

Reviews

In the Company of Black Men: the African Influence on African American Culture in New York City. By Craig Steven Wilder. New York: New York University Press, 2001. 333 pp. Photos, tables, notes, bibliography, and index. \$45.00.

In the historiography on blacks in the colonial and antebellum periods, Craig Steven Wilder's *In the Company of Black Men* stands out as one of the finest works of scholarship in the last decade. Summoning vast territories of knowledge, Wilder argues that Africans entered the Americas equipped with intellectual traditions and sociological models that facilitated a communitarian response to oppression" (p. 3). More, these West African traditions and models were the foundation, Wilder maintains, for the establishment of "antebellum voluntary associations that free and enslaved Africans organized to pursue public and covert goals and to provide leadership for emerging African American communities" (p. 3). In the process of developing this tenable argument, he repositions these black voluntary associations in relationship to the black church. One important consequence of this repositioning is the creation of a new hierarchy in the history of black institutions not only in New York, but also for much of colonial and antebellum America. In the creation of black institutions, the black church, Wilder argues, was preceded by what he terms "African spiritual societies" (p. 37). In my estimation, this is Wilder's most important contribution to the historiography of blacks in the colonial and ante-bellum periods. Thanks to Wilder, we now have a deeper understanding of the lines of descent in the founding of black institutions, namely voluntary associations and the church. We also now have a more complex view of the interrelationships between these powerful institutions, and the vital leadership role of the voluntary associations.

Wilder's intelligently-conceived history spans three centuries of African American cultural and institutional life. Divided into three parts, in Part One he examines the West African imprint upon the founding of New York's first black institutions between 1644 and 1845. Of the four excellent chapters in this section, "Raising Mother Zion" is most crucial to his argument concerning the line of descent in black institutional life. In this carefully-researched chapter,

Wilder reconstructs the history of the founding of black voluntary associations and the subsequent founding of black churches. Wilder informs us that in 1780 the Newport African Union was established in Rhode Island. It subsequently "sired the city's first black house of worship, the Union Congregational Church" (p. 37). He documents similar patterns in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and South Carolina.

In Part Two, Wilder examines the impact of voluntary associations upon public debates in the antebellum period. Here he examines the manner in which voluntary associations shaped the development of nationalist politics, constructions of black masculinity, and the debate among association members concerning the goals of the colonization movement. Wilder, still very much in command of his subject in Part Three, examines the decline of the voluntary associations which was catalyzed in part by the "absence of a unifying political goal [the abolition of slavery]" as well as the "competition with the national appeal of general men's fraternities" (p. 186).

This history contains a progressive analysis of gender throughout. In his final chapter Wilder documents the ways in which African American women began to assume leadership roles within black communities, thereby filling, in part, the social vacuum created by the decline of the voluntary associations. Like Leslie M. Harris's *In the Shadow of Slavery*, Wilder's *In the Company of Black Men* is a substantive contribution to the scholarship on blacks in the colonial and antebellum periods.

Rudolph P. Byrd
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The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation. By Wilma A. Dunaway. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. xi + 368 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$80.00 (cloth), \$28.00 (paper).

With *The African-American Family in Slavery and Emancipation*, Wilma A. Dunaway provides a rich and detailed study of slavery and emancipation in a heretofore-neglected region, the Appalachian Mountains extending from Alabama and Georgia to western Maryland. The regional economy, dominated by small farms producing for local markets, undeniably shaped the African-American experience there. This study challenges the view of the family gleaned from intensive studies of staple-producing regions where most enslaved and freed people labored on large plantations. Dunaway claims that the harshly exploitative system of the Mountain South was typical, rather than exceptional, of the South as a whole. Indeed, she challenges the dominant characterization

of slavery, the “optimistic” views of Ira Berlin, Robert Fogel, Stanley Engerman, and others.

