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City Against Suburb: The Culture Wars in an American Metropolis [book review]

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
JOURNALS + DIGITAL PUBLISHING

Reviews of Books

Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 70, No. 2 (May 2001), pp. 304-351

Published by: [University of California Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/phr.2001.70.2.304>

Accessed: 29/03/2013 12:19

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Reviews of Books

The World That Trade Created: Society, Culture, and the World Economy, 1400 to the Present. By Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik. (Armonk, N.Y., M. E. Sharpe, 1999. xvii + 256 pp. \$34.95)

The World That Trade Created is comprised of seventy-six vignettes grouped into seven chapters. Not intended as a scholarly treatise, it is instead a fun collection written by two excellent scholars who evidently enjoy teaching about global economic connections during the past 600 years. I am using this accessible and casual book in an undergraduate seminar on Global Economic History. My students are learning lessons to which mainstream historians should pay attention.

The authors point out, for example, that the rise of Islam in the seventh century paved the way for long-distant trade because the Islamic caliphate “could guarantee safe passage between two worlds—the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean—separated since the decline of Rome” (p. 17). They discuss the “looseness of Islamic rule” and point out that “local rulers were allowed to do much as they pleased. Most rulers allowed traders of all faiths to move freely from port to port” (p. 17). Instructors might choose to add information to the effect that the Eastern Orthodox Church is headquartered in Istanbul today and that the sultan sent ships to retrieve Jews expelled from Spain in 1492. They might want to emphasize other connections, of course, but the point is that Pomeranz and Topik demolish many absurd stereotypes about world trade history. A little later, the authors state that it “was only with the consolidation of Mongol power in Central Asia that the northern trade routes reopened, bringing . . . Europeans . . . into direct contact with China for the first time ever” (pp. 19–20), or that Mesoamerican traders pushed goods over 2,000 miles and that “Tenochtitlan may have had as many as 500,000 inhabitants, ten times the size of the largest city in Spain” (p. 23).

Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 70, No. 2, pages 304–351. ISSN 0030-8684

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University of California Press, 2000 Center St., Ste. 303, Berkeley, CA 94704-1223.

Pomeranz and Topik often illustrate a point with specific personalities. In 1591 Persian-born Muhammed Sayyid Ardestani, for example, became an immensely wealthy tax farmer in the Indian sultanate of Golconda, one with a “bodyguard” of over 5,000. “Thus, when the English East India Company conquered Bengal in 1757, it did not try to install a new sovereign; instead the Company forced the existing ruler to appoint it—a new, corporate type of merchant—to the time-honored post of chief tax farmer” (p. 36). Other times, the authors call attention to fascinating details, like the printing of the first accurate world map in Canton in 1701. The makers of this particular map chose *not* to divide up the world by continents: “It groups people together who face the same body of water, so that East Africa goes with the Middle East and the west coast of India. And when it comes to ‘people of the Great Western Ocean’ (the Atlantic) it makes no sharp distinction between Africans, Europeans, and Americans” (p. 43). The necessity of China’s 1,400-mile Grand Canal (constructed from the 600s to 1420) for the very existence of massive Chinese cities of over a million is illustrated by pointing out that “a team of horses that traveled over twenty miles would eat enough of the grain they hauled to make the trip (usually) unprofitable” (p. 55). This statement has tremendous implications for assessing the importance of water transportation worldwide; nobody is able to make sense of trade history while wearing conceptual blinders in the form of nation-state units of analysis.

While fewer than 2 million Europeans came to the Americas between 1500 and 1800, 4 million Chinese moved to the Southwest frontier, over 2 million to Manchuria, yet Sichuan was (for 200 years) the most popular destination of all (p. 60). Why were Chinese so much more mobile than Europeans? “In the economic sphere, they were simply freer than their European contemporaries—and that meant, among other things, freer to move” (p. 61). So much for stagnant, inward-looking Asians.

I have already exceeded this journal’s length limit for reviews, and I am still stuck in Chapter 2 (out of six). Take my word for it: The most fascinating material appears later on. Still, I hope this sample whets your appetite. Perhaps the book’s greatest asset is its educational value for students and world historians alike. The information explosion forces even world historians to specialize. This “Reader’s Digest” for world historians is an idea whose time has come. Whether you assign it to students or lecture from it as if you were actually familiar with all these literatures, this book provides an excellent vehicle for spreading knowledge about world trade history. Plus, it is fun.

University of the Pacific

DENNIS O. FLYNN

The Kachina and the Cross: Indians and Spaniards in the Early Southwest. By Carroll L. Riley. (Salt Lake City, University of Utah Press, 1999. xvi + 336 pp. \$34.95)

Our Prayers Are in This Place: Pecos Pueblo Identity over the Centuries. By Frances Levine. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1999. xxii + 212 pp. \$39.95)

Carroll Riley's declared purpose is to interpret seventeenth-century New Mexico as an anthropologist would see it: a land where several major ethnic groups cooperated and competed in a swirl of relationships among Pueblos, nomads, and Spaniards, changing over time and from one area to another. The first three chapters provide essential prologue: an overview of the European background and the circumstances of the coming of the religious orders; a brisk description of the evolving Pueblo cultures and relations among sectors of the Pueblo world; an examination of the initial clashes of Spanish and Pueblo cultures. Chapters four and five describe the impact of the Oñate *entrada* and the situation of the Pueblos and neighboring peoples in 1598. Chapters six through fourteen analyze the interplay of Spanish and Pueblo societies from initial colonization through the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the reconquest by Diego José de Vargas.

Reflecting Riley's half-century of intense involvement with the terrain, the peoples, the archaeology, the anthropology, and the documentary record of the region, this book adds up to a 252-page *tour de force*. It is not contentious: Acknowledging uncertainties, the author states but never urges his conclusions. Nor is it provincial: Riley's wide-ranging grasp of the European background, particularly in regard to the development of scientific knowledge, is evident throughout.

The absence of annotation is initially startling. However, a concluding fifty-six-page section entitled "Sources and Commentary" supports each of the fourteen chapters with a critical bibliographical essay that is more broadly informative than the customary footnotes could be. Ten maps, one table, and twenty pictures reinforce the text.

In sum, *The Kachina and the Cross* is learned discourse, richly allusive but never pedantic, wide-ranging but carefully balanced, and eminently readable. Rarely are history and anthropology so gracefully interwoven.

In *Our Prayers Are in This Place*, Frances Levine traces a much narrower topic through a much longer period of time. Her declared purpose is to analyze the causes and consequences of cul-

tural contacts and succession in the upper Pecos River valley, from 1540 to 1850, and then to examine the historical context of the anthropological reasoning that led to a declaration of extinction for Pecos Pueblo. Among many factors in population decline at Pecos Pueblo, she examines successive Hispanic and Anglo American impacts in the Pecos Valley, noting successive waves of cultural change, disease, and encroachment that climaxed with the Santa Fe Trail traffic and detailing the circumstances of the 1838 departure of the sorely dwindled inhabitants of Pecos Pueblo.

In essence, Levine summarizes data from decades of various archaeological, anthropological, historical, and legal investigations of Pecos. She adds to that data her own intensive work with the hitherto little consulted sacramental records of Pecos, thus addressing some key demographic questions. A nicely written introduction is followed by seven brief chapters. Twelve appendices, twenty-one figures, and twenty-one tables present supporting data.

Intrigued by long-standing questions concerning the continuity of Pecos identity since the 1838 emigration to Jemez Pueblo, Levine did a great deal of field work at Jemez. It appears that she may have learned considerably more than could be reported without violating the confidentiality of the informants. One hopes that she will eventually feel free to amplify that aspect of her treatise. She also pursued interesting questions of ethnic identity and of attitudes toward Pecos Pueblo among the present inhabitants of the Pecos Valley.

Our Prayers Are in This Place reflects the author's considerable involvement with the exemplary Pecos National Historic Park, which not only maintains and interprets the magnificent ruin of Pecos Pueblo but supports extensive archaeological and historical investigation of the wider world of the Pecos people. Levine's book seems to be a preliminary report on lines of inquiry that could keep her busy for years to come and eventually yield a major interpretive work.

The titles of *The Kachina and the Cross* and *Our Prayers Are in This Place* suggested a common concern with fundamental belief systems, quite logically leading the editors to propose a joint review and me to agree. Neither of us foresaw the impossibility of a fair comparison between a distinguished scholar's elegant summation of conclusions based on decades of work and the first book of a promising scholar handicapped by the conventions of a discipline that riddles prose with citations in parentheses.

Austin, Texas

ELIZABETH A. H. JOHN

The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence: Introduced Infectious Diseases and Population Decline among Northwest Coast Indians, 1774–1874. By Robert Boyd. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1999. xv + 403 pp. \$50)

Since the completion of his Ph.D. thesis at the University of Washington in 1985, Robert Boyd has been the most comprehensive and reliable interpreter of disease events and aboriginal depopulations on the Northwest Coast. These are topics of enormous importance for they underlie not only contact processes in Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and Alaska, but also most of the area's subsequent development. Had there been no epidemics and no depopulations, the remaking of the Northwest Coast over the last two centuries would have been very different. Boyd was the first to bring the horrendous tragedy of the epidemics into some focus, and he has remained the most consistent student of the topic. *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, the product of some twenty years of work, is a fundamental book, a point of departure for thinking about everything else that has happened here.

In a sense, Boyd has connected the Northwest Coast to the hemispheric literature on the subject. Not so long ago there were held to be 6 to 8 million people in the Western Hemisphere when Columbus arrived. Now a fairly conservative estimate is on the order of 40 to 50 million, and in region after region the evidence accumulates that aboriginal depopulation in the century after contact was in the order of 90 percent. We are face to face with the greatest demographic disaster in the history of the world—along the Northwest Coast as virtually everywhere else in the New World.

Boyd's book is meticulously researched (particularly, I think, in the lower Columbia basin), and full of well-pondered information, often in the form of exceedingly useful maps and tables. It will be, now, the point of departure for all subsequent regional work on the topic. Detailed and impressive as it is, it is not the final word, and it cannot be, given the very fragmentary data available. Arguments about his interpretations are inevitable. Here, for what they may be worth, are three.

Boyd considers that a smallpox epidemic broke out in Alaska in the mid-1770s and spread quickly south, becoming a coast-wise pandemic. To sustain this argument, he has to explain, I think, why neither the British nor the Spanish at Nootka Sound only a few years later made any mention of smallpox, and why, in all the accounts of the maritime fur trade along the west coast of Vancouver Island and the central coast of British Columbia, there is no men-

tion of the disease. Smallpox was feared, left visible traces, and was commonly reported when seen. On the other hand, it was certainly among the Shoshone and the Kootenay about 1780, as part of a continental pandemic that originated in Mexico City. There is also no doubt that smallpox was on the lower Columbia and through Puget Sound to the lower Fraser well before it arrived in Vancouver in 1792. I think the inference is clear. There were separate epidemics along the coast in the late eighteenth century, one in the north in the 1770s, perhaps introduced by the Spaniards, another in the south a few years later, coming from the east. I think Boyd underrates the evidence of silence.

At least along the lower Fraser, I doubt there was an epidemic in 1801, as Boyd suggests. The evidence for smallpox in the area is consistent with a single epidemic circa 1782. Had there been an epidemic in 1801, I think there would be more archival references to it. The Fort Langley journal, 1827–1830, makes no mention of smallpox.

