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Review of: *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California*
edited by Kevin Starr and Richard J. Orsi

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Reviews of Books

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Reviews of Books

Black Elk's World: The 21st Century Electronic Edition (www.blackelkspeaks.unl.edu); *Black Elk Lives: Conversations With the Black Elk Family*. Edited by Hilda Neihardt and Lori Utecht. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2000. xvii + 168 pp. \$25); *Black Elk Speaks as Told Through John G. Neihardt (Flaming Rainbow)*. By Nicholas Black Elk. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2000. xxix + 230 pp. \$12.95 paper)

Despite the fact that *Black Elk Speaks* won only a lukewarm reception when it appeared in 1932, its publication marked the beginning of a literary epoch. Indeed, although it went out of print within two years, John G. Neihardt noted in his preface to the 1972 edition that the book “refused to die” (p. xxix). It enjoyed a renewed and robust popularity during the 1960s among young readers anxious for what Vine Deloria, Jr., described in 1979 as a “universal expression of the larger, more cosmic truths which industrialism and progress had ignored and overwhelmed” (p. xiv). Its popularity continues unabated to this day, and *Black Elk Speaks* claims a wide readership.

By the 1970s various scholars began to examine closely Neihardt's carefully crafted image of Black Elk, the Oglala holy man. As a result, the book came under considerable scrutiny, most notably in works by Clyde Holler, Julian Rice, Michael F. Steltenkamp, William K. Powers, and Raymond J. DeMallie, who pointed out that the story was considerably more complicated than Neihardt had made it. In describing Black Elk's life, Neihardt had deliberately limited his scope to what he described as “the old times before the evil days began and the white men possessed the land” (p. xxvi). Thus, *Black Elk Speaks* was a powerful story but one shaped by Neihardt's decision to celebrate a selective past that left a great many things out, not least being Black Elk's willingness to accommodate religious and cultural change. This is most notable, of course, in the considerable attention paid by scholars to Black Elk's Catholicism.

But as the works reviewed here suggest, Neihardt's interpreta-

tion has remarkable staying power, and it continues to occupy a major—if not definitive—place in the Black Elk canon. The new edition of *Black Elk Speaks* reproduces the original text and includes all three of Neihardt's prefaces (1932, 1961, 1972), as well as Deloria's 1979 foreword, a map, glossary, and fifteen rarely published color paintings by the Lakota artist Standing Bear. Interestingly (and appropriately), the new edition gives Nicholas Black Elk coauthorship, and the University of Nebraska Press promotional flyer rightly calls the work a "collaborative autobiography." This new edition is an acknowledgment of the book's enduring popularity; however, some readers might wish for a new foreword addressing the book's long history. This omission is important, for it leaves *Black Elk Speaks* insulated from the body of literature it has produced.

The website, "Black Elk Speaks: The 21st Century Electronic Edition," is well done. In addition to the full *Black Elk Speaks* text (with links to maps, photos, glossary, and bibliography), there are pages titled "Lakota & Dakota Lives," "Native Writers Speak: The North American Indian Prose Award," and "The Traditional World of the Lakotas." As this review goes to press in late fall 2001, however, only the *Black Elk Speaks* text is operative.

The electronic edition of the text is easy to navigate. The numerous links are mostly to the glossary but occasionally include photos and bibliographical references as well. As with the print version, however, the book's larger legacy is not contextualized. A curiously inconsistent bibliography is included; there are no references, for example, to the works that have appeared in response to the book.

In their preface to *Black Elk Lives: Conversations With the Black Elk Family*, editors Hilda Neihardt and Lori Utecht write that certain recently published "disturbing statements" about *Black Elk Speaks* compelled a response from the family (p. vii). Although they never identify the "disturbing statements," Neihardt and Utecht imply that any "speculation, assumption, and interpretation . . . regarding authorship, appropriation, material selection, and other important issues" (p. ix) is unwarranted.

Rather than address the book's critics, the editors dismiss them on two counts. The first is that because the process used to write *Black Elk Speaks* "seemed straightforward enough at the time—Black Elk spoke, his son Ben translated, my sister Enid took notes, and my father edited and shaped the material" (p. ix), questions about Neihardt's veracity or intent are moot. The second is that because both Neihardt and Black Elk are dead, there is no way to answer critics' questions (p. ix). This position, of course, ignores the

availability of enormous amounts of relevant material contained in the Neihardt Collection at the University of Missouri that has a direct bearing on the construction and interpretation of *Black Elk Speaks*.

Hoping to “add perspective to the debate and enlarge the picture of what we know” (p. ix), the editors promise “authentic information” (p. vii) about Black Elk’s legacy gleaned from a handful of Black Elk’s descendants. In light of the fact that this book is a reply to critics, it would have been interesting and fruitful for the editors and their collaborators to have confronted squarely the issues raised in other works. Thus, while the book has something to say about contemporary Lakota society and culture, it does less to address the legacy of *Black Elk Speaks* than readers will expect.

As a result, it is not altogether clear what the authors mean by references to Black Elk’s “enduring spiritual contribution” (p. xi), which is the single most important legacy of his life and, arguably, of the book. Nor is it clear what family members mean when they speak of their decision to be “traditional.” Of particular interest are the subtle but largely undeveloped threads of conversation about Lakota Catholicism. As Steltenkamp and Holler have made abundantly clear, Lakota Catholicism was a vitally important cultural force during and after Black Elk’s life. Understanding its contours, and Black Elk’s role in shaping them, as well as his role in molding Lakota belief and ritual, is crucial to any understanding of his legacy.

Interestingly, comments by Aaron DeSersa, Jr. (Black Elk’s great-grandson) suggest that like many non-Indians, family members too have embraced Neihardt’s vision of Black Elk as a bulwark against change: “My grandpas always told me that you should never change. You never add on, and you never take away. It’s always the same” (p. 84). Ironically, as DeMallie revealed in *The Sixth Grandfather* (1984), this was a sentiment that Black Elk himself openly rejected. That some family members now associate resistance to change with Black Elk’s legacy says something intriguing about the power of Neihardt’s narrative in the shaping of Lakota memory.

As these three new works suggest, *Black Elk Speaks* remains a powerfully evocative narrative that continues to shape our conversations about Indian people, contemporary society, and cultural identity, sometimes at the cost of understanding historical complexities and cross-cultural encounter. So, even as these sources remind us of the book’s enduring influence, they also suggest the need for more conversations about Black Elk’s legacy.

Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California. Edited by Kevin Starr and Richard J. Orsi. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000. x + 364 pp. \$60 cloth, \$24.95 paper)

Rooted in Barbarous Soil is the third volume of the California History Sesquicentennial Series published by the University of California Press and the California Historical Society, “the state’s officially designated historical society” (p. viii). Since the inaugural collection, coedited by Ramón Gutiérrez and Richard Orsi, entitled *Contested Eden*, this series, designed to commemorate the Gold Rush and statehood, has refused to engage in a celebratory nostalgia cloaked with footnotes. Instead, it has presented its readers with outstanding scholarship that is original and challenging.

In his introductory essay, volume coeditor Kevin Starr delves into a key dilemma of the historical enterprise: How do we deal with the distasteful actions and ideas of past Americans without turning history into an exercise of self-assured and presentist condemnation? As they delve deeper into the fascination with the Gold Rush that has been rejuvenated in every generation since 1849, Starr, noting a Bret Harte account of a massacre of Indians near Eureka, encourages readers to grapple with the shock value of the Gold Rush as a “ground-zero point of racist criminality” (p. 7). What are we to make of the commonwealth that emerged from California’s social chaos, Starr asks?

Drawing on his award-winning book *Days of Gold*, Malcolm Rohrbough begins laying the empirical groundwork needed for such an assessment by outlining the physical and cultural context of the Argonauts’ migrations to California. Other essays investigate a range of social and cultural experience: Robert Phelps delves into the formation of cities and towns, Irving Hendrick examines the birth of formal American education, Nancy Taniguchi surveys the breadth of women’s experience, and Anthony Kirk, Gary Kurutz, and Michael Kowalewski look at the cultural (and economic) lenses through which artists, writers, and entertainers portrayed and participated in the Gold Rush. In these essays, we are in the hands of expert commentators who have crafted clear and often eloquent expositions.

Several essayists move us close to the kind of grounded moral reckoning Starr invites. In an original essay on religion, Steven Avella traces the “sacralization of the soil” (p. 253) in the land of material dreams. James Sandos manifests the social destruction the American conquest of California represented to Indians and *Cali-*

formios. In a concentrated tour de force, Sucheng Chan assesses the historiography of the Gold Rush on matters of race relations and places the event in global context by mapping migrations from Asia, Latin America, Europe, and the United States. Chan then connects migration, settlement patterns, and economic forces to a transformation of nativism into racism. We have long known that the goldfields were tainted by racial prejudice; Chan has demonstrated that the racism did not disembark as a complete package from elsewhere but was coined in response to forces at work in this particular social and geographic setting.

Like Chan, Susan Johnson, in her revealing new book *Roaring Camp*, has approached the Gold Rush as a global rather than national event and has probed the ways that racial differences were demarcated in and around the diggings. In her contribution to *Barbarous Soil*, Johnson destroys the assumption that raising questions of sexuality amounts to a presentist imposition on the past. Instead, she uses the history of sexuality's tools and questions to open up a new window on the Gold Rush; in the process, she moves beyond the colorful stereotypes of conventional Gold Rush memory to portray the era's men and women as three-dimensional, full-bodied actors.

The past may be a foreign country, and present morals (or the discipline's new questions and methods) can hit its terrain like the waves of an earthquake transforming solid ground into muddy gelatin. This volume strikes the Gold Rush with considerable magnitude; like geologists mapping faults in the aftermath of real quakes, its authors are more clearly charting the social and cultural faultlines that ran through El Dorado.

University of Puget Sound

DOUGLAS C. SACKMAN

Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law. By Sally Engle Merry. (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 2000. xii +371 pp. \$62.95 cloth, \$18.95 paper)

Hawai'i was on display at an exhibition in Paris in the 1860s, the only Pacific nation represented. According to Sally Engle Merry in her fascinating study *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law*, Europeans who thought of the island state as the home of cannibalistic savages were surprised to see Hawaiian books, including legal texts. While Hawai'i was a monarchy, Hawaiian government at that time also provided for popular sovereignty under a constitution. "Thus," Merry writes, "on the world stage of the Paris Ex-

position, Hawai'i represented itself as 'civilized' in the face of European assumptions of cannibalism and savagery. Civilized bodies of law and of persons were the precondition for political independence" (p. 113).

In order to maintain its sovereignty in the face of threats from the United States and other nations, Hawai'i had to appear to be "civilized" to foreign observers. During the nineteenth century, Hawaiian leaders set up a legal system patterned on American states. The law as a means of containing social and moral disorder was seen as a marker of civilization. Yet this new system required the ongoing involvement of foreigners trained in law. This was one of the ironies Merry finds: A step taken to retain sovereignty functioned both to maintain and erode it at the same time.

Adopting American-style legal institutions did not mean a simple takeover of Hawaiian cultural practices. The new legal system was a "contact zone" between Hawaiian and American cultures. Within that zone, Hawaiians and foreigners were "all navigating a complex field without full knowledge of the larger consequences of the cultural paths they [were] choosing." In this arena, "they continually constitute and reconstitute culture" (pp. 50–51).