Dunaway’s methods are most similar to the econometric studies of Fogel and Engerman. Dunaway examines the published census for each county under study and details the varied forms of agricultural production, patterns of slaveholding, the migration of enslaved and freed people, in addition to basic demographic indicators such as fertility rates and mortality rates. She innovatively supplements the census with her reading of approximately 300 Works Progress Administration narratives. As expected, these tales enliven her text, but Dunaway also constructs a database from this testimony to measure the extent of family separation due to the slave trade, the impact of migration upon family relationships, and much more. Although she includes the findings that inform her argument in her text, the book includes no tables. Instead, Dunaway posted the tables that serve as her documentation on a website—http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/vtpubs/mountain_slavery/index.htm. This website, probably devised as an accommodation to her publisher, expands her audience, but unfortunately her tables will unlikely share the durability of her book. Moreover, this reviewer encountered momentary problems with the server and one bad link on the site.

Dunaway deftly explores the fragility of family ties in a slave-exporting region and contradicts Fogel and Engerman’s assertions that owners traded their slaves infrequently. Slaves born in the Mountain South stood a good chance of sale or forced migration to the Lower South. Between 1840 and 1860, one out of every five slaves sold in the interstate slave trade originated in the Mountain South (p. 20). Owners so profited from the slave trade that they encouraged the increase of their holdings merely to provide slaves for sale. Dunaway uses basic demographic indicators to demonstrate their success in pressuring their enslaved women to reproduce: on average, their first birth occurred at age fifteen and they had 10.4 live births during their reproductive cycle, with the corresponding figures for United States slaves reported as age twenty and 9.2 births (p. 127).

Dunaway is at her best in establishing the devastating consequences of this regional system of slavery, yet she does not describe the ways that enslaved families tried to nurture their relationships. She offers virtually no examples of family members offering gifts to each other, using religion to legitimate their relationships, and bolstering their ties with fictive kin relationships. The omission of these human endeavors, albeit fraught with frustration, leads Dunaway to a flat account of emancipation, in which she describes daunting obstacles to family sustenance, the devastation of the military maneuvers in the Appalachians, and the imposition of sharecropping. She cannot account for the vibrant African American culture so evident in the post-emancipation South, including Appalachia, and its relationship to the family in slavery and freedom. The dominant literature, most notably the work of Ira Berlin, at least helps make

that connection. Despite contributing an insightful qualification to this view, Dunaway falls far short of discrediting it.

Mary Beth Corrigan
Independent Scholar

La Lucha for Cuba: Religion and Politics on the Streets of Miami. By Miguel A. De La Torre. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. xix +181 pp. Photos, notes, bibliography, and index. \$55.00 (cloth); \$21.95 (paper).

An introductory epigraph, a quote by Cuba's national hero, José Martí, "El vino, de plátano; y si sale agrio, es nuestro vino!" ["The wine, of plantain; it may be bitter, but it's ours!], sums up the spirit of this interesting but somewhat troubling book by Miguel De La Torre, Assistant Professor of Religion at Hope College in Michigan. Certainly not a formal history, nor a systematic theological reflection, the book utilizes a postmodern and postcolonial interpretative lens "to elucidate how the political culture of the Miami Exilic community arose from a religious expression formed in the Miami diaspora" (p. 21). In doing this, the author "unmasks the not-so-well hidden intra-Hispanic structures of oppression that operate within the Cuban Exilic community of Miami," and he pays particular attention to how exiles constructed a religious dichotomy between the 'children of light' (Exilic Cubans) and the 'children of darkness' (Resident Cubans)" (p. xvi), in essence, an exile religiosity that justified an aggressive and intolerant exile worldview. Occasional autobiographical references to his own exile experience are meant to connect "theory with reality" and "avoid creating a lifeless religious understanding" (p. 24).