In the concluding chapter of *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence*, Boyd estimates the pre-epidemic populations along the Northwest Coast. By his calculation there were, for example, 10,534 Halkomelem speakers (the people living along the lower Fraser river or the adjacent coast of Vancouver Island) and 1,980 Chinook and Clatsop at the mouth of the Columbia. These figures are derived by working back from the first reliable census and assuming a mortality of one-third from the first smallpox epidemic. But first reliable censuses are notoriously unreliable (see Robert Galois, *Kwakwaka'Wakw Settlements, 1775–1920*, Appendix 1), and an estimated mortality of one-third is, at best, an educated guess. I am tempted to say, therefore, that Boyd's figures are meaningless, but the problem, rather, is that they convey the wrong meaning. Their precision implies a level of understanding that we cannot have. Essentially, we do not know whether before the epidemics there were 10,000 or 50,000 Halkomelem speakers.

That *The Coming of the Spirit of Pestilence* will be argued in such ways is a measure of the importance both of the book and of the topics it addresses. Boyd has led us to understand that in devastating epidemics and depopulations is the sorry starting point of the modern Northwest Coast.

University of British Columbia

COLE HARRIS

Power and Place in the North American West. Edited by Richard White and John M. Findlay. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1999. xx + 312 pp. \$19.95 paper)

The politics of space has become a key academic concern in recent years, and *Power and Place in the North American West* documents how geopolitical considerations have animated a generation of new regional historians. Sensitive to the capacity of natural and built environments to shape society, growing ranks of western historians have produced pathbreaking studies of the relationship between power and place in America. Richard White and John Findlay are major voices for this new regional history, and their anthology generously showcases the work of other environmentally sensitive historians who will carry considerations of power and place far into the twenty-first century.

White, Findlay, and their eleven contributors examine the spatial dynamics of western history from many perspectives. Beginning with James P. Ronda's microscopic study of environmental perceptions at the mouth of the Columbia and ending with Virginia Scharff's sweeping discussion of western women, *Power and Place in the North American West* offers a spectrum of possibilities for further geohistorical work. As if building upon Henri Lefebvre's aphorism that "Architecture takes a place from nature and appropriates it for politics," the editors' introduction provides a theoretical overview that defines basic terms and describes how human signatures on the land impose order on nature and other people. The subsequent essays fall into four sections that examine not only exploitative control from distant sources—the federal government, corporate capitalism, the tourist juggernaut—but also consider how grass-roots groups in the West can create their own places of power.

The opening section is concerned with the play of power between newcomers and natives, imperialists and indigenous people. James Ronda brilliantly narrates the contrasting world views of Clatsop inhabitants and Anglo interlopers within the small triangle of territory where Lewis and Clark wintered in 1805–1806. Largely viewed from the native perspective of resistance and dispossession over the next half-century, Ronda concludes that the Clatsop "knew that power lives and moves and has its being in places. . . . Struck from their own place, they had come to feel the weight of power from other places" (p. 20). Concentrating on the New Mexican borderlands between 1780 and 1880, James F. Brooks analyzes a distinctive multicultural economic system based upon the barter of

captive women and children. With British Columbia as his focus, John Lutz lucidly surveys how Europeans marshaled dismissive images of “the Indian” and how native people would refashion imperialist notions of race for their own purposes.

The second group of essays addresses racial hierarchies in the urban West. Building upon Lutz’s study of early white racism, Kevin Allen Leonard presents the rampant terrorism against Japanese Americans in Los Angeles during World War II as a defining moment in the long history of western racism. The harsh voices that raged against Japanese, Mexicans, and other minorities during the war were more muted, though equally damaging, during Los Angeles’s earlier history. Concentrating on the years between 1880 and 1930, William Deverell and Douglas Flamming describe how the “hyperventilated rhetoric” of Los Angeles’s white and black boosters reflected “the complicated racialization of modern western society” (p. 117). Returning to the pivotal 1940s, Chris Friday examines how white perceptions of Japanese and Chinese Americans in San Francisco and Seattle shifted with the winds of war.

The final sections discuss economic and gender issues. In separate essays, Hal Rothman and Paul W. Hirt demonstrate how packaged tourism in Idaho and “scientific” timber management in Washington have troubled the culture and impoverished the landscape of each place. Paralleling Hirt’s story of scientific foresters supervising the destruction of forests, Joseph E. Taylor narrates how salmon managers in Oregon have led the way toward the fish’s extinction, and William G. Robbins discusses how industrial boosterism in late nineteenth-century Oregon encouraged environmental depletion that Oregonians would eventually regret. Counterbalancing these male-oriented studies of environment and economy, Virginia Scharff weighs the implications of geographical movement for women in the West and ends with a moving tribute to the restless Janis Joplin who refused to be put in her place.

Power and Place in the North American West is an important though occasionally uneven anthology. Despite its panoramic title, eight of the eleven chapters are devoted to the West Coast, slighting much of the interior West. Although some chapters are tangentially related to issues of power and place, at least half of the essays are pathbreaking and provocative contributions to grasping the spatial dynamics of history. Joseph Taylor’s wry assertion that “It is not enough to discuss environmental history the way Perry Miller talked about the Puritans. The past did not occur on the head of a pin, but across expansive, interconnected space” (p. 253) could stand as an epigraph for the entire book, and John Findlay

and Richard White deserve high praise for drawing further attention to the power of place in western history.

California State University, Fullerton

MICHAEL STEINER

Northwest Lands, Northwest Peoples: Readings in Environmental History. Edited by Dale Goble and Paul W. Hirt. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1999. xiv + 552 pp. \$29.95)

This impressive collection of essays belongs in the library of anyone professing an interest in Pacific Northwest history and culture. The book starts with the assertion that “cultures evolve in places—that societies develop within a geographical setting, filling an ecological niche” (pp. ix–x). The editors desired to uncover and explain the “tangled” relationship between nature and culture, drawing on the insights of historians and anthropologists, botanists and geographers, journalists and law professors, among others. The result is an anthology that gives “broad topical coverage” while making no claim to an overarching definition of the region. As the editors acknowledge, no single volume can an entire region define. Nonetheless, this multidisciplinary collection of essays gives a thorough rendering of the region’s geographic and cultural diversity.

Most of the essays in the book originated as papers given at the Northwest Environmental History Symposium held in Pullman, Washington, in August 1996. The authors discuss such topics as place and bioregion (Eric C. Ewert, Dan Flores, William L. Lang, William G. Robbins), urban development (Carl Abbott), salmon and fisheries (Douglas Deur, Dale Goble, Carolyn Merchant), Native American cultures (Douglas Deur, Eugene S. Hunn, Alan G. Marshall, Barbara Leibhardt Wester), ranching and agriculture (Kathleen A Dwire, Bruce A. McIntosh, J. Boone Kauffman, William Wyckoff, Katherine Hansen, Mark Fiege, Dorothy Zeisler-Vralsted), forestry and mining (Nancy Langston, Paul W. Hirt, Thomas R. Cox, Katherine G. Morrissey, Katherine Aiken), hydroelectricity, natural history, and environmental perceptions (Arthur R. Kruckeberg, Paul S. Martin, Christine R. Szuter, Michael C. Blumm, William Dietrich). In most topic areas, the editors have provided multiple viewpoints. For example, three authors discuss forest history, each from a different geographical, chronological, or analytical position. Four articles explicitly discuss Native American cultures and subsistence practices, while several other essays address Native American issues in conjunction with other topics. The multiple viewpoints are particularly effective in this anthology since

the region occupies such diverse geographical terrain. In the case of Native American cultures, coastal peoples differed in their social and subsistence practices from interior peoples. The cultural diversity of these groups stemmed from geographic variations, which clearly explicates the theme of the book: "how humans have adapted to and modified nature over time in the Pacific Northwest . . . and how changing ecological conditions have in turn affected human economies, laws, values, and social order" (p. xi). Likewise, forestry and agricultural experiences vary according to geographical and climatological circumstances. One reason this book satisfies so completely is that it is grounded thoroughly in the physical setting of nature. Cultures inhabit the narrative but never to the exclusion of the natural setting.

The editors acknowledge that some topics central to the region are missing from the book. Of course, topics such as atomic energy and nuclear weapons production are central to the region's history, but including these topics, and others, would have pushed the book beyond the realm of reasonable length. It already tickles the outer boundary of that realm at a hefty 550-plus pages.

In short, this book is an admirable addition to the literature of environmental history. Other scholars contemplating a regional anthology covering, for instance, the Colorado Plateau, Southern Plains, or any other recognizable bioregion, would do well to follow the lead of these editors and contributors.

Oklahoma State University

MICHAEL F. LOGAN

The Tillamook: A Created Forest Comes of Age. By Gail Wells. (Corvallis, Oregon State University Press, 1999. viii + 184 pp. \$17.95 paper)

Questions of forest use and management were central to the rise of the conservation movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and they remain a flash point in the modern environmental era. Although most current debates focus on old-growth issues, the maturity of second-growth trees insures that public management of those forests will increasingly become contested areas as well. Gail Wells seeks to cast light on the latter by looking at one of the West's most famous managed forests, the Tillamook in northwestern Oregon. Such an enterprise could produce a narrow, highly technical book. Instead, *The Tillamook* is a historically contextualized micro-study that reveals much about the changing cultural and physical landscape of Oregon, the region, and the nation.

The original Tillamook forest was one of the largest contiguous virgin forests in Oregon and the nation until it was burned down in a series of three fires that erupted in regular six-year intervals between 1939 and 1951. From the ashes came a vast replanting effort that grew not only today's forest but a heroic saga. What framed the Tillamook legend's reforestation effort and management plan was an overarching world view Wells labels the "Frontier world view." It was a view that commingled traditional American frontier ideals about openness, opportunity, and unlimitedness with a modern capitalist cultural belief in commodified relationships, human scientific management, professional expertise, planning, technology, efficiency, and the domination of nature. The problem is that the created Tillamook forest has emerged in a historical milieu marked by another longstanding perspective, an Arcadian world view that sees nature as possessing intrinsic worth and adherents who want it preserved. Wells eschews both polarities as prescriptive offerings to solve the conflict that rages today over Tillamook forest issues. Instead, Wells supports the Oregon Department of Forestry's scheme of structure-based management that seeks to insure a structural and biologically diverse forest while allowing for multiple uses on the Tillamook.

In looking at the question of second-growth forests, Gail Wells raises important questions that currently face Oregonians and the larger nation. Moreover, those issues and questions are presented in a lucidly written manner that intersperses sound historical and scientific information with the first-person voices of loggers, environmentalists, scientists, and state foresters. Historians and scientists may find little new, as Wells does little in the way of primary research or to advance scholarship significantly. Nonetheless, in analyzing and synthesizing up-to-date historical and scientific work, *The Tillamook* admirably fulfills the goal of the Culture and Environment in the Pacific West series of bringing into the classroom and before the general public significant issues about the relationship between human and nonhuman communities.

Fort Lewis College

ROBERT BUNTING

Great River of the West: Essays on the Columbia River. Edited by William L. Lang and Robert C. Carriker. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2000. 181 pp. \$18.95 paper)

Any sports manager knows that if you field a team of all-stars, your chances of scoring are greatly enhanced. History professors

William Lang and Robert Carriker have done exactly that in this new collection of essays. The result is a tight, literate, and fascinating backgrounder on a river that finds itself increasingly in the news.

This reviewer first heard many of the contributors at a conference that Lang organized on the banks of the Columbia almost a decade ago. Their eloquence helped ignite my own enthusiasm for the river and influenced the direction of my overview book for lay audiences, *Northwest Passage*.

These voices are even more developed and fascinating now. The all-stars include anthropologists Eugene Hunn and Henry Zenk, Northwest historian James Ronda, Western revisionists Patricia Nelson Limerick and Lillian Schlissel, and rock art expert William Layman. Lang and Carriker bracket the line-up with an introduction and a strong concluding essay by Lang.