Merry draws upon the secondary literature on decolonization in Part I to describe a two-stage process of legal transformation in nineteenth-century Hawai'i: first to a religious law based on Hawaiian and American missionary religious ideas, and second to a secular American-style legal system. In Part II she uses the methods of ethnography and archival legal history to explore the impact of these changes on one community: Hilo, on the big island of Hawai'i.

Merry finds the process of colonialism to be relentlessly complex. For example, the new legal system helped owners of large plantations to maintain control over their laborers, yet at the same time it created a discourse of rights that could be a tool of resistance. However, "resistance occurs within the order created by law rather than outside of it." Furthermore, "resistance within law is available only to already disciplined subjects" (p. 220).

Most illuminating is Merry's exploration of the impact of the "civilizing" process on sexuality, marriage, and the regulation of the body. Merry describes a clash between missionaries, who thought of sex as a dangerous and destructive force that had to be contained in marriage, and Hawaiian norms, which regulated sexuality "according to a different cultural logic." In Hawaiian culture, sexuality was not viewed as dangerous; permissible sexual activity and contacts depended on one's rank. "The body of high-ranking

people was sacred and embodied the fertility of the kingdom. . . . Their bodies could not be touched by inferiors” (pp. 228–229). Regulation of sexuality helped maintain distinctions in rank; nudity and sexual play within rank were not seen as harmful. Americans viewed their own values of control of sexuality, covering the body, and keeping bodily functions private as signs of civilization. They put much effort into enforcing a legal conception of marriage and sexuality imported from New England. The definition of marriage as a sanctified, permanent coupling led many Hawaiians following traditional practices to run afoul of new adultery and fornication statutes. Whereas traditional Hawaiian practices enabled women freely to leave an abusive mate, under the new, more “civilized” legal regime, divorce was difficult, and newly enforced rules of coverture restricted women’s autonomy.

This is a rich, complex, and important work that illuminates the role of the legal system as a contact zone between cultures during the process of colonialization. Merry uses this context effectively to raise broader questions about the cultural power of law.

University of Southern California Law School

MARYL DUDZIAK

Ferdinand V. Hayden: Entrepreneur of Science. By James Cassidy. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2000. xxv + 389 pp. \$55)

This is the second major work on Ferdinand V. Hayden (1828–1887) to appear within the past six years. James Cassidy, a teaching Brother at St. Anselm College in New Hampshire, gives credit to Mike Foster, the previous biographer, for the few details available to biographers about the personal life of the surveyor-scientist. Hayden was ashamed of his poverty and dysfunctional family (he may also have been born out of wedlock), but he early resolved to make something of himself. He graduated from Oberlin College and prepared for a career in natural history through medical studies in Cleveland and Albany. The Civil War, in which he served as a surgeon in the Union Army, interrupted the fieldwork he had already begun into the Dakota Badlands, the upper Missouri, and Kansas.

Hayden’s big opportunity came in 1867 when he was appointed United States Geologist for the survey of Nebraska under the auspices of the General Land Office. From this time on, he considered himself the geologist of the entire West and sought to exclude the Army Corps of Engineers and to bring all of natural science within his purview. In 1871 and 1872 he led the first scien-

tific parties into the Yellowstone, and the subsequent publicity, along with the distribution of the photographs taken by his photographer, William Henry Jackson, aided in the creation of Yellowstone National Park. He then concentrated on Colorado, making an excellent atlas of that territory and publicizing the Mount of the Holy Cross and the ancient cliff dwellings.

That Hayden's name became synonymous with exploration and remarkable discoveries at home and abroad was due to his entrepreneurial skills and tireless effort. The author elaborates upon Hayden's operating style and his careful cultivation of the press, the public, western economic interests, and above all, his patron, Congress. Nor were scientists neglected. He provided employment, collections upon which to work, and an outlet for their publications. Cassidy weaves into the book short biographical sketches of many of these scientists and their interaction and/or rivalry with Hayden.

Ultimately, Hayden was finessed out of his position, but he did not go meekly. By the mid-1870s there were not only several duplicating surveys but also a whole new generation of more specialized scientists who were "eager to capture the territory Hayden had colonized" (p. 242). In 1879 Congress created the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), and Hayden, whom John Wesley Powell was calling "a fraud and a charlatan," jockeyed unsuccessfully with Clarence King for the directorship. He continued as one of the six USGS geologists until his resignation in 1886. Death from syphilis came the next year, and he was buried in his wife's family plot in West Philadelphia.

The first chapter of this thoughtful and well-researched book moves slowly, but subsequent chapters quickly immerse the reader into the career of the public entrepreneur who did so much to sell "science" to the federal government and to ensure the practice of geology and geography in a civilian context.

University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

MARYLEE SPENCE

William Henry Holmes and the Rediscovery of the American West. By Kevin J. Fernlund. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 2000. xviii + 300 pp. \$39.95)

Kevin J. Fernlund's book is a welcome and important addition to the history of the American West. It provides the first biography of William Henry Holmes (1846–1933), a significant figure in the history of the region as well as in the evolution of American museology and anthropology. Holmes began his career as a scientific

illustrator for Ferdinand Vandever on the last of the great western surveys of the 1870s. During these years, Holmes traveled widely from the Northern Rockies to the Southwest. While drawing and painting, he worked in the field with a number of important geologists and archaeologists and learned much about their disciplines. His multifaceted interests and growing competency in various fields allowed him easily to make the transition to more bureaucratic forms of employment in Washington once the surveys came to an end. Beginning in the early 1880s and continuing well into the twentieth century, Holmes worked in various capacities for the U.S. Geological Survey (USGS), the Smithsonian, the National Gallery of Art, the National Museum, and the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Naturally, Fernlund considers Holmes's contributions to his various fields and the agencies that employed him. For example, he explains Holmes's dedication to exact detail in his geological illustrations of the West. This set him apart from Thomas Moran, for instance, who was more interested in achieving a sense of reality without sacrificing the basic principles of art. Holmes's focus on realism in representation would ultimately lead him to dismiss trends in impressionism and abstraction coming out of Europe. Holmes also wrote prolifically on archaeological and anthropological subjects, focusing especially on the origins of Native Americans as well as the evolution of "primitive" art. His work in these areas seriously influenced national debates for some years. Holmes also pioneered the use of the diorama in his museum exhibits.

Among Fernlund's most interesting discussions is how Holmes fits into the transitional period of American science and western exploration as the great western surveys came to an end and were replaced with the professionalized and somewhat more narrowly intentioned USGS. Fernlund here provides fascinating insight into how this larger transition (part of the modernization process) also transformed national perceptions of the West as region. Another of Fernlund's notable discussions involves the tempestuous relationship between Holmes and Franz Boas.

The great drawback of this book is its lack of consideration of Holmes's personal life and how this interacted with his professional activities. This is not meant to be a criticism of Fernlund; he explains that Holmes did a marvelous job collecting and preserving materials related to his public life but kept the personal hidden. Still, the lack of personality makes the biography a bit flat at times. Nonetheless, this is a significant and long overdue contribution to the field.

The Destruction of the Bison: An Environmental History, 1750–1920. By Andrew Isenberg. (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2000. xii + 206 pp. \$24.95 cloth, \$16.95 paper)

Those who assume the destruction of the plains bison was caused simply by avaricious and wasteful white hide hunters and ruthless Indian fighters should know that most historians now argue that the phenomenon was far more complex than that. Conforming with recent scholarship, Isenberg argues that the demise of the bison was not simply a matter of capitalist demand and industrial processes but was the result of the convergence of environmental, economic, and cultural factors. He is probably correct, but serious shortcomings weaken this book.

The problems begin in the first paragraph. Isenberg suggests that western plains Indians routinely used fire to drive bison over cliffs. He never presents reliable evidence that this was so, and it would seem unlikely to those familiar with the bison jumps of the northwestern plains (where most bison jumps are). This is a minor example of the weaknesses that pervade much of the book. Portions of the book on the commercial bison hunt of the nineteenth century and the history of bison restoration seem more solid, but, by the time many readers reach these chapters, their confidence will be so shaken that they will be skeptical of his arguments.

One fundamental weakness is the way Isenberg defines his study area. Isenberg explains that his book, “like the bison, . . . occasionally strays from the American Great Plains to Canada, Mexico, and the eastern United States” (p. 4). He also focuses on the western shortgrass plains at the expense of other regions. The suggestion that the plains north of the forty-ninth parallel were never populated by more than a few stray bison is wrong, and the assumption that bison history could be explored adequately without careful attention to the eastern plains is questionable. If Isenberg had taken seriously Douglas Bamforth’s *Ecology and Human Organization on the Great Plains* (1988), which he cites, he would have had to confront the possibility that the highest density of bison on the entire Great Plains was probably on the northeastern plains of present-day Manitoba and North Dakota. The neglect of the Canadian prairies is made more serious because the history of bison hunting in the Hudson Bay drainage was very different from its history elsewhere. Although there were virtually no markets for bison hides and few white bison hunters in that area, the bison disappeared from the Canadian plains several years before they disappeared from Montana. Certainly those facts deserve consid-

eration. Similarly, Isenberg does not explain why bison were extirpated from the area west of the Rocky Mountains, from some of the western extremities of the Great Plains, and from many eastern areas by the early 1800s.

Isenberg argues, probably correctly, that the arrival of the horse was a very important turning point in the history of the bison. However, the central argument of Chapter 2, "The Genesis of the Nomads" (also see p. 7), is that the western plains were virtually devoid of bison hunting societies until the horse arrived. Then, equestrian bison hunting societies suddenly invaded the western plains but never developed a stable relationship with the bison. Evidently, Isenberg discounts the evidence amassed by archaeologists that pedestrian bison hunting societies had occupied the western plains for centuries before the horse arrived (see Karl H. Schlesier, *Plains Indians, A.D. 500–1500* [1994]).

In general, Isenberg was unable to research his question in sufficient depth. His evidence is drawn largely from secondary literature and published primary sources. Unfortunately, the evidence available in these forms is often too thin to bear the weight of his interpretation. Some of his interpretations of snippets of archival documents as quoted or summarized in secondary literature suggest that he is prone to over-interpret the evidence.

There is much in this book that is impressive and important. For example, Isenberg's argument that bison populations must have fluctuated wildly as a result of environmental forces (pp. 28–29) is an important one. Specialists will benefit from its insights. In the end, however, readers will not find in this book a definitive synthetic survey of the topic.

University of Northern British Columbia

THEODORE BINNEMA

Turning Trees into Dollars: The British Columbia Coastal Lumber Industry, 1858–1913. By Gordon Hak. (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2000. 239 pp. \$65 cloth, \$22.95 paper)

These are the best of times for students of British Columbia's forest industry. Ironically, as wood fades in economic importance, scholarly output flourishes. Gordon Hak's treatment of the various processes involved in "turning living trees into cash money" on the B.C. coast prior to World War I provides a welcome addition to the literature. The author devotes the first part of the book to a history of markets, tariffs, trade association activity, government forest policy, and a late nineteenth-century populist critique of industry

practices. This sets the stage for analysis of the “human and mechanical components of the production system,” an effort to close the interpretive circle by addressing the influence of market forces on class relations and the efforts of workers to resist exploitation.

Hak’s treatment of the lumber economy centers on the argument that the “staples approach,” an influential theory of Canadian economic history emphasizing domination by foreign capital of hinterland resource industries that produce semi-processed goods for export, fails to explain early lumbering on the B.C. coast. Local ownership figured more prominently than U.S. or British capital. A few of the early cargo mills cultivated a risky waterborne trade on the Pacific Rim, but the industry focused on producing for local and prairie consumption after completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Market control eluded operators in an era of competitive industrial capitalism. Ease of entry prevented large firms from keeping production within the limits of demand, and the Canadian government refused to provide tariff protection against American lumber. Trade association efforts to control production and prices also fell victim to a chaotic and unstable business environment.