The discussion is framed by an examination of the determined effort of exiles to stop the return to Cuba of Elián González, the refugee boy rescued at sea in 1998 who captured the public's attention for many months. The exile struggle against Castro, De La Torre argues, must be understood within the context of a diasporic religion (that he calls *Ajiaco* Christianity) that defines *la lucha* (the struggle) as divinely inspired. Chapters on the relationship between religion and politics in Miami, the construction of an exile worldview rooted in the biblical model of the Babylonian Exile, and "structures of oppression" within the community (particularly *machismo* and race) deepen the analysis. He concludes with a discussion of the Elián saga as symbol for *La Lucha*.

This is an interesting book, with many valuable insights about exile Cubans, and certainly offers a vivid description of the intransigent anti-communist cold war community that emerged in Miami during the 1960s and 1970s. At the same time, the treatment is one-dimensional and unfortunately contributes to cementing many of the long-held stereotypes regarding a myopic, non-intellec-

tual, emotionally-driven, monolithic exile community. De La Torre declares, for example, “The dialogue that developed between the left and the Church after Vatican II and the rise of liberation theology came too late for Cuba. The Exilic mind was set. To be an Exilic Cuban Christian meant to participate in the crusade against communism and Castro, period” (p. 29). To be sure, most exiles fervently embraced anti-communism, but not all followed the path described in this book. Many south Florida Cuban Catholics, for example, did engage Vatican II, Medellín, and the United States Latino church. One legacy, for example, is a growing and quiet movement among south Florida churches to establish ongoing dialogues with resident Cuban religious communities, representing a quite distinct political instinct from the one the author describes. Certainly, the author’s interest in explaining the “bitter wine” in south Florida is important, but a closer inquiry would reveal a heterogeneous community with contending values not always apparent “on the street.”

Gerald E. Poyo
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Colonial Subjects: Puerto Ricans in a Global Perspective. By Ramón Grosfoguel. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. xv + 268 pp. Bibliography, appendix, and index. \$55.00 (cloth); \$21.95 (paper).

Ramón Grosfoguel’s book is the latest in a long list of Puerto Rican efforts to grapple with the thorny issue of Puerto Rico’s arguably colonial political status. What is relatively new is his attempt—motivated by what he sees as a need for “the courage to think beyond colonialist and nationalist discourses” (p. xiv)—to reframe the debate using a slightly revised version of Wallerstein’s “modern/colonial capitalist world systems,” as well as by comparing Puerto Rico to some of its Caribbean neighbors (p. 1). He also offers a useful critique of the traditional split between the social sciences and humanities that in the past has ignored either the cultural politics of a society or its political economy; nonetheless, this book seems more firmly rooted in the latter.

The book is divided into three parts. Part One discusses the political economy of Puerto Rico, while Part Two concentrates on Puerto Rican migration as part of the Caribbean diaspora in the United States. The last section analyzes the Caribbean colonial migrant experience by comparing Puerto Rican migration to the United States with the experience of other Caribbean migrants to their corresponding European colonial powers. Writing in an accessible style that incorporates personal experiences into his scholarly narrative, Grosfoguel introduces the reader to Puerto Rico as the “modern colony” (p. 2), whose access to *de jure* colonial cushions such as United States citizenship and welfare transfers distinguishes it from the nominally independent Caribbean states that expe-

rience a *de facto* colonial exploitation. He also analyzes a wide variety of theoretical concerns for a generation of Ethnic Studies scholars, ranging from racism and world systems to diaspora and postcolonialism. For these reasons the book makes for worthwhile reading. However, the book's main value may prove to be as a vehicle for encouraging more debate on the status issue.

Indeed, supporters of independence—depicted as practically synonymous with the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP)—receive the brunt of his criticisms for being elitist, out of touch with the poor and working-class majority and the twenty-first century, and willfully ignorant of the economic and cultural disaster that allegedly would befall an independent Republic of Puerto Rico. His criticisms of PIP certainly resonate (p. 69), yet the considerable and creative work by scholars, workers, and community leaders who make up the vast majority of independence supporters—and who do not support PIP—is ignored. Nor does he mention the well-documented repression to which *independentistas* have historically been subjected, which has contributed to the reluctance of many Puerto Ricans to openly support independence.