The book offers no radical findings and no glib solutions. It is Lang who brings the history of the essays into the conundrum of the twentieth century, when the river's development both inspired and divided the region's population. "No one is quite free of the competing visions of the river," he writes. Rather we are allowed to see the river from several different perspectives, each essayist adding a layer to our understanding of the Columbia.

The first three essays deal with the first people of the Columbia. Hunn discusses the Indians' origin and fate, Zenk gives us a lesson in Chinook jargon by translating a brief speech in that tongue by Dr. William McKay in 1892, and Layman provides an expert analysis of aboriginal "rock art," which, he points out, was drawn not as art but as historical record. Ronda, Limerick, and Schlissel turn to the exploration and pioneer era, discussing not just how newcomers changed the river but also how the river changed them. Ronda goes so far as to suggest "the history of the river is the history of the soul," and Schlissel that frontiers like the Columbia profoundly influenced the American family. The last two essays help tie these threads together. Richard Etulain reviews Northwest literature as a window into the complexities of the Columbia, and Lang brings this history into the present by summarizing the plight of the salmon, as well as hydroelectric and industrial development.

Taken together, these essays represent a valuable contribution to the literature of the Columbia. They come at a time when the region is grappling with the future of its first people, the Endangered Species Act, proposals for Snake River Dam removal, and soaring clean-up costs at Hanford. Yet, because of that apt timing, this reviewer wished the essays could have been bolder and more

pointed, addressing the future as much as the past. These are the works of careful scholars, measured and focused, balanced and judicious, polite and distanced, and yet because of that there is a certain academic mustiness to the result. With billions of dollars being spent and senators and governors making pronouncements on the fate of dams, could not these experts apply their history more directly to the current debate on the Columbia's future?

This raises, of course, the issue of what history is for: to understand, to act, to predict, or to do all these things? As a journalist, I have my own wish: more pointed perspective on contemporary issues than is usually volunteered.

Limerick counts the dead lost in building Grand Coulee Dam. Taken together, almost as many men died constructing the basin's dams as died with Custer at the Little Big Horn. The problem is less drama and less passion, and thus less attention to what is arguably the socially most important river in the West. This book helps correct that.

So. A splendid volume that left me wanting more. *Great River of the West* is a fine all-star effort with a terrific on-base percentage and two good maps by Evelyn Hicks. Read it, and enjoy. Yet these writers are so smart that I want them to use the past to illuminate the future more strongly. When they do that, they'll have a grand slam home run.

Anacortes, Washington

WILLIAM DIETRICH

Unruly River: Two Centuries of Change Along the Missouri. By Robert Kelley Schneiders. (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 1999. xiii + 314 pp. \$35)

Stretching more than 2,000 miles from headwaters in Yellowstone National Park to its confluence with the Mississippi River about twenty miles north of St. Louis, the Missouri River drains the entire northern Great Plains and—both physically as well as symbolically—constitutes one of America's great rivers. Used by Lewis and Clark in their journey westward as a pathway to the Rocky Mountains, the Missouri River has experienced many changes during the past two centuries as European American culture has used the stream to foster economic initiatives.

In *Unruly River*, Robert Kelley Schneiders explicates the primary political and business forces responsible for the environmental transformation of the lower river basin, and, in a concluding chapter, he provides a succinct yet persuasive analysis of how—by

almost any possible definition of “naturalness”—the surviving waterway has been obliterated by hydroelectric power dams and by the Army Corps of Engineers’ creation of a nine-foot-deep navigation channel. While the title of the book provides no indication that the focus will be on the river downstream from South Dakota (aside from a brief prefatory description of the river in Montana, almost no attention is given to the region above Fort Peck Dam), the introduction makes clear the scope of Schneiders’s research and analysis: “[The focus is] on events in the lower river valley . . . because it served as center of efforts to alter the Missouri. Furthermore, the environmental changes along the lower river valley led its residents to seek the construction of dams across the upper Missouri” (p. 1).

What comes through with great clarity is how development of the Missouri River in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries so often revolved around the issue of navigation. In western water history, navigation is usually considered a far less significant factor than irrigation, hydroelectric power, or municipal water supplies in guiding regional development. But, in the context of the lower Missouri River, navigation comprised the key use of the stream that energized decades of political maneuvering by commercial interests in Kansas City, Sioux City, and other river towns seeking to gain federal support for deepening and “channelizing” the river. Readers who might wish to believe that the Army Corps of Engineers forced a huge, hegemonic, technological construct upon an unwitting local population will find little comfort in the story of how the lower Missouri was “improved.” At every step of the way—from the early driving of wooden piles to impede the erosion of riverbanks to the construction of huge hydroelectric power dams—local political and economic organizations were pushing the federal government to do, and spend, more. In one of the more interesting sections of the book, the author nicely contrasts the efforts of the Hoover Administration to spend significant amounts of money to improve navigation below Kansas City with Roosevelt’s New Deal initiatives to extend “improvements” hundreds of miles upstream to Sioux City. The scale of New Deal funding for lower Missouri River projects quickly dwarfed that provided by Hoover, but in many respects the basic local/federal relationship that undergirded development of the river remained unchanged under the two presidential administrations. And this relationship extended into the 1950s when the final big dams received federal authorization and funding.

The book is written in straightforward, easily accessible style,

and the text is supplemented with an excellent selection of photographs that illustrate the technologies used to control the river over the past 100 years. Do not expect this book to answer questions about the history of the Upper Missouri River; nonetheless, it offers very good analysis of how a desire to utilize the lower river for large-scale barge transportation has wrought incredible—and often devastating—changes to the riparian environment of one of America’s most notable rivers.

Lafayette College

DONALD C. JACKSON

Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California. By Albert L. Hurtado. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1999. xxix + 173 pp. \$39.95 cloth, \$17.95 paper)

Sex! Violence! Betrayal! Albert L. Hurtado, in *Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender and Culture in Old California*, offers well-written studies on topics given little scholarly attention anywhere else. In a slim volume of virtually self-contained chapters, he discusses mission Indians, Californios, westward travelers, argonauts, and the 1860 residents of Horsetown, California, in language accessible to students, scholars, and the general public. Augmented by statistical tables, contemporary illustrations, and reasoned speculation based largely in the social sciences, the book provides a new look at the California experience from European settlement to about 1860.

For all the strengths of a new topic and lucid prose, this book’s weaknesses are disappointing. Hurtado remains sensitive to the racial, class, and gendered experience among females but not among males. While those directing intimate encounters in the first two chapters are male Hispanics—Franciscan missionaries and patriarchal Californios—they thereafter virtually drop from sight and are not even mentioned in the concluding chapter. Likewise, in chapter 3, all of those “Crossing the Borders” are white, are traveling from East to West, and have problems with the “other” (Indians of both sexes, black males). The book ends with a chorus of white males, including the reaction of Hubert Howe Bancroft’s reactions to the oft-told hanging of the Mexican Juanita, the only woman ever lynched in California; the views of Bret Harte and Mark Twain; and the imagined perceptions of Ambrose Bierce.

Perhaps a partial explanation for this perspective rests with the sources. To some extent, this book was inspired by a rare find at the Shasta Community College Library—the 1860 inquest over a German teenager apparently dead of a botched abortion (the main

subject of Chapter 5). Otherwise, most of the archival material comes from famous repositories which, due to their origins, generally have a racial and gender bias, such as the California State Library, the Bancroft, and the Huntington. Unfamiliar voices like those of the sizable Bullard family are interwoven with those of familiar characters such as the Donner Party, Olive Oatman, and Dame Shirley (albeit with a new twist). Background from assorted works in history and the social sciences provides the context, but some valuable publications are conspicuously missing. For example, Mary Bullard's statement that working at a boarding house "makes a perfect slave of a woman" (p. 97) deserves comparison with the differing, published accounts of Mary Ballou or Mary Jane Megquier. Likewise, the recent, fine book of Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith offers excellent context for women left behind by argonauts, just as Joseph King has augmented our understanding of the Donner Party.

These shortcomings are largely sins of omission, however, and do not diminish the value of what has been produced so far. Hurtado has crafted a scholarly account of potentially prurient topics, providing a model for future historical studies. His use of fresh archival material from an obscure repository—the inquest over the body of Amelia, the German teenager—in itself points to a new frontier in studies of western intimacy. He has used his inspiration well.

California State University, Stanislaus

NANCY J. TANIGUCHI

Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon. By Robert D. Anderson. (Salt Lake City, Signature Books 1999. xlv + 263 pp. \$19.95 paper)

Over the years, Joseph Smith, Jr., founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the Mormons), has attracted the attention of numerous biographers. Almost from the moment that Smith organized his Mormon followers in 1830, a parade of writers has sought to explain the colorful, controversial religious leader who claimed to possess divinely inspired powers as a "prophet, seer, and revelator." Smith presented his *Book of Mormon* as an authentic ancient history of a pre-Columbian people in the Western Hemisphere who were a portion of the Lost Tribes of Israel. Smith, moreover, claimed to have "translated" this history from divinely revealed golden plates.

As a result of such assertions, biographers have tended to por-

tray Smith in one of two ways: either as the prophet of God, as he claimed to be, or as a “conscious imposter” who made up the *Book of Mormon*. Most noteworthy in the latter category is Fawn McKay Brodie, whose controversial 1945 biography, *No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith*, led directly to her excommunication from the Mormon Church.

Following in the footsteps of Brodie is Robert D. Anderson, whose *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith: Psychobiography and the Book of Mormon* also questions Smith’s divine claims. But in contrast to Brodie’s *No Man Knows My History*, Anderson’s narrative is highly clinical, more speculative, and much less engaging in literary style. Anderson states that his primary purpose is to “investigate the psychology of Joseph Smith, demonstrate the benefits of psychobiography, expand awareness of psychological processes, provide an alternative explanation for at least some supernatural claims, and expand scientific knowledge” (p. xiii).

Anderson is up front concerning both his interpretive focus and conclusions, evident in his statement that: “By using the framework of traditional science and that of the academic historian in this work, I therefore exclude ‘the hand of God’ from consideration. I assume that Joseph Smith composed the *Book of Mormon* and I read it to understand Smith psychologically. Some may find this approach unacceptable, others might allow it as an hypothesis to be explored” (p. xxvi).

The author further maintains that “Joseph Smith, both knowingly and unknowingly, interjected his own personality, conflicts, and solutions into” the *Book of Mormon*. This work “can be understood as Smith’s autobiography” from which one “can discern repeated psychological patterns in Smith’s transformation of his childhood and youth before 1829 into Book of Mormon stories, and that these observations can contribute to a psychological understanding of Smith” (pp. xxvii–xxviii).

According to Anderson, “The Book of Mormon is not a book of love, but of terror, hatred, and destruction.” He then declares: “Until historical evidence is presented for the ancient American Nephite-Lamanite civilizations, these terrible [*Book of Mormon*] stories can possibly best be seen as reflecting Joseph’s emotions and mental images—filled with violence and hatred—dating from the developmental period when the basic units of his personality were being laid down” (p. 204).

Anderson also claims that Smith was the product of both a traumatic childhood and a dysfunctional family. Not surprisingly, his “psychoanalytic profile” of the Mormon leader is less than flat-

tering, concluding that Smith developed a “narcissistic personality” with tendencies toward grandiose fantasies and excessive, reckless behavior, all culminating in his violent death at the hands of an anti-Mormon mob in June 1844.