Provincial government tenure policies promoted large-scale forest exploitation, generating protests among farmers, workers, and small business interests against monopoly, waste, and timber capital’s control of the political process. Hak outlines the contours of this critique, which drew on threads of radical liberalism, republicanism, and laborism, a tradition that lost ground to the technocratic vision of the conservation movement during the early 1900s. The province’s 1912 Forest Act packaged the state’s development strategy in conservationist wrapping, Hak contends, but a thorough summary of the legislation would have made this argument with greater clarity. The author’s discussion of grass-roots conservationism would also have benefited from reference to Robert Bunting’s treatment of these themes in Oregon (*The Pacific Raincoast*, 1997) and Richard Judd’s important analysis of popular conservation thought in nineteenth-century northern New England (*Common Lands, Common People*, 1997).

Turning to the realm of work, Hak describes the development of sophisticated, mass production labor processes in logging and sawmilling. Analysis of the barriers to solidarity among workers provides a framework for the book’s final two chapters. Caucasian loggers were unable to overcome the forces of geographic dispersal and occupational hierarchy, Hak concludes, while race proved decisive in the mills. Whites dominated skilled positions above Chinese, Japanese, and East Indian laborers after 1885, and unity was

rarely achieved as the former benefited from the presence of unskilled minorities who bore the brunt of layoffs and wage cuts.

Timber, a commodity subject to complex social and economic priorities, continues to govern the fate of many communities along the B.C. coast. Environmentalists, government, and industry have recently reached an accord on the Great Bear Rainforest; on another front, workers at Youbou on Vancouver Island watch as the sawmill there is dismantled and logs are trucked out for export. The author has drawn together important themes in the industry's formative period. Photographs would have enhanced the text, and more attention might have been paid to pulp and paper developments on the central coast, but this account represents a most valuable contribution to B.C. forest history.

Victoria, B.C.

RICHARD A. RAJALA

Vision & Enterprise: Exploring the History of Phelps Dodge Corporation.
By Carlos A. Schwantes. (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 2000.
xxix + 464 pp. \$60)

Copper-producing conglomerate Phelps Dodge is a large and impressive corporation, so it is fittingly the subject of this large and impressive book. Phelps Dodge underwrote the production costs of this volume, and it shows. Thick, glossy pages display hundreds of beautiful photographs, many in color. Carlos Schwantes relies heavily on corporate records, business periodicals, and interviews with current and former executives; at times, the book does read like an annual report. Nonetheless, *Vision & Enterprise* is an interesting and valuable contribution to the history of western mining.

In 1881 James Douglas persuaded William E. Dodge, Jr., to purchase stock in a Bisbee, Arizona, copper mine, transforming mercantile partnership Phelps Dodge. Phelps Dodge augmented its traditional involvement in imported tinware just as tariff increases undermined that market, while the dawning age of electricity guaranteed a growing market for copper. Phelps Dodge organized multiple "landscapes of production" into a far-flung copper-mining empire. Given fluctuating copper prices and the economies of scale inherent in the mining, smelting, and refining processes, Phelps Dodge consolidated its mining properties, standardized operations first at underground and later at truly massive open-pit mines, built company towns, and implemented welfare capitalism in them. Phelps Dodge integrated vertically by acquiring coal mines, building railroads to interconnect its facilities, and es-

establishing subsidiary companies to provide captive markets for its products. More recently, Phelps Dodge acquired facilities in Latin America.

Still, overproduction, federal price controls, environmental regulations, and rising labor costs threatened to plunge the company into bankruptcy during the 1980s. Phelps Dodge responded by streamlining production, closing depleted mines and obsolete processing facilities, and diversifying into unrelated product lines. The company broke a vicious 1983 strike and ultimately deunionized many of its facilities. As a result of its ability to reinvent itself periodically (once every fifty years, on average), Phelps Dodge withstood cyclical declines in the copper industry more easily than other domestic producers.

At times, all of this seems to have a sense of presentist inevitability about it, inasmuch as talented leadership always pulled the company through hard times. And what of discrimination, the Bisbee deportations, the insidious nature of welfare capitalism, the degradation of the environment, and the danger of *dependencia* in Latin America? Misunderstandings, mostly, by people and governments who failed to appreciate just how deeply the executives of Phelps Dodge cared for their employees, their customers, and the environment. While Schwantes mentions some of the company's less flattering achievements, greater attention to the costs of industrial dominance would seem appropriate. Also, while the book alludes to the company's role in such broad areas as technology transfer, vertical integration, the growth of the diversified, decentralized corporation, multinationalism, ethnic history, and environmental policy, such themes could be more fully developed. An analysis of this complexity would go beyond the purpose of the book, however. *Vision & Enterprise* is without doubt the best recent book on Phelps Dodge. It superbly integrates the entertaining and colorful history of western mining with a serious historical analysis of a complex and diverse corporation.

Southern Polytechnic State University

ALBERT CHURELLA

Insatiable Appetite: The United States and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World. By Richard P. Tucker. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000. xiii + 551 pp. \$45)

In this work of history, Richard Tucker portrays important ways in which American business and government have affected the warmer regions of the globe as a result of the emergence of

the United States as a major world power in the 1890s to the 1960s. The book is organized by the types of renewable biological resources that were exploited, with chapters devoted to sugar, bananas, coffee, rubber, beef, and timber. The geographic regions emphasized are Latin America; the Pacific islands, including Hawai'i, the Philippines, and Indonesia; and Liberia in West Africa.

This is a careful, well-documented study. In each case, the background of resource exploitation before an American presence, and before 1890, is amply presented and related to the main story of U.S. activity. Tucker describes the unsustainability of much of the development that occurred, as well as the biotic impoverishment, including deforestation, loss of species, destabilization of soil and cropping systems, and other environmental damage that resulted, including its effects on people such as villagers and forest residents. He relates the political, economic, and ecological processes to one another with considerable mastery and success.

The author's approach is balanced. He does not portray the United States as the only villain; other imperialistic powers and the elites of tropical nations come in for pointed criticism where it is due. Neither does he portray Americans as uniformly ugly. When their agricultural research produced ecologically beneficial results, as it managed to do sometimes if not at most times, he says so; likewise, when a corporation actually did something to aid workers and improve the landscape, he calls it good. But if he paints the picture in more than one color, the overall image is nonetheless that of an ecological disaster driven by exploitation. There were agricultural specialists and foresters, and even some businessmen, who were concerned with sustainability of renewable resources, "rational exploitation along scientific lines" (p. 402), but Tucker demonstrates that they were constantly outmaneuvered by others interested in converting resources into quick profits.

This study covers so much territory that the reviewer would be unfair to criticize the author for not including more, but the book does have limitations. Petroleum is not given a full discussion, although the subject intrudes in several of the chapters, particularly the one on rubber. Of course, the author has chosen to treat only renewable resources with a biological base. One could quibble about petroleum, but it is, of course, a nonrenewable resource on the human time scale. Nonetheless, its exploitation has rampant effects on ecosystems and is synergistic with the other industries included in this book's purview.

Another understandable but lamentable limitation is the author's decision to stop with the 1960s. He does give a sense of what

is to follow, but not on the scale of his treatment of the background, which reaches back to the time of European expansion. What is to come, he tells the reader, includes the Peace Corps, the Agency for International Development, the environmental movement, and the whole free trade revolution including NAFTA, GATT, and WTO. The triumph of the world market economy with America's full participation and sponsorship in the generation after 1970 has induced a level of environmental destruction generally and deforestation specifically that far exceeds what went before. It would be wonderful if the author were to produce a sequel.

The book stands on its own, however, as an incisive critique of American economic domination of certain spheres of exploitation in the tropical world that elucidates the damage done to the biosphere, including forests, living species, and indigenous people.

University of Denver

J. DONALD HUGHES

Men Against Myths: The Progressive Response. By Fred Greenbaum. (Westport, Conn., Praeger, 2000. 223 pp. \$67.50)

Despite its death as declared by historians more than two decades ago, Progressivism continues to attract scholars who seek to resuscitate this very important historical patient. Dispensing with traditional interpretations of the era, historians have moved away from treating Progressivism as a coherent reform movement. Cutting-edge studies have helped broaden our understanding of the complex coalitions—especially along the dimensions of class, gender, and race—that defined this period. Fred Greenbaum's latest investigation, however, has a more limited focus. In *Men Against Myths*, Greenbaum offers us a collective biography of six Progressive politicians who remained in power well into the 1930s. He seeks to revive the ideas and arguments fashioned by reformers nearly a century ago in order to spark debate about what he believes are similar conditions that currently plague the United States. While an attractive premise, this work falls short of accomplishing this goal.

The myths that Greenbaum argues Progressives successfully challenged were best represented by Andrew Carnegie's "Gospel of Wealth." He correctly observes that a dominant capitalist mythology arose during the late nineteenth century that obstructed meaningful government intervention in the nation's political economy. Early twentieth-century Progressive politicians, the author contends, offered the most effective challenge to this mythology. These

politicians both questioned the pervasive power of the trusts and advocated a different role for the state in American society. Greenbaum argues that a similar capitalist mythology confronts the United States at the dawn of the new millennium and urges us to learn from the experiences and ideas of these enlightened Progressive politicians.

Men Against Myths chronicles the political lives of six nationally renowned Progressives—George Norris, William E. Borah, Hiram Johnson, William Gibbs McAdoo, Bainbridge Colby, and Edward P. Costigan. Greenbaum describes each man's political ideology and legislative activities, ranging from government regulation of business to American foreign policy. What the reader is left with is thick detail that obscures the important arguments Greenbaum attempts to make. The author also fails to provide the necessary political, social, and economic context that informed each subject's decisions. More importantly, his definition of Progressivism is narrow, arguing that the "progressive movement was, to a large degree, a reaction to the rise of trusts during this century's first decade" (p. 6). If we have learned anything about this era during the last few decades, it is that Progressivism was much more complex than this study suggests.

In the end, the reader learns a lot about how these Progressive politicians felt about important political issues and what bills and acts they supported, yet it is not exactly clear how successful they were in achieving their goals. More befuddling is that, despite the fact that these six subjects operated in the same political space and time, Greenbaum sheds little light on their joint efforts to address pressing social and economic problems. Party politics are likewise lost in the personal heroics of the six politicians. One wonders how much partisanship may have influenced their ideas and political decisions. Moreover, each politician's relationship with his constituents back home is virtually absent from this study. That these men remained in office for so long begs the question of how their constituents felt about their Progressive ideology, considering the reported demise of the movement in the 1920s.

Despite these shortcomings, Greenbaum advances our understanding of the persistence of Progressive ideology during the early twentieth century. As his study clearly demonstrates, Progressives possessed a certain independent streak and thus continue to defy simple political or social labels. Although lost in the author's focus on the actions of his subjects, this book also reminds historians of the American West of the region's significant contribution to the character of national Progressivism. Four of

his six portraits—Norris, Borah, Johnson, and Costigan—hailed from the West, confirming that historians cannot fully understand Progressivism without examining the western experience. That alone makes Greenbaum's study worthwhile reading. Whether the current capitalist mythology will spark another progressive response, only time will tell.

