitutional, or extralegal, reasons for holding the act to be constitutional" (110). This is typical of the sharp rebukes that are preponderant in the book.

"The relationship between American Indian tribes and the U.S. federal government is an ongoing contest over sovereignty," the authors rightly assert in their introduction (5). One must then consider the philosophical implications of their book. On the one hand, this reviewer finds highly commendable their effort to strengthen the base of Native sovereignty. On the other hand, to what extent is the process of decolonization being advanced when the authors accept the legal system of the colonizer as their model of analysis? Must/should Native nations attempt to decolonize on the United States' terms? After all, doctrines like discovery are clearly European constructs, not indigenous ones. Or should Native nations look to establish their own legal and political systems as the primary mechanisms and ideologies that guide their quest for decolonization. The former is clearly more pragmatic. The latter is perhaps idealistic, but also more useful to an eventually decolonized Native America. And perhaps the two approaches are not mutually exclusive. Wilkins and Lomawaima are clearly working through the former approach. In so doing, they have produced a work that will stimulate scholars and attract the interest of dedicated lay people.



Death, Dismemberment, and Memory: Body Politics in Latin America. Edited by Lyman L. Johnson. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 2004. Illustrations, index, and notes. 354 + xvii pp. \$45.00 cloth. \$22.95 paper.

Reviewed by Ryan F Long, Assistant Professor of Spanish, Department of Modern Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics, the University of Oklahoma.

Death, Dismemberment, and Memory is as fascinating as its title suggests. Its contributors elucidate the legacies of prominent Latin American political figures by examining what they left behind. Essays by ten different Latin Americanist historians explore the manifold ways in which bodies, bones, limbs, tombs, and other objects associated with the dead play central roles in high-stakes struggles over political power and cultural patrimony, disputes whose meanings shift as they endure for decades and, in some cases, centuries. Although heavy on Mexican topics (covered in four chapters), Johnson's volume considers a broad range of notorious deaths, from the executions of the Aztec Cuauhtémoc in 1524 and the Inca Túpac Amaru in 1572 to Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas's 1954 suicide and Che Guevara's execution in Bolivia in 1967.

The collection's strongest chapters focus less on their subjects' "pre-mortem" biographies and more on how they influence politics and culture from beyond the grave. Concentrated attention on posterity helps readers understand better how bodies and memories are preserved and manipulated in order to shape collective identities from above and below, and to achieve personal and collective political goals.

Daryle Williams and Barbara Weinstein's fine study of Vargas's suicide tracks the ebb and flow of the president's postmortem influence, which museums, popular demonstrations, scholarly institutions, and the media contest and preserve. The discussion of how different museums have preserved Vargas's bedroom, where he shot himself, reveals a great deal about how the passage of time shapes the material manifestations of collective memory. A particularly astonishing fact that Williams and Weinstein bring to bear on how death transforms a political legacy is that Vargas's suicide note was incorporated into the discourse of Brazil's Labor Party because of its populist message.

Samuel Brunk's essay investigates the decades-long whirlwind of debates that have surrounded Emiliano Zapata's assassination and the location of his remains. Emphasizing the agrarian leader's status as both a regional and national icon, Brunk carefully researches why reports of Zapata's death are considered by many to be exaggerated, and how different municipalities within Zapata's native state of Morelos have competed with one another and with Mexico City for the honor of becoming Zapata's final resting place. Jürgen Buchenau's piece about Álvaro Obregón opens with the decision made by his descendants in 1989 to transfer the preserved remains of Obregón's right arm from the Mexico City monument that honors him to his grave in Sonora. Obregón lost his arm in 1915, thirteen years before he was assassinated, and Buchenau's essay discusses not only the relevance of a specific body part to a leader's posthumous legacy, but also to his image as a living example of sacrifice. Donna J. Guy's chapter about the Peróns and Argentine popular religion centers on June 1987, when Juan Perón's hands were stolen from his tomb. Johnson's essay on the apparently fraudulent discovery of Cuauhtémoc's skeletal remains highlights how personal, local,

and national political interests can be fueled by a prominent historical figure's physical remains in spite of serious doubts as to the body's authenticity. Notably, both Guy's and Johnson's chapters discuss the Internet's prominence as a medium uniquely suited to enable popular participation in preserving memory.

Martyrdom and the irrepressible power of dead popular heroes come to the fore in at least three of the collection's essays, which illustrate how official attempts to discourage adoration or emulation by desecrating bodies or hiding graves often backfire. Such is the case with Túpac Amaru, whose severed head was placed on a pole in Cuzco, only to become a site of admiration for the fallen leader, not a warning to would-be rebels. As Ward Stavig illustrates in his essay on Túpac Amaru's influence on Andean popular resistance, which lasts to this day, when the Spanish publicly tore apart the body of his famous descendant, Túpac Amaru II, in 1781, it failed to put an immediate halt to the insurrection he had led. Nor were Spanish forces, as Christon I. Archer explains, able to snuff out Mexico's independence movement in 1811 when they executed its first leader and future national hero, Father Miguel Hidalgo y Castillo, and left his head on display for years. Paul J. Dosal's study of Che Guevara's death investigates the power of photography by explaining that Che's executioners posed the revolutionary's body for Freddy Alborta's camera in a way that created an unmistakably Christian image. Along with Archer, who tackles the commemoration of self-proclaimed Mexican emperor Agustín de Iturbide, Jeffrey M. Shumway examines the difficulties involved in remembering particularly divisive national icons. Shumway analyzes the repatriation of Juan Manuel de Rosas's remains in 1989 and its pertinence to then-president Carlos Saúl Menem's efforts to unite Argentines following the brutal military dictatorship of 1976 to 1983.

Due to its innovative framework and its impressive breadth, Johnson's anthology contributes significantly to the understanding of how many of Latin America's most prominent national figures are remembered. Overall, it successfully engages with the complex processes of veneration, interpretation, and rediscovery that construct the persistent and constantly changing power the dead wield over the living.