Anderson has produced a provocative portrait with some stimulating ideas. His work is certain to generate debate in new directions as a result of his efforts to probe particular facets of Smith’s personality and behavior. But much of Anderson’s analysis is highly speculative and based on unproven assumptions and limited historical evidence. More serious, Anderson’s work is excessively reductionist, oversimplifying both the personality and motives of Joseph Smith—a highly complex, multifaceted individual. While this work represents an earnest effort to move beyond Fawn Brodie’s earlier biography, Anderson lacks Brodie’s empathy for Smith as a human being as well as her literary skill in presenting the unfolding drama of a life being lived. *Inside the Mind of Joseph Smith*, moreover, mirrors the basic weakness of Brodie’s *No Man Knows My History* in that it presents a secular portrait of a religious man—making it a fundamentally flawed work.

All such problems point up the stark fact that the truly definitive biography on Joseph Smith remains to be written. Such a biography as envisioned by this reviewer would be analytical, carefully combining frankness with empathy and sympathy. It would be written in an engaging style within a clear interpretive framework, utilizing in a careful, comprehensive manner the myriad of historical sources, both primary and secondary, currently available. This biography, moreover, would utilize up-to-date tools of analysis and interpretation—not just those of the historian but also of various other social and behavioral scientists. Most important, it would seek to capture the essence of Smith’s elusive, multifaceted personality through a careful consideration of his varied, complex motives. Such a work is, alas, long overdue.

College of the Sequoias

NEWELL G. BRINGHURST

Collecting Native America, 1870–1960. Edited by Shepard Krech III and Barbara A. Hail. (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999. vi + 298 pp. \$45)

Twelve authors collaborated on this book to explore the motivations and actions of private individuals who collected Native material culture from 1870 to 1960. The authors, variously trained in anthropology, history, or art, are all curators, directors of museums,

or professors. Curator William C. Sturtevant observes that the eleven subjects of these essays were all collectors who accumulated and preserved the material record of “the romantic past of the Indian peoples they believed to be vanishing” (p. v). Museum director Shepard Krech III, similarly explains that these collectors appropriated objects and controlled the museums that housed them in order to educate and instruct the public on “what they thought was a doomed race” (p. 11). The collecting by these individuals, for the most part, occurred after the first period of major national, regional, and university museum formation. Private collectors have received little attention from scholars who are studying the process of collection formation and display. This anthology is a valuable introduction to this relatively new field of historical study.

These often quirky and eccentric people almost all came from the Northeast but collected assiduously within Native communities in the West. The earliest was the Presbyterian minister Sheldon Jackson (1834–1909), who used his purchases to finance efforts to replace Native religion and education, and whose motive likely was “to explain the social system in order to dismantle it” (p. 39). The most recent are the retired couple Mary W. A. Crane (1902–1982) and Francis V. Crane (1903–1968). The Crane collections, Joyce Herold explains, “appeared to be vehicles for expressing and passing down family sentiments and values as well as ‘odds and ends and things’” (p. 266). The 11,600 items collected by the Cranes eventually found a home at the Denver Museum of Natural History in 1968.

Each essay offers important details for understanding the “valuable magpie tendencies” (p. 236) of collectors. The essays on George Gustav Heye (1874–1956)—who first evoked the “magpie” description—and Mary Cabot Wheelright (1878–1959) are especially important. Historian Clara Sue Kidwell analyzes how businessman Heye used the 1 million objects in his possession, everything from dishcloths to “the highest artistic expressions of Indian cultures” (p. 250), to educate the New York business elite. His collection became a part of the Smithsonian Institution in 1989. Wheelright was the only collector of the eleven who collaborated extensively with Native people in her educational collecting. The House of Navajo Religion, established in Santa Fe in 1937, preserves the results of the collaborative efforts of Wheelwright and Diné singer and sandpainter Hosteen Klah. It contains 560 sandpainting designs, weavings and other artifacts, manuscripts, films, and 1,500 music records. Anthropologists Nancy Parezo and Karl

A. Hoerig conclude that the collecting and building process, “done correctly, following Navajo dictates, establishes its value and makes it a harmonious form of cultural reproduction” (p. 224). These essays by Kidwell and by Parezo and Hoerig offer finely crafted historical and anthropological analyses of private collecting activities that left a public heritage, one that provokes and invites our careful evaluation.

New Mexico State University

JOAN M. JENSEN

Irrigated Eden: The Making of an Agricultural Landscape in the American West. By Mark Fiege. (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1999. xv + 323 pp. \$35 cloth, \$19.95 paper)

There is a middle landscape that can be found where people strike a compromise between extremes, where they learn through work the limits of what they can take from ecosystems. Mark Fiege's *Irrigated Eden* is about the Snake River Valley in Idaho and the give and take between a system of irrigation and the nonhuman nature that continues to persist and even flourish. It is a story about the problems and the promise of the middle landscape in the American West.

Fiege's project is to keep an eye on nature throughout a period in which the Snake River Plain became a region of industrial farms. He builds from habitat, to the construction of an extensive canal network, to the labor and market relationships that emerged from irrigated agriculture. The book considers gender relationships in the context of irrigation and even rural Idaho as a series of recurring literary metaphors for the meaning of capitalist development. His largest argument is that it is not enough to call applied water transforming or damaging, that plant and animal species persisted in a number of ways, making it difficult to distinguish the human-made from nonhuman landscape. Some readers will wonder at the novelty of certain observations; for example, that engineers used existing topography—streams and lakebeds—as the foundations of their projects or that the native plants and animals survived the transition to irrigation. A blending of nature and culture is apparent in any cultivated place, virtually a definition of the word “landscape” itself.

What this book does better than any previous account is to detail the day-to-day practices of irrigation. Beyond digging and disputes over water rights, Fiege writes about family labor and the cultivation of key crops. Through a capable discussion of the beet

sugar industry, the author depicts a process in which the predictability of irrigated agriculture linked it to food-processing. Idaho beet growers learned how to produce according to specifications set by the sugar companies. The men sometimes took seasonal jobs in the processing plants, completing a circle between farm and factory. The point is that irrigation had consequences that no one anticipated and that contradicted the boosters' promise that modest families could find landed independence.

Irrigated Eden considers the formation of landscape on every level, from geology to local politics. It presents the many layers of a place that might otherwise be easy to ignore, as the author himself observes, because it is rather blank and unattractive at first. With Fiege as a guide, it is neither. At its best, the book runs a tight circle around a remarkable and persistent problem in the study of environmental history: Where is the line between ecological damage and sustainable economic development? Simply to smile on the conversion of streams into conduits of water for commercial purposes and to call that progress toward a new worldly garden removes responsibility, and yet baldly to condemn it as despoliation also makes no sense.

Yale University

STEVEN STOLL

Frontier Children. By Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1999. xi + 164 pp. \$24.95)

The pictures in this book are themselves worth the price! From extensive and well-documented research in both primary and secondary sources, the authors provide detailed descriptions and revealing quotations about the lives of children in all sorts of frontier circumstances. The book belongs in the library of everyone interested in American history.

Among the many commendable elements in this book is how it shows many varieties of experience of America's multiracial and class-conscious frontier. Indian children of numerous distinct tribes, black, Chinese, and Hispanic children, rural and urban children, children of affluence or poverty all appear in these pages. One marvels that such unusual photographs were made and preserved, that so many diaries and memoirs have yielded such detailed information.

The environments, both of nature and of culture, that these children lived in put the lie to any notion of the frontier as only

one kind of unique experience. While the prosperous Fligelman girls of Helena, Montana, in the 1890s learned to waltz and do the minuet at a Saturday afternoon dancing academy (p. 82), other girls and boys were roping horses on ranches (cover photo), or cooking and cleaning as servants (p. 142), or driving four-horse plowing teams on their fathers' farms (p. 142). Advertisements for riders on the new Pony Express service between St. Joseph, Missouri, and Sacramento, California, in 1860 specified "young, skinny, wiry fellows, not over 18. . . Orphans preferred" (p. 145). Among the 200 boys hired for the regular 2,000-mile speed-riding expeditions were William Cody, James Butler Hickok, and two African Americans, William Robinson and George Monroe.

There were Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic, as well as Chinese and Native American, religious practices. Children and their families lived in tepees, farm wagons, unused boxcars, sod or log houses, or adobe ranches. Others lived in spacious city mansions or tapestry-laden Chinatown enclaves. But children of all cultures and classes were likely to be exposed to the reality of illness and death at an early age. Seeing a parent or sibling die, watching a burial, caring for survivors, and taking on adult responsibilities at an early age themselves, children had to learn self-reliance and adaptability under all sorts of circumstances.

Education became a key factor in self-betterment or escape from brutality. Even the most remote frontier communities established rudimentary schools as quickly as possible, while Chinese and Hispanic families might hire a tutor for all the children in their households. Young women with any sort of flair and ability could usually find a teaching job. They might deal with large classes of many different ages, cold and drafty buildings, and only basic readers and blackboards, but they would be respected and relatively independent. Furthermore, the playground was often "as big as all outdoors" (p. 130)!

It is a pleasure to read about the lives of so many children, who are usually ignored by historians, and to examine pictures (one or two on almost every page) of such intensity and individuality. Linda Peavy and Ursula Smith, with the same lively style that permeates their joint lectures, take readers on a unique and many-dimensional exploration of the American past.

Storrs, Connecticut

RUTH B. MOYNIHAN

Telling Western Stories: From Buffalo Bill to Larry McMurtry. By Richard W. Etulain. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press 1999. xiii + 174 pp. \$35 cloth, 17.95 paper)

Telling Western Stories is derived from a series of lectures that Richard Etulain delivered in late 1998. They reflect his deep knowledge of the literature and history of the American West and are very good western stories in their own right. For historians who need to brush up on their knowledge of western fiction, this collection will prove invaluable. The same can be said for specialists in western American literature who might be feeling a bit in arrears in their knowledge of recent developments in the historiography of the American West.

Etulain opens his book with a chapter devoted to Buffalo Bill's Wild West and the dime novels that outfitted Americans' conquest of the West with heroic and romantic narratives—narratives that Frederick Jackson Turner, according to Etulain, called into question and supplemented with his own "creation story" concerning the significance of the frontier in American history. Etulain's next chapter delves into the "untold stories" of Mary Hallock Foote, Martha Canary/Calamity Jane, Geronimo, and Mourning Dove, with a view toward revealing their counterpoints to the dominant narratives he addressed in the preceding chapter and continues to examine in the chapter that follows. This chapter examines the work of Owen Wister, Walter Noble Burns (whose *The Saga of Billy the Kid* was published in 1926), John Ford, and Louis L'Amour. Etulain's next grouping, under the heading "new stories," links the writings of Wallace Stegner, Patricia Nelson Limerick, Leslie Marmon Silko, and Larry McMurtry. Etulain singles out McMurtry and credits him with the invention of "a new gray West" (p. 148) that gives voice to a multiplicity of stories about the experiences of a variety of people who shaped the cultural landscapes of the region.

When all is said and done, there is much to admire about this collection of essays. It is refreshingly free from jargon; it offers new perspectives on canonical works in western American literature and history; and it demonstrates the ongoing power of narrative formulas to structure scholarly debates about the American West. It is also a book that is noteworthy for its silences. A chapter on the telling of stories about the American West by people who live outside of the United States would have been interesting for comparative purposes. And some readers will miss greater attention to the fine arts and music. But what this book reveals about the ongoing tensions in the academy, between the tellers of traditional stories

and the tellers of new western histories, makes this an important book for historians and their students alike.