San Diego State University

JOHN PUTMAN

The Initiative and Referendum in California, 1898–1998. By John M. Allswang. (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 2000. xiii + 352 pp. \$61 cloth, \$24.95 paper)

The initiative and referendum process in California worries scholars, who argue that the initiative process weakens the power of elected officials relative to interest groups, that it weakens the political parties, and that it produces incoherent public policy. But Californians love the initiative process. The initiative process was enacted in an October 1911 special election, with 76 percent of the electorate supporting it. Strong support for the initiative process in California continues; polling conducted by the Public Policy Institute of California in October 1998 showed that 75 percent of survey respondents favored the use of the initiative process to “address the most important problems facing California today,” while only 21 percent felt that the governor and legislature should be the main source for public policy.

In this historical analysis of the initiative process in California, Allswang provides a wealth of detail regarding the initial implementation of the initiative process as part of the Progressive movement and about its use across the decades. In so doing, Allswang's historical analysis attacks many of the criticisms of the initiative process. For example, critics of the initiative process argue that it has recently been captured by interest groups. But Allswang's study shows that interest groups have always used the initiative process for their own purposes: Propositions 5 and 6 in the 1914 election were sponsored by conservative groups to revoke legislative actions to regulate investment firms and to establish a state water commission (p. 24).

While Allswang's work has a great deal of historical information for students of California politics, the analysis has three problems. First, the organization of the book makes it difficult for the reader to draw conclusions about issues and policy domains; Allswang writes chapters chronologically, and within each chapter he

deals with specific areas of public policy. So a reader seeking analysis of the use of the initiative regarding environmental issues will have difficulty drawing any analytic conclusions.

Second, much of the empirical analysis in the book is based on county-level voting statistics and demographic information. Allswang searches for correlations across initiatives, as well as between initiative votes and socioeconomic characteristics of counties. But he never provides a discussion about why correlations between the percentages supporting two initiatives should be expected: For example, why should there be a positive .883 correlation between the percentage supporting Proposition 2 (Prohibition) and Proposition 3 (eight-hour labor law) in 1914, but virtually no correlation between this same Proposition 3 and 1918's Proposition 1 (anti-saloon)? This same concern ranges throughout the book, with tables and tables of statistical analyses presented without the guidance of a theoretical framework of voting behavior or initiative campaigns.

Third, while Allswang does employ public opinion polling in the later chapters of the book, the backbone of his empirical analysis rests on the county-by-county correlations of initiative votes and socio-demographic data. Unfortunately, these analyses all are questionable, as they ignore the "ecological inference" problems familiar to social scientists; generally speaking, extrapolating individual voter intentions from geographically aggregated data requires very strict, and usually inappropriate, assumptions about individuals. There are now a number of statistical techniques that have been devised to alleviate the biases of ecological inference; for a recent and popular example, see Gary King's *A Solution to the Ecological Inference Problem* (1997). Because they ignore the ecological inference problem, Allswang's county-level analyses must be viewed with extreme caution.

California Institute of Technology

R. MICHAEL ALVAREZ

Company Men: White-Collar Life & Corporate Cultures in Los Angeles, 1892-1941. By Clark Davis. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000. xvii + 298 pp. \$39.95 cloth, \$18.95 paper)

In response to C. Wright Mills's classic study of white collar as a dystopian corporate type without a politics, without a soul, without a core, Richard Hofstadter responded, "there must be something else even in white-collar life." Clark Davis is among the first historians to take that something else seriously, to place historical

texture and flesh on the traditional fiction of the bought and paid-for company corpse. The scene is Los Angeles, and the context five corporations with expanding bureaucracies across the service and distribution sector: oil, electricity, life insurance, banking, and an electric railway.

Davis tells a dynamic story of individual and corporate interaction and agency. Young, Anglo, middle-class men with various options as independent businessmen, entrepreneurs, professionals, and corporate employees were migrating to Southern California to find work and improve their quality of life in the expanding middle-class service economy. Within the labor pool restricted to Anglos, expanding corporations competed for personnel by means of benefits, perks, and security blankets. The goal was retention through reducing turnover, raising morale, and fostering company loyalty. While many thousands, Davis writes, “would sign on with Los Angeles firms in entry-level jobs, their desires for more pay, authority, and autonomy would plague local companies. . . . Many of these young men viewed office work as a necessary starting point in their careers, not a life-long endeavor” (p. 224). No stratum within the corporation could afford to take good employee relationships for granted.

What Davis does best is to set a higher standard for scholarly examination of white-collar workers faced with the promises and rewards of corporate employment in the twentieth century, the disappointments and failures, the real options in the market economy, and alternative career paths. He devotes the bulk of the book to discussing the strategies, from profit-sharing plans to company team sports, devised to invent corporate cultures, including the measures taken to insure employee discipline and morale. He returns repeatedly to the significance of the corporate construction of “white-collar manhood.” Climbing the corporate ladder while being a team player was imagined to be a strenuous and virile thing to do, a test of male leaders and heroes. The personnel machines of corporations were now making it possible for the white-collar hired hand to transcend the image of the self-made man and independent achiever as male role models in American advertising imagery.

What Davis does less convincingly is to locate the meaning of the story in the Southern California scene. Emblematic is the burgeoning entertainment factory in Hollywood that built a lucrative popular culture industry in part by trashing white-collar manhood. This is not addressed. The Los Angeles area was among the most open and decentralized urban economies in the nation in this

period. It was an innovator in mass marketing (the supermarket, super service station, drive-in), a pioneer in the entertainment and aircraft industries, single-home construction, and specialized and commercial agriculture. In contrast to older cities, it provided a more welcoming environment for small businesses, niche contractors, professional services, jobbers, and entrepreneurs—among Jews and Asians, for instance, who were debased by the exclusive white-collar corporation and have no role in this story. Davis's argument is unpersuasive, for instance, when he claims, without comparative examples from older cities with large and well-entrenched corporate bureaucracies, that Los Angeles provided the "cradle" in which the "white-collar corporate culture developed" as well as the "new middle class of salaried employees" (p. 18). In terms of white collar as a census category, Los Angeles was a city with a high percentage of white-collar jobs, but the census category embraced a considerably larger circle of occupational types than corporate employees. To assert without supporting evidence that "while businessmen, professionals, and managers dominated the city's landscape, young men rarely constituted their ranks. . . . finding an office job in a local business seemed the best option" (pp. 78, 79) sounds intriguing and not a little startling, especially given the flexible arrangements commonly found in start-up retailing businesses.

In conclusion, Davis has written a useful and important book that will be consulted across a number of fields in American history, although the argument has a tendency to overreach.

University of Illinois at Chicago

BURTON J. BLEDSTEIN

Angie Debo: Pioneering Historian. By Shirley A. Leckie. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 2000. xiv + 242 pp. \$26.95)

In 1968 Angie Debo placed an advertisement in the local newspaper asking her friends not to call before noon. Writing her *History of the Indians of the United States*, Debo (then age seventy-eight) needed her full mornings, she bluntly maintained, just as a person regularly employed—a bankteller or store clerk—needed concentrated work time. Although well-trained at the University of Chicago and the University of Oklahoma and the author or editor of a dozen books, she supported herself with her writing, editing, teaching the odd course, and other part-time employment. History departments, despite Debo's incredibly pioneering scholarship, did not hold her (or nearly any other woman scholar) worthy of an

academic post. A letter that plaintively outlines her accomplishments and qualifications for a post in the University of Oklahoma history department makes for painful reading. Granting agencies and publishers supported her work, but not the history profession. To be fair, however, as she neared death in her mid-nineties, the American Historical Association gave her a lifetime achievement award. It took her far longer than most to receive such an honor.

Debo made her name writing the history of the American West, primarily producing scholarly books on Oklahoma and Native Americans. In her works on the latter, she hoped to present material “from the Indians’ point of view,” and to accomplish this she used a variety of sources, from archival records to oral history and material evidence. In Shirley Leckie’s expert opinion, Debo was a kind of pivotal figure, operating between the views of Frederick Jackson Turner and her mentor Edward Dale and those of today’s “new” Western historians. Featuring what would today be called an ethnographic approach, she saw the West as peopled by numerous ethnicities and classes and interpreted their joint history as one that questioned the progressive narrative of American history.

Although serving as a hinge, Debo was nonetheless a loner and maverick, in part because of her unwanted exclusion from the academy. Banned from its mechanisms of consultation, consensus, and confraternity, she had little reason to hew to its line or take the advice of those who rejected her as a colleague. On the one hand, like women professionals in the ghettos of women’s colleges, she benefited from the chance to innovate. On the other, according to Leckie, her work paid the price of isolation in Debo’s inclination to reject intellectual advice from those in university positions.

Leckie’s biography is both an intellectual and personal one, rich in understanding of Debo as a human being of character, determination, humor, and grit. The author explains the “discovery” of Debo by this generation of historians as well as by public television, and she weaves that story into her biography of someone who was outside the mainstream for earning income and for the creation of a scholarly reputation. Only the absence of footnotes (they are on deposit in two Oklahoma libraries because, one assumes, the press would not support their publication) mars this wonderful book.

Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History. Edited by Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne. (Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press, 2000. xii + 359 pp. \$85 cloth, \$24.95 paper)

Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne's edited collection, *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History*, is a book of tensions. It is about tensions within the Canadian West—between promises of equity and the stubborn assertion of racial and class hierarchies, between suggestions of regional identity and the persistence of provincial, local, and perhaps subregional identities. It is about the tensions endemic to modern conceptions and practices of womanhood. It is also a testament to historiographic tensions between post-modern conceptions of the female past and more established traditions of conceptualizing women's history.

The publication of *Telling Tales* represents a major achievement. The literature on Western Canadian women's history has developed sporadically. Women's experience of the fur trade generated some of the first sustained forays into Canadian women's history in works such as Sylvia Van Kirk's *"Many Tender Ties": Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670–1870* (1980). Their experience of prairie settlement and protest politics likewise attracted considerable early attention. The West has figured less largely in the flowering of Canadian women's history that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s. *Telling Tales* capitalizes on our existing knowledge and reminds us that the history of women in the Canadian West is important, interesting, and viable.

Cavanaugh and Warne's subtitle casts the net broadly, but their actual focus is narrower. They define the "West" as the provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and British Columbia. In practice, *Telling Tales* is a study of the modern West. The editors' introduction makes little mention of Western Canada before European arrival, the fur trade, or as the separate British colonies of British Columbia, Vancouver Island, and Red River. The modern focus is also apparent in the essays. Myra Rutherdale's analysis of gender and Anglican missionaries in the Canadian North-Western Mission field and Sherry Edmund-Flett's investigations of African Canadian women on Vancouver Island deal briefly with the mid-nineteenth century, but otherwise the articles emphasize the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth.

The editors state that *Telling Tales* focuses "on newcomer women of dominant and minority cultures" (p. 7). Sarah Carter's fine and oft-reprinted study of images of aboriginal women in the settlement-era prairie west and Nancy Pagh's discussion of white

women's travel writing in British Columbia both make useful points about European visions of local women. Otherwise, Native women are conspicuously absent. This is a curious and telling omission given that Aboriginal people formed the bulk of the Western Canadian population until the closing decades of the nineteenth century.

Women of minority newcomer cultures—even broadly defined—occupy a minority of the remaining space. Frieda Esau Klippenstein's recovery of German-speaking Mennonite domestic servants in interwar Winnipeg, Frances Swyripa's insightful analysis of sexual assault cases heard in central Alberta's Ukrainian settlements, and Edmunds-Flett's inquiry suggest the different ways that women's experience depended on their ethnic, racial, and religious identity. Yet the absence of a substantive treatment of South or East Asian women troubles the collection. As Cavanaugh and Warne acknowledge, Asians made up a significant component of Western Canada's, especially British Columbia's, population. The omission of any meaningful discussion of Asian women is more remarkable given the centrality of anti-Asian politics to Western Canada and women's contested role within those politics.