Grosfoguel advises the Puerto Rican left to “stop defending independence as a matter of principle” (p. 75) based on what he sees as overwhelming desire for permanent union with the United States. Yet there is considerable evidence that the lack of support for independence derives more from a pragmatic appraisal of benefits as currently enjoyed under the present “commonwealth” status or as potentially gained under statehood, rather than from heartfelt national identification with the United States. Grosfoguel's dream of a Puerto Rican “antimilitarist and radical-democratic pro-statehood movement” (p. 75) may be at least as unrealistic as independence, given the historical impact of U.S. statehood on indigenous populations. Tellingly, his brief treatment of the Hawaiian example makes no mention of the devastating impact of a highly militarized and tourism-driven statehood on the native Hawaiians. More comparative analyses of the Puerto Rico case are needed; however, had Grosfoguel also studied the political status experiences of other United States colonies he might have had to paint a less satisfactory portrait of Puerto Rico under statehood, a status with virtually no support in the United States.

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The American Irish: A History. By Kevin Kenny. New York: Pearson Education, Inc., 2000. xix + 328 pp. Maps, photo, illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. \$30.00.

Beginning in the seventeenth century some seven million Irish left their homeland for North America, with five million coming in the hundred years

after 1820 alone. Today, 45 million American citizens claim an ancestor from among this first mass migration of non-English migrants to what is today the United States. As Kevin Kenny tells us in the opening pages of his study of the American Irish, these millions had a profound effect not only on their homeland but also on the development of their adopted country.

Despite the staggering numbers suggested above, the Irish have been neglected in most histories of the United States. When they are mentioned at all, they are either subsumed within the dominant culture or viewed as pathogens detrimental to mainstream American life. Kenny's more nuanced and thorough reading of the history of the Irish in America demonstrates that there is much more to that experience than these stereotypes indicate.

By providing a systematic overview of the growing body of literature about the American Irish over the course of the last four hundred years, therefore, Kenny provides his readers with a much-needed corrective to traditional views of that history. Beginning with a discussion of the long-neglected Scots-Irish, the first large-scale Irish migrants to America, Kenny next looks at the Irish origins of the Famine-era Catholic migration of the late 1840s and 1850s, which he differentiates from both post-Famine and twentieth-century migration. Kenny concludes with a discussion of the impact of the Irish on American culture, asserting that an on-going struggle for power remains the driving force behind not only the American Irish experience but also that of all other immigrant groups.

Kenny's book is an ambitious compendium of the ever-growing literature on the history of the Irish in America and his book is a must read for all those with an interest in that history. Nevertheless, his work suffers from a still-all-too-common shortcoming in Irish-American studies since it, too, unwittingly focuses on men, confining women to the sidelines of the Irish-American experience. Since women were the majority of the Irish in the United States, this oversight distorts our understanding of the Irish adjustment to American life. Furthermore, Kenny's discussion of the function of domestic service in Irish immigrant women's lives misinterprets the findings of the sources he cites. Despite these shortcomings, Kenny's pioneering synthesis is an essential and engagingly-written text for both student and professor.

Janet Nolan
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The Jews in Colonial America. By Oscar Reiss. Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co, Inc., 2004. vi + 230 pp. Notes, bibliography and index. \$39.95.

Oscar Reiss, a retired physician, has written a book with the virtues and drawbacks of the older generation of American Jewish historians. *The Jews in*

Colonial America is indefatigably researched and, consequently, contains an abundance of data particularly informative for the general reader. Notable in this respect is the account of Haym Salomon (pp. 149–53), the best I have ever seen. The signal contribution of *The Jews in Colonial America* is its comprehensiveness and descriptive detail. Reiss explores the Jews in every colony from the first settlements through the Revolution. He examines the Jews topically as well as geographically in separate chapters on their involvement in slavery, anti-Semitism, military affairs, various occupations, politics, and religious ritual and activity.