Montana State University, Bozeman

ROBERT W. RYDELL

Asian/American: Historical Crossings of a Racial Frontier. By David Palumbo-Liu. (Stanford, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1999. 504 pp. \$65)

At some point during the professionalization of academia, the rhetorical requirements for a book of literary criticism diverged from those of writing history. As a consequence, David Palumbo-Liu's book will probably find little audience with professional historians, even those who specialize in the study of Asian Americans. This 504-page book is overflowing with fascinating, incisive, and provocative ideas. Palumbo-Liu, a professor at Stanford, ranges far and wide on the subject of Asian Americans, crossing national and disciplinary borders at the same time. His interpretations of texts, movies, and other cultural products bespeak an intelligence that should impress the sharpest intellectual historian of the United States. He is an astute observer of the ways in which Asian Americans have been represented, and have represented themselves, within American popular culture. Many of Palumbo-Liu's readings of events, texts, and images could provide historians of American culture with valuable insights and occasionally even admirable interpretive models. For instance, his readings of how racial differentiation and national identity intersect in historical texts might benefit many historians. In particular, Palumbo-Liu's varied analyses of how Asians have been defined as foreign to the national body of the United States reflect a great deal of thinking. An understanding of some of his conclusions would help historians avoid the Orientalist pitfalls that too many of them still fall into when they bother to include Asian Americans in their historical narratives.

However, many readers may find it difficult to decode the many interesting ideas. Complex and simple ideas alike are often explicated in complicated sentences that require a surgeon's skill to dissect. In addition, Palumbo-Liu's sketched interpretations of a number of historical texts fit the uses of literary criticism, but historians might like to see more. It is not part of Palumbo-Liu's purpose to historicize the texts he uses (for instance, when he adumbrates the 1923 case of *Thind v. U.S.*, the 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act, and William Carlson Smith's 1937 study *Americans in Process* between pages 39 and 41). His quick brush strokes imply greater pat-

terns of meaning and suggest new ways of canvassing the past. Still, even the most painterly practitioners of cultural and intellectual history might wish that his narrative style included more historical detailing. Paradoxically, Palumbo-Liu's book is absolutely overflowing with details, with provocative discussions of a plethora of subjects, and its breadth of interest is sparkling. Perhaps this is the rhetorical style of literary critics, and they will find it an important book to read—for historians, the brilliance of his ideas may be worth it.

University of California at Los Angeles

HENRY YU

Oriental: Asian Americans in Popular Culture. By Robert G. Lee. (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1999. xii + 271 pp. \$27.95).

Oriental is a book of substantial promise, incompletely fulfilled. Expanding upon work done a generation ago by Stuart C. Miller, Alexander Saxton, and others, it charts the changing images that white Americans have held of Asian Americans over the last century and a half. The outline of Lee's argument makes sense: The Oriental has been a long-term figure in the imaginations of white people, but not a constant figure. Rather, the Oriental is an image that has evolved in response to changes in the social order. There were, Lee says, "six faces of the Oriental" (p. 8) that were generated by six stages in the development of the American capitalist system, its social relationships, and its popular culture.

The first image, "the pollutant," was generated in the free-soil Eden that many whites hoped early California would be. Those yeoman whites, Lee says, wanted an agrarian state, free of slavery, racial minorities, and proletarian laborers. The Chinese brought to white minds images of industrial wage slavery and racial division, and so white people regarded them as polluting the garden. The second representation, born in the 1870s and 1880s when the white working class was coalescing, is of Chinese workers as "the coolie . . . unfree and servile, a threat to the white working man's family, which in turn was the principal symbol of an emergent working-class identity" (p. 9).

The third image arose in the increasingly close encounter between Chinese people and middle-class whites in California in those same years. It is a sexual figure, "the deviant," at once seductive and threatening. Like all the other images, the deviant representation was used, Lee says, to maintain racial separation and white dominance. At the turn of the century, with Japan a rising

power in East Asia, the new image had a political and military tinge: “the yellow peril.”

Images three and four served whites well until after World War II, when two more emerged. The 1950s saw Cold War liberals cast Asians as “the model minority” as a way of putting down other groups, blacks and Latinos particularly, and of denying the need to take racial problems seriously. After the 1970s, with America in the grip of a post-Vietnam conservative movement, image six, “the gook,” was added to the mix: invisible, violent, sinister, threatening.

So far, so good; there is not much to disagree with here. Although several of these ideas (notably the model minority argument) have appeared elsewhere, their placement together in one essay is striking. The book, published in an excellent series with Temple University Press, will be widely read, and its clear argument probably will be accepted as the standard treatment of its subject.

Yet real success demands more than a memorable broad interpretation; it needs to be built carefully out of historical detail. The detail is not handled successfully in *Orientalism*. An interpretive book of this sort depends first on a tight, convincing argument. The broad outline of the argument in *Orientalism* is clear, but the connections between that outline and its supporting points often are not. Each chapter, even the introduction, is not so much an integrated essay as an often haphazard collection of paragraphs. Each paragraph has a point, most have some data, and many are clearly written. But the whole argument does not add up for any chapter, much less for the entire book.

Lee is not content merely to examine the image of the Oriental. He wants to use that figure as a lens for interpreting broad-scale changes in American society and culture. His tool will not bear the weight of his task. In pursuing that goal, he attempts to employ neo-Marxist class analysis and critical theory—quoting from Gramsci, Habermas, and others—to jump the gap from the Oriental image to American culture at large. His use of class analytical tools is uneven, his cultural studies interpretations are often slipshod, and the gap is too great. All this might be more convincing if there were deeper immersion in historical documents. Lee does have some documents, or perhaps one should say artifacts—songs, stories, movies, magazine articles, and the like—but he spends as much space nattering about popular culture theory and New England free soil ideology as he does showing us his materials. At few points is the reader likely to be convinced he is doing more than citing some illustrative examples to support a preconceived argu-

ment. Moreover, he is stingy with footnotes. Most of his key points are left as almost naked assertions.

The main problem with *Orientalism* is inattention to detail. This extends beyond intellectual matters to the craft of writing. Lee's language is frequently awkward: Everything is socially constructed; every issue needs to be addressed from the angles of race, class, and gender. These insights are more or less true, but they mark this as a 1990s book. On several occasions, footnotes are misnumbered, punctuation is misplaced, or dates are incorrect. The excellent cartoons are undermined by inaccurate observations: Contrary to Lee's assertions in the text, Confucius is not misspelled in the cartoon on page 84, and the gentlemen in the cartoon on page 5 are not wearing glasses. The result of such carelessness, combined with the lack of documentation noted above, is that the reader tends to lose confidence in Lee's historical judgments. He finds himself asking, "Why should I believe this to be true?" This reader is unable to come up with a satisfactory answer.

Then there is the whiteness issue. Lee adopts an unthinking rhetorical position that whiteness is normative. Again and again, he writes not of "white people" but of "the public," not of "white culture" but of "popular culture." Is it not time—especially in a series on Asian Americans—that we mark whiteness to the same degree that we mark races of darker hues? Indeed, *Orientalism* is an odd choice for such a series, for it is not about Asian Americans; it is about the ideas of white people.

Altogether, *Orientalism* is a book that few historians will find satisfying. It is a made-up argument that calls on historical materials (as well as oddments of theoretical mumbo-jumbo), but it is not a careful argument based on immersion in historical evidence. Nonetheless, it is an ambitious failure, whose ideas are likely to be cited in outline form for years to come.

University of California, Santa Barbara

PAUL SPICKARD

The Haynes Foundation and Urban Reform Philanthropy in Los Angeles: A History of the John Randolph Haynes and Dora Haynes Foundation. By Tom Sitton. (Los Angeles, Historical Society of Southern California, 1999. 254 pp. \$25)

As this carefully researched and nicely written history shows, the Haynes Foundation has played a modest but interesting role in progressive politics and regional development in Southern California since the 1920s. Founded by a strongly progressive couple

who worked hard to advance such causes as woman suffrage and the municipal ownership of utilities, the Haynes Foundation's limited resources and internal conflicts led it to pursue more moderate goals. Like the Russell Sage Foundation in New York, though on a much more modest scale, the Haynes Foundation supported a number of studies of regional economic and physical development questions in its region. These studies, some of which were conducted by social scientists who developed national reputations, had some impact, but the foundation's biggest contributions have probably been to the general development of Occidental and other Southern California colleges. Yet the Haynes Foundation has persisted, eventually seeing its endowment grow to a more substantial size, and over the years has aspired, at least, to play a significant role among Southern California's leaders.

The Haynes Foundation and Urban Reform Philanthropy is particularly notable for the care with which it details debates on the foundation's board. Most foundations are reluctant to divulge detailed information about board decisions, so this is a significant contribution. The foundation deserves credit for its openness. Tom Sitton has used the information with intelligence and tact. He persuades the reader that the board members acted with integrity and good will even as they argued, and he shows that several of the foundation's programs were the product of uneasy compromise. On several occasions, the board was badly split. Sitton also keeps steadily before the reader the fact that the resources available to the Haynes Foundation have always been severely limited. It has had enough to support limited programs of research, limited programs of public discussion, and limited contributions to colleges, hospitals, and other institutions. But it has never had enough money to undertake really comprehensive research efforts, to make a major contribution to public consciousness, or to allow an institution to add a major new activity. The foundation anticipated some of Southern California's most severe problems of urban development and social conflict, but it failed to anticipate the scale of racial conflict since the mid-1960s and has never been able to confront major problems in a systematic way. Nor was it able to find allies within its home region. The Haynes Foundation has clearly played a role among Southern California's liberal Protestant elites, but its story reveals important divisions among elite groups. The foundation itself has never given anyone much in the way of direct "power."

The Haynes Foundation and Urban Reform Philanthropy is also notable for Sitton's intelligent and successful effort to relate the story of a regional foundation to the history of American foundations in

general. He shows how, lacking local associates, Haynes Foundation leaders conferred closely with leaders of the much larger Russell Sage and Rockefeller foundations and the Rosenwald Fund, the Brookings Institution, the Filer Commission, and others concerned to develop credible, useful, privately sponsored studies of social problems. Tom Sitton's book expands our knowledge of these efforts, even as it documents the very big challenges they have faced.

Case Western Reserve University

DAVID C. HAMMACK

City Against Suburb: The Culture Wars in an American Metropolis. By Joseph A. Rodriguez. (Westport, Conn., Greenwood, 1999. xii + 144 pp. \$55)

Joseph A. Rodriguez offers a novel explanation for increasing cultural conflict in postindustrial America in *City Against Suburb: The Culture Wars in an American Metropolis*. He contends that the convergence of cities and suburbs resulting from the construction of metropolitan transportation systems has sparked "clashes between residents over how to define their community and which values to maintain in the face of increased regional interaction" (p. 9). While cities and suburbs may be merging in physical terms, most Americans continue to conceive of each in fundamentally different ways. Urbanites view cities as places of diversity and social tolerance while suburbanites cherish their communities as islands of stability and cohesion where family life may flourish. In an era in which many civic and business leaders have promoted regionalization, the consequent blending of city and suburb has thus exacerbated the nation's cultural wars.

The book is organized around case studies of four municipalities in the San Francisco Bay Area, a region that has experienced extensive freeway and mass transit development in recent decades. Part One focuses on the suburbanization of the city with two chapters on San Francisco and West Oakland. Part Two considers the urbanization of the suburbs with two chapters on San Jose and Concord.

Rodriguez argues that cultural conflict in San Francisco intensified in the 1950s when planners proposed new freeways linking the Bay Bridge and Golden Gate Bridge to relieve downtown traffic congestion and encourage capital investment. That provoked widespread opposition from citizens anxious about the freeways' adverse impact upon the city's urban character. In particular, Rodriguez probes the perceived threat to two of San Francisco's cultural icons,

the Ferry Building, with its monumental architecture, central location, and historic function as gateway to the downtown district, and Golden Gate Park, a symbol of urban sophistication. Citizens further condemned the freeways as an attempt to suburbanize the city by valuing roads over historic structures and civic spaces and by reducing San Francisco to just “one more stop in the regional expressway network” (p. 41).