While contributors to *Telling Tales* perpetuate the historical focus on majority cultures, they do so in ways that challenge rather than reproduce the connections between Anglo Canadian women and colonization. Articles by Carter, Pagh, and Rutherford testify to the impact of post-colonial scholarship on Western Canadian feminist historiography, as does Cavanaugh's analysis of feminist Irene Parlby, Sheila McManus's inquiry into the politics of organized farm women, and Beverly Boutilier's treatment of the founding of the Victorian Order of Nurses. Each of these authors confirms that the international literature on gender and colonization can help us reinterpret the experience and politics of white women in settler colonies, including Canada.

More established perspectives exist alongside newer ones within *Telling Tales*. The collection's title and introduction make significant nods to post-structuralist conceptions of women and the past, to the notions that "woman" is an unstable category and that history cannot be separated from narrative. Yet Nanci Langford's informative discussion of childbirth on the Canadian prairies between 1880 and 1930 reminds us that the project of feminist recovery—whereby women's history is conceived of as an excavation of female experience—remains alive and well. Ann Leger-Anderson's lengthy study of the marriage of democratic-socialist activists John and Gertrude Telford is a further reminder

of the persistence of older notions of womanhood and history within this putatively new history of women in Western Canada.

Telling Tales tells us much about the tensions generated by different experiences of womanhood in Western Canada. The real strength of the collection lies in its exploration of the connections between gender and race for settler women in the years between 1880 and 1940. In this strength and in the weaknesses that match it, *Telling Tales* also reveals something very important about the tensions generated by the ongoing effort to write the history of women in Canada's West.

University of Manitoba

ADELE PERRY

Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism: Engineering the Good Life. By Kendrick Clements. (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 2000. xiii + 332 pp. \$35)

Was Herbert Hoover the last Progressive President who adopted many of Theodore Roosevelt's ideas about conservation? Or was he a conservative who viewed the protection of nature only as a means to raising America's material standard of living? In an engaging and rich account of Hoover's career as engineer, businessman, international relief coordinator, politician, and President, Clements provides new evidence that the man whom we often associate with the anti-environmental Republican leaders of the 1920s actually spearheaded a wide array of conservation policies.

But Hoover was a different breed of conservationist than Roosevelt and John Muir. Rather than valuing nature for its aesthetic qualities, Hoover developed his ideas about conservation in response to the consumer-oriented society of the 1920s. He logically argued that national prosperity—his major concern—depended on the elimination of waste in production. Efficiency, in turn, would create more leisure time for American workers and pave the "road to universal prosperity and happiness" (p. 27). Hoover's belief in natural rather than commercial recreation, a vestige of his Quaker upbringing, included expanding parks, eliminating water pollution, and reforesting large areas. What more "constructive" way to spend leisure time than fishing, boating, or touring America's natural wonders (p. 169)?

Clements tinges his admiration for Hoover's innovative approach to conservation with appropriate skepticism. Hoover's policies met with some success in times of economic prosperity but failed when production, not consumption, drove the economy. The

1929 crash demolished Hoover's rationale for conservation altogether. If only "permanent prosperity" produced environmental amenities, what value did conservation have in times of depression (p. 188)?

In a provocative if overstated argument, Clements points out that Hoover's ideological inconsistencies contributed to his myopic view of conservation. Hoover was a man of "ideological rigidity" whose contradictory ideas about government seriously undercut his solutions to environmental problems (p. 183). In one respect, Hoover was a Progressive, a part of the new elite of technical experts who recognized that a national conservation program would secure efficient resource use, minimize waste in production, and preserve wild areas. At the same time, Hoover's Quaker upbringing on the Oregon frontier instilled in him conservative leanings toward voluntarism, local initiative, and private aid, a radical departure from prewar policies.

Clements sympathetically portrays Hoover's efforts to mesh these contradictory philosophies. Hoover responded to the Mississippi's floods of 1927 by undertaking a flood-control program that combined governmental action with voluntarism. This approach failed, however, to provide adequately for the needs of victims. Similarly, Hoover's attempts to chair the Colorado River Compact ended in disillusionment. He regarded the compact as proof that conservation could proceed with voluntary state cooperation. Yet the agreement only reaffirmed the Bureau of Reclamation's exclusive power to build the huge dam and apportion power rights. Clements concludes that, although Hoover worked well within the existing federal conservation bureaucracy, he failed to set conservation "on an entirely new course" (p. 187).

Hoover, Conservation, and Consumerism reconsiders a man, an era, and even the ideology of early twentieth-century conservation. Yet, in the end, Clements reaches familiar conclusions: Local instruments do not create national conservation programs. Nor should we, or can we, define environmental issues in strictly economic terms.

University of California Humanities Research Institute JESSICA B. TEISCH

Coming of Age in the Great Depression: The Civilian Conservation Corps Experience in New Mexico, 1933-1942. By Richard Melzer. (Las Cruces, N.M., Yucca Tree Press, 2000. xii + 308 pp. \$25)

Richard Melzer's *Coming of Age in the Great Depression* is the most thorough and vivid discussion of the Civilian Conservation Corps

in New Mexico to date. Through deft and creative use of all the available primary archival and oral history sources, Melzer paints an enduring portrait of the young men whose lives were deeply touched by the Depression and the CCC camp experience.

Melzer first gives a brief national overview of the impact of the Great Depression and Roosevelt's response to the issues of unemployment and its effect on young men in particular. Melzer makes the point that many, including Eleanor Roosevelt, worried that a generation of young men would be "lost" as there was little work for them to do and little to look forward to as they made their way in the world. Clearly, Americans feared that, if young men were not occupied in worthwhile pursuits, they would turn to either criminal behavior or radicalism. Nevertheless, the CCC had to overcome critics who worried about bringing together so many aimless young men in isolated camps. Would the camps foment rebellion? Or would they become paramilitary organizations that eerily reflected Hitler's brown-shirted youth? While Melzer identifies these interesting questions, he leaves them for other scholars to explore.

In twelve richly documented chapters, Melzer covers the CCC experience from recruitment to the men's day-to-day experience and the eventual impact on their lives. The book is filled with stories of funny antics, homesickness, hard work, and the personal growth these men experienced. Melzer points out that for the most part the CCC inducted very young, immature men who had never been away from home. The camp provided a number of opportunities for them: They learned how to care for themselves, how to work on a time clock, and how to deal with others in a close environment. While he documents the hardships and difficulties, Melzer nevertheless paints a very positive picture of the experience.

Despite its rich source material, the scope of this book is limited. Melzer portrays New Mexico's CCC as a monolithic experience with little subtlety about individual experiences or camps. For example, were there differences between camps? Melzer mentions that some camps were on Indian reservations but does not explore the implications. Were they administered differently? Did Native Americans and their families have a different set of expectations and experiences? Also, while Melzer mentions that there were both Anglos and Mexican Americans in the camps, he does not discuss racial tensions within the camps or how both the enlistees and the commanders dealt with these situations. Moreover, Melzer makes very little of the fact that this was an all-male space—women were entirely excluded. How did the men react to this? Did they divide

jobs and gender them? Was Kitchen Patrol (KP) considered a punishment because it was women's work? Finally, we have no sense about how the New Mexican experience differed or was similar to the national experience of the CCC.

These are provocative questions that arise when reading Melzer's book. One wishes that he had been more analytical when reading the sources. Nevertheless, Melzer's meticulous work will provide a treasure trove of primary sources and information for anyone wishing to look at life in New Mexico during the Great Depression.

University of Michigan

MARIA E. MONTOYA

A Fateful Time: The Background and Legislative History of the Indian Reorganization Act. By Elmer R. Rusco. (Reno, University of Nevada Press, 2000. xv + 363 pp. \$44.95)

Much controversy has surrounded the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934, which set up a process whereby Native Americans could establish governments recognized as legitimate by the United States. To some commentators, the act bolstered American Indian self-rule by acknowledging Native nations' inherent right to some degree of sovereignty. To others, the IRA constituted another attempt to control and assimilate Indians by trying to replace existing Native leadership structures with tribal governments dominated by the United States.

In *A Fateful Time*, Elmer Rusco, emeritus professor of history at the University of Nevada, weighs in on the former side of the debate. He analyzes the key factors and intentions behind the development and passage of the IRA. Focusing on the 1920s and early 1930s, the author begins by examining Native governments before 1934. He then discusses policymakers' decades-long focus on assimilating Indians into the mainstream through allotment (the dissolution of tribal landholdings in favor of individually owned plots). Growing disillusionment with allotment provided an opportunity for John Collier—a critic of assimilation who became Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933—to change existing policy through the development of the IRA. After much debate, and after Collier consulted with Native Americans, Congress passed a modified version of the measure. The author does not examine the IRA's actual implementation or its impact.

Rusco admits that the act's Senate sponsor, Burton K. Wheeler, favored assimilation. The author, nevertheless, concludes that Col-

lier and others who played key roles in developing the IRA saw it as a real break with past policies. To Collier, the IRA would enhance Native American opportunities for self-government and help preserve distinctive tribal societies. The author objects to critics' contention that the IRA imposed puppet governments on Indian nations, pointing out that the act allowed tribes to choose whether to organize a new government. In fact, Rusco maintains that Collier altered the measure's content in a number of ways in response to American Indian concerns. The author concedes, however, that Native Americans were not consulted during the initial drafting of the act.

Many of these arguments are not new. Rusco deserves credit, though, for supplying a lot of interesting detail to support his assertions and for his thorough and methodical analysis. Another strength is the impressive amount of research that went into the work, at least in terms of written sources. The author examined books, articles, dissertations, government documents, and over a half-dozen archival collections. Oral histories do not appear to have been consulted. This is unfortunate, since Rusco admits that written records often left many questions unanswered. (In fairness, the author tried, unsuccessfully, to look at notes from another scholar's interview with Collier's Assistant Commissioner, William Zimmerman.)

Lewis-Clark State College

CHRISTOPHER K. RIGGS

Hispanics in the Mormon Zion, 1912–1999. By Jorge Iber. (College Station, Texas A&M University Press, 2000. xvi + 196 pp. \$34.95)

Religious minorities in the American West have long existed in the shadows of larger churches, and historians have frequently slighted, misunderstood, or overlooked their stories. Using the lens of religious affiliation, Jorge Iber examined Spanish-speaking peoples in Utah across nine decades of the twentieth century. He focused on two groups in the Beehive State: Roman Catholics, primarily Mexicans and Mexican Americans, and Latinos who became members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints (LDS). He discovered the advantages that conversion provided for Latinos who joined the LDS, as well as the effects of Latino membership upon the church they joined.

Iber drew upon oral histories, church records, and social service agency papers to show that the experience of Mexicans in

Utah differed from other states with larger Spanish-speaking populations, like California and Texas. Two factors explain much of this unique situation. Most important were the sometimes tentative efforts of the Latter-day Saints to convert Mexicans. Those who embraced this faith acculturated more rapidly than those who did not, and they also benefited materially, such as through employment opportunities, particularly during the Great Depression. The second significant agency was a social service group, the Spanish-Speaking Organization for Community, Integrity and Opportunity, known as SOCIO. The primary advocate for Latinos in Utah in the 1960s and 1970s, SOCIO enjoyed official Catholic and LDS support, united Latinos, brought about important social changes, and defused Chicano militancy. SOCIO surmounted mistrust between Catholic and LDS Latinos but succumbed to class-based divisions arising with the arrival of Latin American LDS converts in the 1980s and 1990s.

Iber grounded his study in economic and demographic data and humanized these statistics with vignettes drawn from oral histories. Modestly describing his volume as a “preliminary examination,” he has revealed the interplay of religion, race, ethnicity, and class “for a population previously ignored” (p. 136). This reviewer, however, wishes that Iber had relegated to the endnotes the many extensive quotations and summations of the ideas of other scholars. His own work would have emerged more fully, and he could have addressed a number of unanswered questions that the book raised.

One wonders about the members in the LDS and Catholic churches with whom Latinos dealt. Who were these people? Are there oral histories with their recollections about Spanish-speaking peoples? How did Utah Catholics react to Mexican newcomers? For a clearer context, how did the experiences of other minority populations, such as Native Americans and African Americans, compare with those of Spanish-speakers? One also needs a fuller analysis of the reported religious division that developed among Latinos in the 1990s, and of why so many LDS converts from Latin America immigrated to Utah in the 1980s and 1990s. How did undocumented workers from Mexico and Central America affect the Latino community and its churches?

This is a thought-provoking book that leads the reader to anticipate further valuable work from this author.

The African American Encounter with Japan & China: Black Internationalism in Asia, 1895–1945. By Marc Gallicchio. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2000. x + 262 pp. \$45 cloth, \$17.95 paper)

Marc Gallicchio has written a concise and well-organized study of the evolution of African American views of the role that Japan and China could play in removing the illusion of “white supremacy” from American and international politics in the first half of the twentieth century. His contribution to the recent flowering of scholarly literature on African American activism in international affairs provides welcome coverage of African American intellectual history and expands our collective understanding of race as a factor in the making of U.S. foreign policy. As Gallicchio argues, “black internationalism” provided a perspective for interested African American observers that allowed them to reflect upon the centrality of race in the shaping of international affairs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. His examination of the ways in which Japan and China assumed a symbolic importance in African American discourse about “white supremacy,” and the need to contest its applicability in American and international politics, helps to illustrate the ways in which African Americans have consistently challenged the American order that has sought to relegate them to the margins.

The monograph also demonstrates the ways that white American policymakers, including Presidents Wilson, Hoover, Roosevelt, and others, accepted the logic of “white supremacy” as normal. Wilson’s willingness to invalidate the majority vote for racial equality at Versailles reflected the unapologetic championing of “white supremacy” that stood at the core of the emerging international order in the early twentieth century. In effect, Versailles legitimated *Plessy v. Ferguson* as domestic and foreign policy for the United States. If African Americans subscribed to “black internationalism” as a way of interpreting the world, it was not an aberration. For white Americans, “white supremacy” was also a rational perspective upon the world that they sought to fashion with the help of their European allies. In effect, race stood at the core of American life, and it was the prism through which both blacks and whites viewed the world.

It is perhaps no accident that Asia has proven to be where American ideas of race have revealed their bankruptcy. Japan and China both invalidated the idea of “colored inferiority” through their respective challenges to American preeminence in the twen-

tieth century, and the Korean and Vietnamese wars revealed the limits of American power in Asia. Both African Americans and white Americans have been disappointed by their assumption that these countries would prove to be steadfast allies at various points. Nonetheless, it is also important to remember that the challenge of Asian nationalism was critical to the end of Hawai'i's status as a colony. It was admitted to the United States in 1959 as the first state in which people of color constituted the majority of the population. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was an inevitable corollary as African and Caribbean nationalism also challenged the domestic politics of race in America.

As Gallicchio reminds us, Japan, China, and African Americans in the early twentieth century were fitful collaborators in cutting the tentacles of "white supremacy" in American and international politics.

Pennsylvania State University

CARY FRASER

Paper Son: One Man's Story. By Tung Pok Chin with Winifred C. Chin. (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2000. xx + 147 pp. \$59.50 cloth, \$19.95 paper)

Secrecy obscures two of the most significant periods in Chinese American history: Chinese exclusion from the United States (1882–1943) and the Cold War. During the exclusion era, Chinese responded to racially defined laws barring their entry by developing complicated immigration fraud networks in order to continue coming to live and work in the United States. Most Chinese immigrants were men claiming false names and citizenship status as the "paper sons" of Chin's title. To this day, shame and fear of arrest inhibit this generation from revealing their experiences even to native-born descendants.

During the Cold War, this legacy of illegal immigration further complicated Chinese American lives. The unexpected "loss" of China to communism aroused FBI suspicions of Chinese Americans as a fifth column inextricably bound to the People's Republic by ethnic nationalism or by relatives held hostage. Even after the exclusion laws were repealed, paper sons remained vulnerable because suspected communist sympathizers faced deportation for the unrelated crime of immigration fraud. Understandably, few who remained in the United States as paper sons are willing now to expose secrets so long concealed.

The autobiography of Tung Pok Chin is a welcome, and rare,

personal account of both the trials and minor triumphs of surviving as a paper son. Chin's memoir provides telling details of the most common experiences of his generation: the solitary journey, separation from wives, confinement to laundry and restaurant work, the constant threat of deportation, predominantly male enclaves governed by kinship and native-place networks, and the seamy prevalence of prostitutes and gambling. Chin describes frankly the discrimination faced by himself and fellow soldiers of color in World War II. But perhaps most telling are the vivid contrasts he draws between his satisfaction at finally establishing his own business and family in the United States and invasive visits from FBI agents during the McCarthy era. Chin's heated explanation of his reasons for staying in the United States despite such persecution reflects the gritty determination and many compromises made by Chinese Americans who chose to settle in an openly hostile country. "Because I'm here already! . . . And why should I be forced out now that I'm all settled with a new life and family? I worked hard to get what I have here. I won't give it up now. I fought for this country too, you know. This is my home now!" (p. 87).

While scholars of Asian American history, ethnicity, and immigration will savor Chin's details of bachelor society practices and FBI visits, *Paper Son: One Man's Story* will be accessible to lay readers as well. As a well-published poet and essayist in Chinese and a church interpreter, Chin is an unusually literate and bicultural observer of Chinese American life. K. Scott Wong's introduction is concise but comprehensive and will provide both general and undergraduate audiences with the historical overview and scholarly context needed to appreciate the bittersweet anecdotes contained in this memoir.

San Francisco State University

MADELINE HSU

Guilt by Association: Essays on Japanese Settlement, Internment, and Relocation in the Rocky Mountain West. Edited by Mike Mackey. (Powell, Wyo., Western History Publications, 2001. 289 pp. \$18.95 paper)

In his latest anthology, editor Mike Mackey presents twelve essays that deal largely with the history of the mass incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II in the intermountain West.

The anthology is broken down into six parts, each of which has two chapters. In Part I, Eric Walz offers a useful overview of set-

tlement in the intermountain West, culled from a range of original, archival, and secondary sources. Andrew B. Russell focuses in detail on the incarceration of White Pine County, Nevada, railroad and mine workers. This is an interesting and unusual case that was not fully documented before Russell's research. This essay reflects a salubrious connection between scholarly research and community-based activism, since these workers had to press for monetary reparations before the federal government was willing to recognize their injuries.

In Part II, Louis Fiset discusses U.S. censors and camp mail. Although this is something I had always known about, Fiset covers the topic in detail. Especially interesting to me were the tricks that the men, separated from their families in special Justice Department internment camps, utilized in order to smuggle messages to their wives and families. Hyung-ju Ahn, the pioneer of Korean American history in the intermountain states, presents a short, disturbing essay about the Korean American interpreters who translated for officials at the special Justice Department "internment camps" for enemy aliens. Ahn's sense, based on his original oral history interviews, is that Korean Americans were justifiably angry about Japanese colonialism in Korea, and so they were especially brutal to the Japanese American prisoners in the Justice Department camps.

Arthur A. Hansen's chapter on U.C. Berkeley's Evacuation and Resettlement project leads off Part III. Hansen's chapter features an important case study of Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study (JERS) researcher James M. Sakoda, which Hansen utilizes in order to assess the political orientations of Nisei who worked for JERS in general. Priscilla Wegars's study of Japanese and Japanese Latin Americans incarcerated in Koosia, Idaho's, internment camp, follows. This is an interesting case study that has been neglected in the published literature to date. Wegars has obviously invested a great deal of time and effort in helping to bring the Koosia story to light—including the fact that the Japanese Latin Americans received much less in the way of monetary reparations, even though their circumstances were generally more difficult than those of the North American Nikkei.

Susan L. Smith and Susan McKay contribute to Part IV, which focuses on women's experiences in the camps. Smith looks specifically at caregiving and community health in Utah and Wyoming camps. Her thesis—that informal health care was important under the circumstances of mass incarceration—makes perfect sense. McKay focuses on young women's everyday resistance in the Heart Mountain camp. Much as I reported in *Inside an American Concen-*

tration Camp (1995), McKay found many different instances of popular resistance—cases that indicate that young women asserted their humanity in seemingly small yet meaningful ways.

In Part V, which revolves around media, Kumiko Takahara discusses a controversial treason trial of three Japanese American women in Colorado. These three Nisei women were convicted of helping two German POWs make an escape. Although the Germans did not get very far, local papers painted a lurid picture of the case, and the three women were all convicted. (One wonders if the Asian Law Caucus should not reexamine this case, as I believe that, while these women made a mistake, the climate of war hysteria certainly contributed to the severity of their jail sentences and fines.) Mike Mackey analyzes the articles and editorials that two local Wyoming newspapers featured in regard to the denizens of the Heart Mountain camp. Although the towns where these papers were published are basically equidistant from the camp—namely Powell and Cody, Wyoming—Mackey notes that the Powell newspaper coverage was much more favorable in tone, and he tries to account for this fact.

In the final part of the book, Lynne Horiuchi utilizes an internal colonial framework to analyze the built environment of the camps. Seattle activist Chizu Omori revisits the tremendous injury—personal and collective—caused by the so-called “loyalty questionnaire” of 1943, required of all persons in camp over the age of seventeen.

All in all, these chapters present new and interesting perspectives on lesser-known dimensions of mass incarceration, in a less frequently studied region of the United States. Three problems, however, dampen the overall impact of *Guilt by Association*. I was initially intrigued by the implied promise of the book’s title, as there certainly is less available information on what Mackey terms the Rocky Mountain West. In fact, Walz’s thoughtful overview indicates that there are differential patterns that distinguish Japanese American experiences in the intermountain West that are worthy of further consideration. In this light, Mackey’s decision to write a half-page preface to the volume—in lieu of a general introduction or conclusion that could have addressed whether or not the historiography of Japanese Americans has been distorted by ignoring this region—is a bit surprising, given the book’s title. So is the fact that at least a third of the chapters that Mackey chose to include (namely those by Fiset, Hansen, Horiuchi, and Omori), all of which are interesting to be sure, have little or nothing to do with the intermountain West, per se. Part III, which for some reason was

titled “Resettlement Programs,” was also a disappointment. In fact, when one counts Wegars’s brief comments, and even the last four pages of Walz’s chapter in Part I, there are only a handful of pages that are clearly about resettlement in this book, which is almost 300 pages long.

These points aside, *Guilt by Association* is generally an interesting and useful contribution. It adds to the extant literature, and, because it does have new information about the intermountain West that my students will appreciate, I plan to use it as one of the texts in my course on the “Japanese American experience.”