Cultural conflict also deepened in West Oakland in the 1960s when residents mobilized against plans to run a regional rail line through the predominantly lower-income, black community. Although planners promoted the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) as a vehicle for the poor to gain access to jobs throughout the region, activists in West Oakland perceived BART as displacing residents, suburbanizing job opportunities, and destabilizing the community. BART was thus seen as a menace to West Oakland’s urban identity and values.

Finally, Rodriguez shows how cultural tensions surfaced in some Bay Area suburbs as a result of official efforts to promote urbanization. In San Jose and Concord, planners sought to revitalize their downtown centers by using local history and public art to attract visitors and investors. In both cases, residents challenged these initiatives for misrepresenting history and undermining “the community’s family-centered, suburban identity” (p. 14).

Rodriguez is consistently persuasive in demonstrating how regional changes have engendered cultural divisions, but the *significance* of those divisions is not always apparent. For instance, while few would doubt the cultural impact of massive freeway and public transit projects in San Francisco and Oakland, it is not clear the same can be said for renovating a small plaza and commissioning a modern sculpture in downtown Concord. Additional examples of cultural conflict stemming from the urbanization of Concord (and San Jose) would have strengthened the argument.

At other times, Rodriguez overstates his case. In the San Francisco chapter, he claims that residents “largely embraced” downtown high-rises “because they reinforced the city’s urban identity” (p. 41). Not so. Many of the same activists who protested the freeways went on to mobilize against the “Manhattanization of San Francisco.” Too much urbanization was just as problematic as too much suburbanization. And in the San Jose chapter, Rodriguez asserts that “the creation of a multicentered metropolis with an extensive freeway system . . . was more important than ideology in creating the Chicano movement” (p. 92). Maybe, but the evidence to support such a sweeping proposition is lacking.

Notwithstanding occasional overreaching, Rodriguez makes a compelling case for the changing metropolis as one important site and source of cultural contestation. More broadly, his documentation of clashing urban and suburban cultures among various social groups within one region provides a fascinating snapshot of multicultural life in late twentieth-century America.

Haverford College

STEPHEN J. McGOVERN

To Place Our Deeds: The African American Community in Richmond, California, 1910–1963. By Shirley Ann Wilson Moore. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2000. xiii + 232 pp. \$40 cloth, \$17.95 paper)

In the 1990s historians of African American life finally ventured beyond the well-trodden neighborhoods of the urban Northeast to explore the black experience in the American West. Quintard Taylor, Albert Broussard, and Gretchen Lemke-Santangelo, among others, have given us finely textured accounts of black urban life on the West Coast, stressing the distinctive history and development of these communities. Shirley Moore's new book, *To Place Our Deeds*, adds to this growing body of scholarship by examining the black community of Richmond, California, a smaller industrial city in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Famous as the quintessential shipyard boom town of World War II, Richmond's wartime saga has been the subject of numerous books and public exhibits. Home of the massive Kaiser shipbuilding operations, Richmond attracted defense migrants from around the country, precipitating a crisis in housing, urban services, and social order. *To Place Our Deeds* revisits much of this familiar ground from the perspective of African Americans whose numbers grew dramatically, from 270 in 1940 to more than 13,000 by 1950. But Moore's work also breaks new ground, particularly in her exploration of the prewar black community and the cultural realm.

Through meticulous oral history research, Moore uncovers the heretofore invisible history of Richmond's small black community dating back to 1905. She carefully reconstructs family and employment networks, the creation of a multiethnic neighborhood in North Richmond, the beginning of black religious services in local homes, and the rise of fraternal and voluntary organizations through which black Richmonders cultivated leadership skills and political awareness. Unlike larger cities, however, Richmond had

only a handful of black-owned businesses and no real black middle class to serve as a foundation for future civil rights leadership.

With the influx of thousands of black war migrants, working-class newcomers soon took the lead in civil rights struggles in the shipyards and public housing projects. Moore explores the evolution of these efforts from the initial formation of racially segregated auxiliaries in the Boilermakers Union to the emergence of the Richmond branch of the NAACP in 1944. She follows this story into the postwar years, chronicling the racial battles around housing, employment, education, and politics up through the early 1960s.

Most compelling, however, is Moore's treatment of the flowering of African American culture in Richmond's blues clubs and sanctified churches. Through oral history, she explores the genesis of such local institutions, showing how blues clubs became "avenues of independence" for migrant women who owned them and centers of sociability and political action for the larger community. Like Robin D. G. Kelley, she takes culture seriously, showing us how it facilitated black entry into the industrial proletariat. My only quibble is that the author, while asserting that the distinctive experience of this small working-class community was common in California and other western states, does not provide any evidence of similar black communities. We are thus left wondering just how representative Richmond really was.

Boston College

MARILYNN S. JOHNSON

Japanese Conspiracy: The Oahu Sugar Strike of 1920. By Masayo Umezawa Duus, translated by Beth Cary and adapted by Peter Duus. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1999. xi + 375 pp. \$55 cloth, \$18.95 paper)

A prolific Japanese writer, Masayo Duus calls herself simply a "non-fiction writer," but she has crafted a superb history of Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i. She places the 1920 Oahu strike within the framework of labor and immigration history, as well as U.S.-Japanese relations.

In seven chapters, Duus establishes intricate links among the key players in the strike and other incidents previously ignored by scholars. Her main thesis is that Hawai'i's ruling class "transformed the strike, an economic conflict between labor and capital, into an international conspiracy" (p. 171) by redefining it as the conflict between Japanese and whites, and between Japan and the United

States. Her research reveals the orchestrated efforts by Hawai'i's "Big Five" and the territorial government to destroy the lives of Japanese labor leaders by illegal frame-ups (akin to the infamous Sacco-Vazzetti incident, in Duus's opinion), as well as the development of a coalition between the anti-Japanese exclusionists in Hawai'i and on the U.S. mainland, on the one hand, and of anti-Americanism and pan-Asianism in Japan, on the other hand. Her nuanced and well-balanced analyses of the local, national, and international dimensions of the 1920 strike put into question a number of commonly held interpretations of prewar Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i.

One example is the role of Kinzaburo Makino, a newspaper publisher who played a major role in shaping public opinion in the Japanese community. Whereas past scholars have depicted him as a leader of Japanese struggle against racial oppression and a true believer in Americanism, Duus provides a more complex picture of the man—an agitator who attempted to take over the leadership of the Japanese labor union, a community leader in quest of dominance over other immigrant elites, and a businessman who sought to save his newspaper by attracting readers from his rival papers. In the author's portrayal, Makino emerges as a practical businessman rather than a man of high principle.

Duus's book owes much to her excellent research into English and Japanese archival materials, including classified FBI documents, Japanese diplomatic papers, and forgotten court records. Through these materials, she gives voices to the various participants—to Hawaiian government officials, white business leaders, anti-Japanese prophets, Japanese consular officials, Japanese immigrant elites, union leaders, and ordinary workers—in a convincing manner. While her narrative occasionally finds itself digressing from the main subjects to engage in anecdotal storytelling, the book nonetheless impresses on readers the importance of well-grounded research in historical studies.

The major drawback of the work is that the author does not provide complete citations, as one would expect in a work by a professional historian. Notwithstanding this drawback, *Japanese Conspiracy*, with its provocative thesis, is a pathbreaking study that should be read by anyone interested not only in the experiences of Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i, but also in U.S.-Japanese relations and the history of American racism in the Pacific Islands.

University of Pennsylvania

EIICHIRO AZUMA

The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History. By Emma Pérez. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1999. xix + 181 pp. \$35 cloth, \$16.95 paper)

In *The Decolonial Imaginary*, Chicana historian Emma Pérez sets out to deconstruct and decolonize the systems of thought that have conceptualized Chicana history. In so doing, Pérez interrogates and critiques traditional, male-centered historiography and offers a fresh perspective on writing Chicana *and* Chicano history. Perhaps the most significant aspects of her study are the innovative conceptual framework and tools it provides. Drawing upon the literature in postmodernism and feminist theory, Pérez constructs “the decolonial imaginary” as a paradigm that offers a way to hear and interpret Chicana voices that have been silenced and relegated to the margins, to passivity, and to interstitial spaces (as she calls it, to “third spaces”). Along with third space feminist practice, which recognizes the mobility of identities between and among varying power bases, the decolonial imaginary, she argues, allows for the recovery of Chicana agency.

In the first of three parts of her provocative book, she confronts and reconsiders the discipline of history, questioning categories, assumptions, and traditional approaches, as well as the ways in which they have influenced (or colonized) the writing of “Chicano” history. She argues that conventional historiography has created a fictional past that has served to negate “other” cultures and differences among them. Pérez then provides a discussion of the decolonial imaginary “as a political project” (p. 4) for rethinking histories and calls for a new Chicana and Chicano historical consciousness.

The second part consists of three case studies that analyzes the way in which “*history* has been written upon the [Chicana] body” (p. xix). First, she examines how feminism was expressed and represented in the Yucatán during the Mexican Revolution. Here, Pérez introduces the “dialectics of doubling” as a useful and compelling tool to (re)interpret women’s words and actions that may have seemingly echoed men’s rhetoric and ideology. By examining the interstitial spaces from and within which Yucatecan women spoke, she finds that they did, in fact, oppose male-dominated nationalist discourse and thereby practiced third space feminism, or “feminism-in-nationalism.” Second, Pérez explores women’s position in an anarcho-syndicalist, transnational organization, the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM), led by Ricardo Flores Magón, and shows that, like their counterparts in the Yucatán, *magonistas* car-

ried out third space, interstitial feminism and doubling. Third, she demonstrates how the use of “diasporic subjectivities” (instead of immigrant identities) to study Mexican experiences in the United States raises new questions about the formation of identities, particularly among early twentieth-century Tejanas. She convincingly argues that describing Chicana and Chicano history as immigrant history “erases a whole other history, the history of a diaspora, of a people whose land also shifted beneath them” (p. xix).

Finally, in part three, Pérez reveals how Chicana sexualities (as embodied by Doña Marina or La Malinche; Silent Tongue, an Indian woman; Delgadina, the object of desire in a popular corrido; and Selena, the slain Tex-Mex superstar) represent oppositional responses “to dominant cultures” and convey India/Mestiza/Chicana desires.

Pérez’s use of postmodernist language and methodology, particularly in part one, may turn away those who avoid “jargon” such as “discourse.” The book, however, is written in clear prose and offers several case studies that illuminate her larger theoretical propositions and concerns. Scholars in the fields of history, Chicana and Chicano studies, women’s studies, American studies, and cultural studies will benefit from the insights of this study. Above all, it is a “must read” for Chicana and Chicano historians.

University of California, Davis

MIROSLAVA CHAVEZ-GARCIA

¡Pobre Raza! Violence, Justice, and Mobilization among México Lindo Immigrants, 1900–1936. By F. Arturo Rosales. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1999. xii + 281 pp. \$45 cloth, \$19.95 paper)

F. Arturo Rosales argues that “México Lindo” [Beautiful Mexico] nationalism—an ideology characterized by preservation of the Spanish language, pride in Indianness, celebration of Mexican patriotic holidays (especially those linked with Miguel Hidalgo and Benito Juárez), Catholicism (particularly in worship of the Virgin of Guadalupe), and an ambivalent anti-Americanism—empowered immigrants and resident Mexicans with a sense of unity and identity that enabled them to resist and protest against “Anglo” discrimination and injustice. “Anglo” is his generic misnomer for all whites, whether or not they identify with Anglo-Saxon culture (for elaboration on this fallacy in nomenclature, see Martin Ridge, *Journal of the West*, 38: 4, pp. 3–4). Rosales’s presumption of the importance of Catholicism and the Guadalupe cult to México Lindo nationalism ought to have excluded Mexican Protestants, yet he

shows Mexican Methodists also protesting discrimination against immigrants. What other than México Lindo nationalism prompted Mexican non-Catholics to action?