University of Colorado, Boulder

LANE RYO HIRABAYASHI

Growing Up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture among Japanese Americans of California, 1924–49. By David K. Yoo. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2000. xiii + 244 pp. \$17.95 paper)

Since Bill Hosokawa wrote *Nisei: The Quiet Americans* in 1969, no one has looked carefully at the youth culture of the second-generation Japanese Americans who grew up on the American West Coast in the 1920s and through the 1940s. Now David Yoo, in *Growing Up Nisei*, has attacked that same subject in a more scholarly book with a critical intellectual and political edge.

Hosokawa described the Nisei as Japanese America’s version of “the greatest generation,” the valiant central figures in Japanese American history. He showed a hundred pictures and told a thousand stories. He celebrated Nisei children and teenagers going to school, forming clubs, saluting the American flag, jitterbugging, playing baseball. He focused especially on the World War II concentration camp experience, not primarily as a tragedy of racial oppression, but as a cheerful opportunity for Japanese Americans to exhibit patriotism. His account can be read as a celebration of Japanese American assimilation into the white middle class, a cultural and political move that he believed had largely been achieved by the 1960s. Above all, Hosokawa celebrated the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) as the heroic leaders of the Japanese American community.

Yoo’s version of the Nisei youth is more modest about Nisei glory and more critical, both of the assimilationist project and of the JACL. Like Hosokawa, Yoo has little to say about the Issei, the parental generation of immigrants who have been too much ignored in historical writing. Where he departs from Hosokawa is in the care of his archival research and in his critical stance against

racism. Yoo is a diligent researcher. He has dug deeply in several archives: the Japanese American Evacuation and Resettlement Study Papers and the Institute for Buddhist Studies archive in Berkeley, the Charles Kikuchi Papers and the Japanese American Research Project Papers at UCLA, the Survey of Race Relations Papers at the Hoover Institution, and several collections of private papers. He has read many issues of more than two dozen community newspapers, has conducted interviews, and has read all the relevant secondary literature.

Yoo organizes his book around areas of Nisei youth activity. The first substantive chapter describes issues in Nisei involvement in the American educational system. He highlights the ways that public schools were intended as a tool to deracinate the children of immigrants, the promises of equality they made, and the frustration of Nisei when those promises went unfulfilled. Subsequent chapters describe Nisei religious life, a subject that has been neglected heretofore, and Nisei newspapers in the 1930s. Then Yoo turns to the World War II experience. He describes the concentration camp experience in general terms and then zeroes in on the same themes he discussed for the prewar period: education, religion, newspapers. Along the way, he is less laudatory of the JACL than was Hosokawa.

It is a bit curious that Yoo chooses to emphasize education, religion, and journalism over other aspects of Nisei social life, such as sports, romance, family relationships, or economics. But the tale he tells is worth reading, most especially his attention to Nisei religion. Another oddity is that each of the chapters seems rather more a description of what the author found while researching a particular pile of archival material than a fully rounded discussion of its subject. This is especially evident in the final chapter, "Recording Nisei Experiences." Here Yoo simply digs through one very rich collection of documents—oral histories collected by Charles Kikuchi in the 1940s—and lets the reader know what is in them. This approach, letting the shape of the archives dictate the shape of the discussion, is curious, but it does not detract significantly from what is overall a fine study.

Yoo's writing is clear, blunt, even pungent. He takes pains to define race and ethnicity and to highlight and speak out against racism, including that variety of racism that masquerades as advocacy of nonracial American citizenship. Once again, Roger Daniels's excellent series at the University of Illinois Press has given us a fine book. With *Growing Up Nisei*, David Yoo joins the first rank of historians of Asian America.

The Urban Indian Experience in America. By Donald L. Fixico. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 2000. xiii + 251 pp. \$35 cloth, \$17.95 paper)

Most American Indians live in cities, and Indian urbanization remains among the most important phenomena of contemporary American Indian history. Negotiating the move from reservations to cities, American Indians have forged urban Indian communities from Boston to Seattle. As the first historical survey to examine these communities, Donald Fixico's *The Urban Indian Experience in America* is a welcome addition to the growing field of twentieth-century American Indian history. Fixico combines a deep familiarity with the cultural geography of Indian country with investigations of the growing influence of the federal government over urban Indian affairs and presents a useful introduction to the increasingly urban composition of modern Indian America.

Beginning each of his ten chapters with personal vignettes from urbanized Indians, Fixico expands the insights from his first work, *Relocation and Termination* (1986), and outlines a series of themes that characterize Indian urbanization. While the federal government, through its relocation programs, spurred the growth of urban Indian communities in Chicago, Denver, and Los Angeles, Indian urbanization occurred throughout most of Indian country due to a complicated mix of economic, social, and political forces. Once in cities, Indian peoples usually encountered continued hardships. Among the most challenging, Fixico emphasizes, have been cultural challenges: "The pressures of urban life changed their [Indian] native systematic lifestyle. Transforming from a rural tribal lifestyle to the urban mainstream resulted in a new set of problems" (p. 5). Tracking these new problems in such areas as education, health care, and housing, Fixico argues that cultural conflicts remain among the most enduring dilemmas for urban Indian adjustment and economic mobility. Unfamiliar with the educational, economic, legal, and political institutions in urban areas, urban Indians, according to Fixico, have often replaced reservation and rural poverty with urban plight, and second- and third-generation urban Indians struggle amidst hostile urban schools, neighborhoods, and workplaces.

While alienation and impoverishment characterize much of urbanization, urban Indian communities, Fixico details, have become increasingly resilient and resourceful. Pan-Indian organizations, community centers, and "survival schools" have sprouted throughout most western cities as Indian communities have created

the institutions necessary to serve their population. Contrary to the ill-fated prognoses of many sociologists and government analysts from the relocation era, an urban Indian middle class now exists in many U.S. cities, and new pan-Indian “traditions” intermix with those of reservation and tribal communities.

Fixico offers a wealth of important statistical and archival information. His detailed discussions of the rise of pan-Indian associations, such as the understudied American Indian Chicago Conference of 1961, and urban Indian health and educational centers remain particularly instructive. We learn, for example, of efforts by both the Kennedy and Ford administrations to offer bilingual programs for Indian children, initiatives clearly at odds with the pedagogy of boarding schools and reservation day schools. Whereas *Relocation and Termination* followed a chronological narrative strictly tied to archival sources, *The Urban Indian Experience in America* is more loosely organized and styled. Borrowing heavily from social scientists, Fixico infuses his narrative with psychological and sociological analyses and draws many surprisingly general conclusions about the diverse and complicated nature of Indian urbanization. While many of these specific questions and concerns will have to await future scholarship, Fixico has centered historical analysis on the adaptive and enduring survival of Indian peoples in modern America.

University of Wisconsin-Madison

NED BLACKHAWK

Keystone: The American Occupation of Okinawa and U.S.-Japanese Relations. By Nicholas Evan Sarantakes. (College Station, Texas A&M University Press, 2000. xxiii +264 pp. \$34.95)

The U.S. occupation of the Ryukyu Islands is an important minor chapter in American post-World War II military and diplomatic history. It is a story that offers a great deal: an adolescent superpower attempting to reconstruct a subtropical Asian society after the titanic last battle of history’s most destructive war, diplomatic intrigue and military improvisation through five presidential administrations, and alliance politics against the backdrop of the Cold War. Nicholas Sarantakes traces events from Operation Iceberg in April 1945 until reversion of political control to Japan in 1972. In his introduction, the author succinctly poses the two questions that he does answer successfully: “Why would the United States insist on administering an entire province of a country that it otherwise called an ally?” and “Why did the Americans return

Okinawa when they did?" Writing in a lively, often anecdotal style, Sarantakes has produced what is likely to be the definitive work on the subject. Nonetheless, it has flaws, despite its scope and merits.

Keystone is the sixth in the Foreign Relations and the Presidency series published by Texas A&M Press. The book is divided into ten chapters, beginning with the battle for Okinawa, which raged from April to June of 1945, and ending with two chapters entitled "Reversion, 1967–1969" and "Aftermath, 1969–1972," plus a brief conclusion. The titles are curious because the reversion itself occurred May 15, 1972. In any case, the real strength of the book is in the early chapters that cover the end of the war to the mid-1950s, when uncertainties about the exact nature of the U.S.-Japanese relationship triggered several changes for the role of what eventually became a massive complex of military bases there. The complicated twists and turns of military planning, affected by, among other things, global Cold War geopolitics, typhoons, and the Korean War, are presented lucidly and documented well.

Sarantakes's coverage of the later Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon years is similarly informative, although there have been other studies of the period to which he gives little attention. (He earlier gives merely a passing reference to George H. Kerr's monumental *Okinawa: History of an Island People*, a book fundamental to understanding the Ryukyuan historical perspective, going back long before the islands were formally incorporated into Japan in 1879.) He presents the maneuvering between Kennedy's Ambassador Edwin O. Reischauer and High Commissioner Lt. Gen. Paul Caraway in a way that makes Reischauer seem ineffectual, although he clearly was highly regarded by the Japanese and raised consciousness about the "time bomb" potential of Okinawa more than any other individual in the early 1960s.

The book richly conveys the flavor of the periods covered, including some of the absurdities and pathos of a military bastion of American-generated "freedom" in East Asia rife with prostitution, venereal disease, and military-civilian "incidents," while indigenous political parties and governments could do little but protest. It does not offer much in the way of theory—say, from the literature on colonialism or on Cold War strategy—but it does nicely round out information about the alliance politics of Tokyo and Washington and about some of the intramilitary and State Department/military differences. The book's format is attractive, with good use of maps, photographs, and an ingeniously designed cover. The documentation is impressive—Sarantakes draws well on the resources of presidential libraries and the National Archives, although the lump-

ing of government documents under “Books” in the bibliography seems odd.

Mercy College

FREDERICK L. SHIELS

Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919–1950. By Mark Bradley. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2000. xiv + 304 pp. \$39.95)

Imagining Vietnam and America places the ways Americans and Vietnamese saw one another, and their interactions, within broader contexts: the development of the Vietnamese Revolution on the one hand, and America’s vision of its own racial and cultural superiority on the other. This short, heavily documented book (192 pages of text, plus 66 pages of endnotes) reflects impressive research, based on published works and archival documents from the United States, Vietnam, France, and Britain, and interviews in Vietnam.

The “Introduction” and chapters 1 and 2 lay out the background up through the 1930s. Early twentieth-century Vietnamese views of the United States were overwhelmingly favorable, emphasizing American wealth and technology, as well as hero-figures like George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. Beginning in the late 1920s, Marxist influence shaped a more mixed picture.

Americans’ lack of respect for the Vietnamese did not lead to approval of French colonialism; the French were condemned for not having elevated and educated their subjects.

Chapters 3 through 5, the heart of the book, trace the Vietnamese revolution, American policies toward it, and Vietnamese foreign policy—toward the United States and other countries—during the 1940s. The Vietnamese seriously hoped for, and attempted to achieve, friendship with the United States. The United States rejected their overtures not only because the U.S. alliance with France seemed so vital, or because the U.S. diplomats in Paris—who sent to Washington what they were being told by French sources—were of higher rank than those in Vietnam. At least as important was the fact that neither group of U.S. diplomats respected the Vietnamese. The “Conclusion” carries the story from 1950 to the mid-1990s.

Drawing on sources not explored by previous authors, Bradley puts new information on the table about how the Vietnamese viewed the Americans. Perhaps more important is the new interpretive lens he applies when looking at the Americans, stressing

their disrespect for the Vietnamese, whom they saw as incapable of self-rule and thus likely to fall under Soviet domination if the French were expelled. Occasionally, Bradley's comments on American racism are extreme, but his point seems valid, and one hopes that other scholars will soon be incorporating his insight in their work.

Bradley's dense, polysyllabic prose is occasionally repetitive and sometimes quite hard to understand. Parts of the book also seem a bit incomplete. He is tracing attitudes and patterns of thought. More examples, at greater length, would have given readers a clearer view of the nuances and more confidence that the examples are typical. There are occasional errors of chronology, including references to "the Huk communist insurgency in the Philippines" in the 1930s (p. 41) and to Ho Chi Minh's return to Vietnam in 1941 "after an absence of almost ten years" (p. 109).

Serious scholars and advanced students should read *Imagining Vietnam and America*, but it cannot be recommended for the beginning student or general reader.

Clemson University

EDWIN E. MOÏSE

Nixon and the Environment. By J. Brooks Flippen. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 2000. ix + 308 pp. \$24.95)

Is Nixon the one? In a span of four years, from 1970 to 1974, some of the most significant and extensive environmental legislation was passed by Congress and signed into law by Richard Nixon. At the same time, new administrative units were created during Nixon's tenure, most notably the Environmental Protection Agency and the Council on Environmental Quality. Some of Nixon's appointees, such as John Whitaker and Russell Train, were considered "pro-environment." And while almost none of the enacted legislation was drafted entirely by the President (and one of the more important laws, the Clean Water Act, was passed over his veto), Nixon, at least during the first couple of years of his first term, sought to demonstrate that he too had developed an environmental agenda.

In his examination of the President's policies in *Nixon and the Environment*, J. Brooks Flippen argues that some of Nixon's environmental initiatives were clearly in political response to potential presidential challenges from Democratic Senators Edmund Muskie and Henry Jackson. Nixon, like other political figures, also used environmental issues as a safer, less radical counterpoint to the pow-

erful and intense movements around the Vietnam War and issues of race and poverty that dominated the politics at the time. But Flippen also argues that the sheer volume of environmental policy change in this period established the Nixon administration as the most productive in environmental terms of any administration either before or after. Whether reluctant or not, Nixon became, according to this argument, the twentieth century's environmental President.

But was Nixon really the one? The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed an unprecedented explosion of interest and advocacy around environmental issues at both the local and national level. The new environmental movements were able to reframe the environmental agenda and quickly eclipsed the traditional conservationist groups like the Izaak Walton League and the Wilderness Society that struggled to keep pace with the new advocacy. Issues such as chemical pollution, human health impacts, transportation, and other daily life concerns took center stage. Advocates like Ralph Nader became key participants in the push for new environmental approaches far more than Nixon (whose positions were largely reactive) and even Muskie. And it was these advocates and movements that significantly shaped the political discourse that ultimately led to the passage of such legislation as the Clean Air Act and the Occupational Safety and Health Act.

Flippen's analysis of the period, however, focuses more on intrigues in the policy arena, while seeking to claim an appropriate environmental legacy for Nixon. But Nixon, particularly during his second term, came to see environmentalism as a threat to the dominant social order. This idea of a more structural challenge to the urban-industrial order implicit in the new environmental advocacy (that Nixon indeed feared) is a more fitting legacy of the creative and tumultuous days of the early 1970s than the backroom politics described in *Nixon and the Environment*.

Occidental College

ROBERT GOTTLIEB

Messages from Frank's Landing: A Story of Salmon, Treaties, and the Indian Way. By Charles Wilkinson. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2000. 118 pp. \$22.50)

On May 17, 1999, I was driving down Interstate 5 when I heard the news: A Makah crew had captured a gray whale. I had my own opinions about what it all meant, but I wanted to listen to other Northwesterners. As I roamed the airwaves, I heard a nonstop bar-

rage of anti-Indian rhetoric. Caller after caller on talk show after talk show decried the hunt, condemned Indians, and demanded an end to treaty rights. The racism was palpable—and all too familiar. The sentiments that erupted around the Makah echoed a longer, deeper, more bitter war from a generation ago.

The 1960s and 1970s witnessed intense civil rights activism throughout the United States. In the Pacific Northwest, Indians contested the legal, political, and environmental implications of treaties, written in 1854 and 1855, that reserved a right to take fish “at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations, . . . in common with all citizens of the Territory” (p. 12). A number of scholars have addressed portions of this history, but surprisingly little has been written about a critical conflict in the 1960s between the state of Washington and Indians in the southern Puget Sound. This is the focus of Charles Wilkinson’s *Messages from Frank’s Landing*, and through it we get a sense of what has both changed and not changed in the years since.

State officials had fought for a century to regulate Indian fishing, and Indians had resisted these efforts for just as long. State officials insisted this was about states rights and conservation; Indians claimed it was about selfish racism. Both were correct, and by the 1960s the contest had devolved into systematic persecution, organized raids, and physical violence. On the Puyallup and Nisqually rivers near Tacoma, a few Indians responded to this endgame by openly defying illegal regulations and martial enforcement. The resulting “fish-ins” drew national attention and led to court rulings that eventually made Indians equal partners in managing fisheries—and whale hunts.

Wilkinson contributes less to the big picture of this story than to its private corners, but the strength of his approach sometimes backfires. By focusing on conflicts at Frank’s Landing on the Nisqually River, he shows how a few men and women, all of whom were related in some way to Billy Frank, Jr., fought unconstitutional policies in the press and courts. This is a personal story, told passionately, that often seems like a family feud, but making Billy Frank the central actor sometimes obscures the dynamic leadership at the Landing. For all his notoriety, Frank’s greatest contribution was fiscal, but this meant spending months away working as a line-man. In his absence, others carried the fight quite ably. Frank later became a principal political figure, but at the time his importance as an agitator was often less than that of Hank Adam, Maiselle Bridges, and Al Bridges.

Wilkinson is a superb storyteller, and the events at Frank’s

Landing are well served by the grace and power of his prose. The problems with this book are minor, its contributions huge, but as the Makah hunt showed, the messages from Frank's Landing are still muted and poorly understood by non-Indian members of society.

Iowa State University

JOSEPH E. TAYLOR III

Dream a Little: Land and Social Justice in Modern America. By Dorothee E. Kocks. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000. xx + 255 pp. \$45 cloth, \$18.95 paper)

Utilizing what she terms the "geographic embrace," Dorothee E. Kocks's commendable book explores how Americans traditionally and continuously tend to envision and mythologize landscapes of the West as a release valve for the ills of society and as a means of elaborating aspirations for social justice and economic equity. But the interesting question that Kocks raises is that having the government dole out land between the 1830s and 1920s was not seen as a handout or charity similar to welfare programs beginning in the 1930s. For this reason, Kocks argues that, "before there was a welfare state, there was a frontier state" (p. 3).

Kocks believes that by evading the political and economic consequences of this social program, the proponents of the frontier state idealistically felt that they were providing much of the needed relief to the impoverished masses and immigrants, while subverting the masses' interests and sometimes subtly catering to the needs of corporations, such as railroad companies, mining operations, and early real estate speculators. In essence, the author attempts to show how doling out land as a welfare reform, with all the corruption that lurks around the corner of all reforms, has eluded our social consciousness through the numerous myths that promoted and invigorated certain cultural assumptions that, in turn, became reified through our perceptions of the frontier. Kocks intends not simply to demythologize but to "lean in" to the geographic embrace that, for her, combines "dreaming" with "analytic reasoning" (p. 58). Thus, her aim in the first portion of her text is to analyze the linkages between ideas of landscapes and visions of social equity.

In the second portion of her book, Kocks turns to two authors, Mari Sandoz and Josephine Johnson, and a civil rights activist, Ella Baker, as exemplary of these linkages (dreaming/analytic reasoning) who promoted what the author believes is the geographic em-

brace. While interweaving her own story within the stories of these women, she describes Sandoz as a writer who “turned to landscapes for idealistic reasons; for the dream of a better world” (p. 69). While Sandoz remained insistent on the ecology of the West (and later Native Americans) as the central focus of her work, Johnson, a recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for her 1934 book *Now in November*, was exemplary for her environmental themes, according to Kocks, “because she was a careful, smart thinker and a terrific writer” (p. 107). Although Johnson professed a “liberalism in the margins” (p. 155) regarding some of her critical notions of the family farm, Kocks believes that Ella Baker, the civil rights activist who acted locally while thinking globally, offered in the process hope of grass-roots democracy to those who had been locally disenfranchised.

With pointed scholarship and refreshing wisdom, this book promotes a profound statement that forces a cultural convergence of theory and practice, science and religion, myth and reality, and individual and social responsibility concerning our local and global environment. This fascinating book will enrich anyone interested in dreaming of environmental equity and social justice in modern America.

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Land in the American West: Private Claims and the Common Good. Edited by William G. Robbins and James C. Foster. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2000. xi + 222 pp. \$20 paper)

The title of William G. Robbins and James C. Foster’s edited volume, *Land in the American West*, is as evocative as it is straightforward. As Foster notes in his preface, “land” and “the West” are terms that “fire Americans’ imaginations,” carrying with them a host of visual images and mythological figures that has sometimes reached sacred status. But western land can also be an “enigma,” as John Bergson, the patriarchal figure of Willa Cather’s *O Pioneers!*, thinks on his deathbed. “It was like a horse that no one knows how to break to harness, that runs wild and kicks things to pieces.”

The same might be said of the politics of land in the West, which at any given time kicks up tremendous dust and throws plenty of riders. But since public land history receded from scholarly view several decades ago, few historians have reconsidered the questions that once informed that weighty historiography. This volume, which emerged from a 1997 conference at Oregon State University, will serve as a much-needed start to opening that con-

versation. Although the collection offers little sense for the particular selection of topics (why, for instance, are we given three interpretations of property rights?), the authors cover a great deal of ground, giving readers both broad perspectives and case studies.

Underlying almost all the essays is an investigation of the conflict between private and public claims on western land. As a number of the authors note, this is not always such an easy task, since that conflict typically involves the very meanings of “private” and “public.” For instance, in an illuminating essay on “the new property debates,” Sarah Pralle and Michael W. McCann rightly note that, although the political tradition of the United States has always held a “common commitment to the principle of property,” this commitment nonetheless “has rarely secured consensus on any particular construction of the concept itself” (p. 53). Maria Montoya’s essay on the Taylor Ranch in southern Colorado is an excellent case study of the conflicting meanings people have historically brought to their understandings of property. Montoya shows how the land encompassed in the Taylor Ranch experienced a “confluence” of property regimes over time (p. 127). But she also brings the story up to our own time, exploring the legal tensions between local Hispanos’ longstanding use of the land as a commons and the structures of private property that ultimately cannot protect that use.

The lack of consensus over the meanings of private property is mirrored in the meanings that have evolved out of public land use. William D. Rowley, for instance, provides a concisely sweeping account of the western rangelands, where public policy has been especially porous to private influences. Indeed, at issue historically has been the very question of which public should be served in the management of the public grazing lands. In the final essay of the volume, however, Richard W. White makes a strong case for “resurrecting ‘public’ as a meaningful category” in guiding public land policy, even if it is a word with overstuffed ‘baggage’” (pp. 204, 193). With a new administration of free-marketeers ensconced in Washington, such a goal may amount to wishful thinking at the moment. But, given that recent census figures show the West growing at a faster pace than any other region of the nation, it is also true that federal land managers will have to reckon with a much larger *western* public, many of whom “share a sense,” as Carl Abbott points out, “that they live in the last, best place” (p. 90).