Rosales has worked in the archives of the Secretary of Foreign Relations in Mexico and has brought back new information on the role played by the Mexican consuls in the United States in providing assistance to those unjustly accused of crimes in America. In this area, he amplifies earlier studies. Other areas of criminal activity should be clarified, however, such as differentiating between domestic violence and crimes of passion.

One topic he could have pursued is the differential treatment Americans accorded political prisoners as opposed to those suspected of civil or criminal violations. He treats the celebrated activities of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM) [Mexican Liberal Party], especially of the brothers Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón, and the Plan de San Diego (PSD) uprising and cross-border raids only in passing. Yet they surely warrant much closer examination, especially as these activities spring from motivations quite different from any México Lindo nationalism. How did Mexican radicalism, brought to the United States by self-exiled refugees, affect this form of nationalism? This question is not asked. The anecdotal evidence presented of individual and small group protests does not demonstrate how people were “mobilized” into large groups by this new nationalism. “Mobilization” is a term the author does not define.

Through his sources—newspapers, published appeals, scholarship, unpublished manuscripts and papers from repositories in both countries, interviews—Rosales confirms the larger picture of unfair treatment of Mexicans by U.S. courts and law enforcement officials. His detail, however, enhances our awareness of the story.

University of Redlands

JAMES A. SANDOS

The Cross in the Dark Valley: The Canadian Protestant Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1931–1945. By A. Hamish Ion. (Waterloo, Ont., Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999. xi + 428 pp. \$54.95 Canadian)

What were Canadian Protestant missionaries doing in the Japanese Empire in the midst of the Asia-Pacific War? On this seemingly marginal question, A. Hamish Ion, employing exhaustive research in both English and Japanese primary and secondary sources, offers an incredibly detailed scholarly account of Canadian

missionary activities and the Japanese Christian movement in the Japanese Empire. He does so in such a way that the subject becomes relevant to broader historical issues during these tumultuous years.

The book serves as a good case study of the Christian missionary movement in a non-Western country that was swept by anti-foreign sentiments and ultranationalism under a totalitarian and militaristic government bent on territorial aggrandizement. The book certainly illuminates the challenges and dilemmas the Canadian Protestant missionary movement encountered in Japan and its colonies, Korea and Taiwan, as well as Japan's puppet state of Manchukuo. The author places these problems in the broader context of the history of the Japanese government's efforts to promote national unity and the people's loyalty to the state since the Meiji Restoration.

Ion shows that the most serious dilemma the Canadian missionaries encountered was the question of the participation of Japanese Christians in state-sponsored Shinto ceremonies. Soon after the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese government separated Shinto ceremonies from religion so that government control of state Shinto would not violate the freedom of religion guaranteed under the Meiji Constitution. However, Shinto ceremonies were an essential part of the emperor system (*tennōsei*), so not only the missionaries but also Japanese Christians, whose patriotism and loyalty to the emperor were constantly tested, were plagued by the question of whether or not their participation in state Shinto rites was a religious act. Ion provides valuable narratives on the Canadian missionaries' misguided efforts in the late 1930s to stay in Japan by taking a sympathetic approach to Japanese Christians' impossible aspiration to harmonize Christianity with state Shinto under the emperor system. Furthermore, the Japanese colonial authorities' policy to transform Koreans and Taiwanese to compliant imperial subjects of the empire by requiring the attendance of schoolchildren at Shinto shrines created even more difficult problems for Canadian missionaries. They were forced to choose between two equally doomed options: namely, the closing of mission schools in protest against the Japanese colonial authorities and in favor of native Christians' national aspirations on the one hand, and pragmatic compliance with the Japanese policy so as to keep their mission schools open. In the end, Canadian missionaries decided to leave Japan in late 1940, following the Canadian government's recommendation prompted by the increasing prospect of an Anglo-Japanese war.

The book is also potentially a useful study of cross-cultural and transnational experiences of Canadian Christian residents and the Japanese people, mainly Christians, on the eve of the Pacific War. The book offers a judicious narrative of personal interactions, both tense and cordial, between the two groups, but it refrains from making a sweeping judgment. On this aspect, therefore, it is up to readers to determine how valuable the information in the book can be.

Washington State University

NORIKO KAWAMURA

American Airpower Strategy in Korea, 1950–1953. By Conrad Crane. (Lawrence, University Press of Kansas, 2000. x + 252 pp. \$35)

This book examines the way myths about airpower affect and grow out of military realities. When the Korean war began, American civilian leaders, impressed by what they felt airpower had accomplished in World War II, expected more from it than even the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Application of that kind of force to political objectives proved extremely difficult. Nevertheless, as Conrad Crane points out, U.S. Air Force leaders believed, without adequate evidence, that their arm had been chiefly responsible for the armistice on the Korean peninsula, and this perceived success, along with an emphasis on general nuclear war, caused the actual lessons about using airpower in limited wars to be lost. As Crane observes, “they would have to be relearned again, at high cost, in the skies over Vietnam” (p. 170).

At the start of the war, the United States Far East Air Forces (FEAF) confronted serious problems. Not only did they lack enough aircraft to support a conventional war in Korea, but they had the wrong mix of planes. Thus, B-29 superfortresses, designed to bomb strategic targets, were called on to support troops in the field. There were serious problems coordinating air force and navy aircraft and difficulties getting FEAF jets quickly to where the army needed them and keeping them over the battleground long enough. Although many of the American flyers were highly skilled and aggressive, severe morale problems arose as veterans of World War II were called back to fly dozens of missions in a conflict whose purpose some of them did not entirely understand. Enemy flyers proved able opponents, and they often had better aircraft and more of them than the United Nations. Out of concern not to escalate the war, it was officially forbidden to attack the enemy beyond the Korean border. This concern was well-founded, since

American war games indicated that escalation could have led to enemy conquest of the entire Korean peninsula and half of Japan. This possibility, together with tactical considerations and Allied concerns, rendered the most powerful American weapon, the nuclear bomb, impotent, although planners repeatedly considered using it.

Perhaps the most serious obstacle of all was the difficulty of devising an air strategy to influence the people responsible for the war “even when no one was really sure who they were or how they thought” (p. 9). Cities, villages, and factories were obliterated, but the war went on. Attempts to interdict enemy troops and supplies inside Korea failed. Finally the United States turned to what it called a policy of “destruction,” including destroying hydroelectric facilities that supplied power to China, to influence the armistice negotiations. But when fighting stopped, it remained unclear whether these attacks or indications that the United States might use nuclear weapons or the death of Stalin had changed the minds of the people behind the war.

This is a thorough, thoughtful book that systematically examines each of the problems the U.S. Air Force faced, the solutions it tried, and the inferences its leaders drew, sometimes incorrectly, from their experiences. It contains enlightening passages about moral aspects of the war, written without moralizing. One can only hope that military and civilian decision makers will read it and profit from the lessons it offers about not believing one’s own myths.

California State University, Northridge

RONALD SCHAFFER

Parallax Visions: Making Sense of American-East Asian Relations at the End of the Century. By Bruce Cumings. (Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1999. vi + 280 pp. \$27.95)

For the past century and a half, American relations with East Asia have fluctuated around two contradictory notions: anticipation of imminent changes that will usher in an era of American-designed and led prosperity, and concern over the possibility that one Asian nation (China or Japan usually) will develop militarily or economically and challenge American supremacy. It was not long ago, for example, when pundits and politicians decried the decline of the United States in the face of Japanese competition. The experts differed only on when the changeover would occur, not whether it was going to happen.

There are few historians more qualified than Bruce Cumings to assess much of what has passed for informed analysis on the nature and direction of U.S. relations with East Asia. Although a specialist in Korean affairs, Cumings brings an impressive understanding of the region to his writings, here a collection of essays published elsewhere but revised for this volume.

Whether skewering economists for their historically questionable starting points or taking on rational choice theorists, Cumings wields a sharp and effective pen. In his critique of the former, he points to the absurdity of economic analyses of Taiwan or South Korea that begin with periods immediately after wars or major civil unrest. By starting at such points, he shrewdly asserts, "Economists thereby accomplish the miracle of empirically based self-fulfilling prophecy" (p. 86).

On rational choice theory, his discussion of the historic relationship between academic inquiries and the federal government's role in promoting certain types of research is a sobering account of the all-too-cozy connection enjoyed by some area studies programs and security and intelligence agencies during the Cold War. The Soviet demise has many people reconsidering the whole notion of area studies programs. Hence, along comes rational choice theory, which "collapses the diversity of the human experience into one category, the self-interested individualist prototype that has animated and totalized the economics profession in America" (p. 197).

Whether he is inveighing for the idea of Japan as permanent number two or commenting on the relationship between liberalism and power in the United States, Cumings has provocative and insightful observations. He is particularly adept at calling into question conventional wisdom on North Korea. Quoting one commentator who appeared on television and likened North Korea's government to David Koresh and Branch Davidian members, Cumings points out that North Korea is often an American "tabula rasa, and anything written upon it has currency—so long as the words are negative" (p. 127). This has become especially salient as so-called rogue states like North Korea have replaced the Soviet Union as justification for additional defense spending and missile systems development. Recent revelations about provocations of the Davidian members by the FBI and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms during the standoff in Waco, although not mentioned by Cumings, provide fascinating support for how much more understandable North Korean actions were when viewed from another perspective and how provocatively the United States has acted instead.

With the usual caveat about collections of essays in place, Cumings's book makes for a healthy counterpoise to the drivel that is passed off as informed opinion in this country. It is, in short, a stimulating and engaging work.

Clark Atlanta University

T. CHRISTOPHER JESPERSEN

The National Congress of American Indians: The Founding Years. By Thomas W. Cowger. (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1999. xiii + 217 pp. \$45 cloth, \$19.95 paper)

The National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) played a crucial role in the history of American Indian affairs in the second half of the twentieth century. As the focus for pan-Indian activism in the years following World War II, it proved that Indians were coming of age politically and were able to act together to promote Indian identity and to lobby the federal government for Indian causes.

Cowger presents a straightforward, largely chronological account of the NCAI and its leaders from its founding in 1944. He shows how events impinging on Indians from outside were the forces that drew Indians together. The most significant of these was the termination policy of the government in the 1950s, which threatened the identity and the sovereignty of the tribes and furnished the main issue for pan-Indian action. But the NCAI was active in many areas—protecting the rights of Alaska Natives, battling voting discrimination against Indians in Arizona and New Mexico, promoting the creation of an Indian Claims Commission, fighting for the Indians' right to hire their own legal counsel, and serving generally as a watchdog for Indian interests on the federal level. It played a leading role, too, in the American Indian Chicago Conference in 1961.

Cowger says that the primary goal of the NCAI was to preserve and enhance Indian identity, and he uses ethnicity theory in his explanation of the organization's success. But all was not smooth sailing, and Cowger describes in considerable detail the recurrent factionalism that came close to tearing the organization apart. It was difficult to hold together Indians separated by class and educational differences and by disputes about general ethnic identity and tribal identity.

This is a small book—just 160 pages of text—and it provides a truncated history, for it covers only the first two decades of the organization's existence. It stops at a critical juncture, for by the

mid-1960s termination was no longer a great issue that could hold the disparate parts together, and new protest-oriented groups like the National Indian Youth Council and the American Indian Movement challenged the leadership of the more moderate NCAI. As this book ends, new leaders were taking over, and attempts were being made to heal the factionalism and continue the usefulness of the NCAI.

The book is flawed by the insertion of too much background material, for there are long passages in which the NCAI itself does not appear. Nor does the author analyze fully the part that other organizations played in cooperation with NCAI to effect some of the victories. I would have welcomed, too, a more detailed account of just how the NCAI operated—the resolutions passed at its annual meetings, its personal lobbying before congressional committees and in offices on Capitol Hill, its rallying of supporters in the legislative halls, and so on. Such material from the extensive papers of the NCAI and the personal papers of its leaders that the author used might have given a more personal touch to this important story.

Cowger is balanced in his evaluation of the NCAI but perhaps too cautious to make for an exciting book.

Marquette University

FRANCIS PAUL PRUCHA

Glen Canyon Dammed: Inventing Lake Powell and the Canyon Country. By Jared Farmer. (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1999. xxvii + 269 pp. \$26.95)

Glen Canyon Dam is hated by environmentalists with a deeper passion than perhaps any other structure on earth. Although the reservoir created by the dam, Lake Powell, is picturesque, environmentalists and writers alike have mourned its cost: the flooding of Glen Canyon, viewed by many as the heart of the West's canyon country. Jared Farmer writes of the sense of loss that the construction of the dam has evoked. However, as a native of Utah too young to have remembered "the Glen" before the dam, he also writes of the sense of gain that has emerged among those who love Lake Powell. Farmer explains why Lake Powell is held out as a noxious example of environmental desecration by some and celebrated as a paradise by others. This book is not only a history of the canyon country; it also asks important, and sometimes ironic, questions about how Americans view their open spaces and construct perceptions of them.

The author also contemplates his own sense of loss. Although too young to remember Glen Canyon before the dam, Farmer remembers the West of his youth, a west that is rapidly disappearing. In order to understand his own feelings, Farmer uses Glen Canyon as a case study to comprehend the meaning of the changes that have occurred within his lifetime and places the damming of Glen Canyon within the larger context of western development.

By using this framework, Farmer offers a fresh look at the controversy over the damming of Glen Canyon. He explodes the dichotomy that many environmental writers have constructed by portraying the dam and Lake Powell as part of the continuum of western development rather than as an isolated environmental disaster. Farmer demonstrates that mining and road building have had a far greater impact upon the slickrock country. Indeed, the process began in 1909 when Anglo Americans first “discovered” and photographed Rainbow Bridge, losing little time in turning the journey to it into a marketable commodity for wealthy easterners seeking to see the last remnants of the “undiscovered” West.

Farmer’s most ironic contention is that aficionados of the pre-dam Glen and the people who came to Lake Powell as it filled share similar feelings of loss. Using journals, letters, and other primary sources, Farmer reveals that people visited the reservoir to “discover” natural grandeur with the same mind-set as those who came to the Glen before the dam, and they lament the passing of Lake Powell to a new generation of émigrés who played louder and harder, ruining what was, to them, a wilderness experience. Farmer writes this insightful analysis with passion and style. He ends by offering ideas about how to stop the human desire to discover and then destroy, which, he believes, has shaped the modern western landscape more than anything else. The destruction can be assuaged only if people develop a higher ecological awareness, restraint, and a “reevaluation” of the idea that the “natural” and “undiscovered” are somehow better than nature that has been “tainted” by human contact.

West Texas A&M University

BYRON PEARSON

Making a Real Killing: Rocky Flats and the Nuclear West. By Len Ackland. (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1999. xi + 308 pp. 34.95)

The end of Cold War security has allowed scholars to explore the American West’s secretive role in the U.S. nuclear weapons pro-

gram. A welcome addition to the literature is Len Ackland's history of the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons plant, the nation's principal plutonium-processing facility. Located near Denver, Colorado, Rocky Flats was critical to the expansion of America's nuclear arsenal for thirty-seven years, but through gross mismanagement, it has become one of the nation's worst toxic-waste nightmares. Ackland, a former editor for the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, has a twofold purpose: to understand how Rocky Flats fits into the history of western development and to explain "why the citizens of the world's greatest democracy willingly participated in building huge nuclear arsenals capable of destroying the human species" (pp. 3–4). He offers a straightforward thesis. Rocky Flats' environmental debacle was the product of Cold War secrecy and common greed. Accustomed to a way of life that depended on federal dollars, western citizens, businessmen, and politicians welcomed the top-secret plant as a boon to the economy and raised few questions about its potential threat to the community's safety.

The substantial presence of the atomic weapons program in the West, Ackland demonstrates, was not coincidental. The nuclear West resulted from the region's well-known dependency on the federal government. A culture of "subsidized individualism" (p. 27) made Westerners, such as the Church family on whose land the plant was established, zealous pursuers of federal largess.

This time, however, Westerners struck a Faustian bargain. The lure of money and a blithe public acceptance of Cold War secrecy allowed officials and plant managers to ignore or co-opt the traditional oversight institutions of democracy—the press and Congress. Hence, production schedules and corporate profits took precedence over safety. A fire in 1957 demonstrated the dangerous flammability of plutonium, but management enacted few new safety procedures and hid the seriousness of the accident from the public. Predictably, a 1969 fire nearly caused a Chernobyl-like catastrophe. This incident at last inaugurated a combined peace and environmental movement that successfully closed Rocky Flats in the early 1990s. That movement, Ackland argues, reinvigorated democracy and helped end the excessive secrecy surrounding the nuclear weapons program.

Ackland is least successful in explaining why Americans sought security by constructing thousands of nuclear weapons. His tale of greed, secrecy, environmental abuse, and poor safety is a familiar one within and outside the military/industrial complex and reveals little about the factors that supported the arms race. Ackland cannot indict America's quest for nuclear security without a broader

analysis of the nation's communist obsession, its Cold War strategy, and the validity of the Soviet threat.

Nevertheless, *Making a Real Killing* is a sobering account of the price America paid for circumventing its democratic traditions and domestic safety for economic gain and the perception of external security. Engagingly written and richly documented with declassified material, local records, and oral interviews, Ackland's work is important reading for students of the Cold War, the modern West, and environmental history.

Central Washington University

THOMAS R. WELLOCK

Colorblind Injustice: Minority Voting Rights and the Undoing of the Second Reconstruction. By J. Morgan Kousser. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1999. x + 599 pp. \$65 cloth, \$29.95 paper)

This is a book of major importance, both for its contribution to historical scholarship and for an understanding of contemporary public policy. It makes us sharply aware of the Orwellian nature of the race-relations ideology fueling the ongoing retreat from the Second Reconstruction. J. Morgan Kousser peels off layers of obfuscation to deconstruct the language claiming that justice is served and the civil rights movement honored by so-called colorblind policies and decisions that disallow affirmative action and eliminate race-conscious voting-rights remedies. Taking on such writers as Abigail and Stephan Thernstrom—and the majority of justices on the Supreme Court—he argues powerfully that they represent reality to be the opposite of what, in fact, it is. The late C. Vann Woodward's dust-jacket blurb accurately tells us that *Colorblind Injustice* is "an indispensable guide to the uses of discrimination and fraud against racial and ethnic minorities in American politics."

Public policies based on "neutrality" in matters of race have an unjust effect because that is their intent, Kousser argues. "Not only do such policies in fact perpetuate injustice," he writes; "they are meant to perpetuate injustice." And, "far from 'colorblind,' they are deeply color-conscious" (p. 10). These bold and baldly stated conclusions are spelled out in 500 pages of text that demonstrate Kousser's belief that persuasion lies in the details and that historical methodology is the surest way to uncover motivation and intent.

Colorblind Injustice stems from Kousser's twenty-year involvement in voting rights cases as an expert witness. It is a logical sequel to his first book, *The Shaping of Southern Politics* (1974), in which he

used sophisticated quantitative techniques to account for the undoing of the first Reconstruction. Here he builds on his testimony in cases from Los Angeles, Georgia, North Carolina, and Texas. Preceded by a short history of the Voting Rights Act, the central section is followed by an analysis of *Shaw v. Reno* and its successors, a penetrating essay on intent and effect in law and history, and a final chapter on equality in American history.

Writing about *Shaw* and the voting rights cases that followed it, Kousser concludes that “they are revolutionary, contradictory, and incoherent; that they are infected with racial and partisan bias; and that they have turned the intent of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments on their head and deliberately distorted history and language in an effort to stamp out the embers of the Second Reconstruction.” To make this provocative conclusion stand up, Kousser is both legal analyst and historian, not only scrutinizing dozens of cases and opinions but also dipping deeply into the context out of which they and their authors came. Such an approach requires many pages and much reader patience and is, Kousser concedes, “perhaps more detailed than some readers will appreciate” (p. 368). He is right: Some readers will lose patience and wish for speedier endings to each chapter. But then they will miss a rare experience of seeing just how good history may succeed in making bold and controversial claims seem almost unassailable.

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Smuggled Chinese: Clandestine Immigration to the United States. By Ko-Lin Chin. (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 2000. xx + 221 pp. \$64.50 cloth, \$22.95 paper)

The movement of large numbers of people across national borders has become a global phenomenon. More people from more countries are migrating in greater numbers to more destinations. While mass migration today differs from earlier eras of migration, the motivation for migration is similar: People leave hoping for better futures. The majority of immigrants are *legal* immigrants; that is, their departures and arrivals accord with prevailing laws governing migration in both sending and receiving countries. However, there has always been *illegal* migration, and this is the subject of Ko-Lin Chin’s book.

In the United States, the main focus of attention for illegal migration has been Mexican illegal migration. This book deals with illegal migration from China. Compared with illegal Mexican mi-

grants, the number of illegal Chinese migrants is relatively small. However, disasters such as the 1993 grounding and breakup of the *Golden Venture*, a ship filled with illegal Chinese, off New York and recent incidents of apprehended illegal Chinese in both Canada and the United States have turned the spotlight on the problem of illegal Chinese migrants. Chin has written one of the first and most comprehensive studies of modern illegal Chinese migration. Information comes from a variety of sources, including face-to-face interviews with 300 illegal Chinese migrants in New York's Chinatown, interviews with key informants in the New York Chinese community, and field research in the New York metropolitan area and Fujian, China. Using to great advantage his familial networks and ties to the Fujian area and people, the author was able to gather an impressive wealth of data. With considerable skill and insight, these data were transformed into a book that truly illuminates the process and organization of illegal Chinese migration.

The book is organized into three parts, each with three chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the problem of illegal Chinese migration. The second chapter discusses the powerful desire of illegal Chinese migrants to get to the United States, and the third describes the human smugglers, challenging stereotypes of close ties between smugglers and organized crime. Chapters 4 to 6 in the second part of the book describe the air, sea, and land routes for illegal Chinese migration to the United States. These three chapters provide rich details of the actual process by which illegal Chinese migrants are moved from China to transit countries and finally to the United States. The last three chapters detail the often appalling experiences of illegal Chinese migrants in the United States, responses by sending, transit, and receiving countries to the problem, and the author's policy recommendations for limiting illegal Chinese migration.

Chin has written a compelling book. Besides important theoretical and substantive contributions, he also provides insightful policy-related analyses of illegal migration. His passion for the topic and meticulous scholarship are evident throughout. There are three issues that I wish Chin had addressed in greater detail. First, the control of illegal migrants in the United States by smugglers' collaborators; surely organized criminal elements are more involved in this than Chapter 3 would suggest. Second, the unique character of illegal Chinese migration: China has the largest population in the world. If illegal migration from China is not stemmed quickly, more Chinese may be tempted to try this route to America. Illegal Chinese migration has the potential to turn into

a serious international issue that can only worsen U.S.-Chinese relations. Finally, I wonder what Chin's thoughts are about the impact of illegal Chinese migration on the Chinese and Asian American communities who struggle against the mainstream stereotype that Asians are not "really" Americans.

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