If richness of narrative detail is the primary virtue of *The Jews in Colonial America*, it is also the primary flaw. At times overwhelming factual presentation unaccompanied by analytic organization or meaning leaves the reader enmeshed in a catalogue of unmediated facts. Little explanation, beyond that America needed settlers, is given for the greater tolerance of Jews in the colonies than in Europe. Historical phenomena such as America being founded after the Middle Ages and the wars of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation are here unexplored for their implications for the Jewish experience in the North American quadrant of the New World. On a smaller note, it would have been helpful if Reiss had explained why many American anti-Semites, e.g. James Rivington and Miles Fisher, were ex-Tories.

As in any book with so much detail, here and there errors occur. I note these not to detract from Reiss's arduous research, but to make the record more accurate. Reiss counts approximately 2,500 Jews in America at the time of the Revolution with a decrease to about 1,500 or less in the Federal period (p. 1). In 1776 the Jewish population was between 500–3,000 with fewer than 1,000 the best estimate. In 1790 the range was 1,300–3,000, with 1,500 the best estimate. Reiss asserts that in "America...church and state were separated" (p. 23). Such was not the case. As Reiss himself shows, in most colonies Jews had to pay taxes to support established sects and taxation for support of religion continued in states for varying times. According to Reiss, "Napoleon carried the concept of equal rights wherever his armies went" (p. 116). In fact, Napoleon in 1806 revoked the emancipation of the Jews in France and in his European conquests.

Occasional inaccuracy and a more widespread absence of analysis are indubitable flaws, but *The Jews in Colonial America* is valuable to the general reader and to specialists in American Jewish, ethnic, and colonial history for the information Reiss conveys about Jews in this period of the nation's history.

Frederic Cople Jaher
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Catskill Culture: A Mountain Rat's Memories of the Great Jewish Resort Area. By Phil Brown. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003. ix + 298 pp. Map, photos, illustrations, notes, bibliography, appendix, and index. \$19.95.

Sociologist Phil Brown uses memories of growing up in the “Jewish Alps” as the peg upon which to drape this study of the Catskills vacation area. Brown provides a serviceable history of the Catskills hotel industry. Separate chapters discuss entertainment, guests, hotel religiosity, *Yiddishkayt* (Jewishness), and the types of establishments. Part memoir, part history, part sociology: *Catskill Culture* is basically an engagingly-written jog down Memory Lane augmented by anecdotes, raising more questions than it answers. Brown opens the sociological door just a crack, enough to entice, but too little to satisfy. A reference to hoteliers’ “impression management” raises unfulfilled expectations of Erving Goffman informing his analysis, one of many lost opportunities (p. 17).

The two best chapters classify Catskill occupations, especially the working lives of entertainers and almost all kinds of food service workers, from saladmen to stewards. Those in other areas receive short shrift. Readers learn what each job entailed, how workers resisted authority and “controlled” guests. Although using interviews, Brown rarely moves beyond the categories of his own experience. The Browns, “Mountain Rats” who annually migrated for the “season,” did not work in large resorts; relatively little about such establishments appears.

Brown seeks to discover the meaning of the Catskills and “to present that Jewish cultural environment and its broader social context” (p. 13). To which “broader social context” does Brown refer? The visitor industry fundamentally supported the regional economy. Beyond early anti-Semitism, townspeople do not really exist in these pages. Did anti-Semitism diminish, increase, remain the same? What characterized relations between residents and those there just for the “season”? Brown attended many area schools: did his migrant status make any difference in school environments? Relationships between townspeople and Mountain Rats certainly constitute part of the “broader social context.” Brown essentially presents the Catskills as a Jewish “comfort zone” with transformed lowest-common-denominator Jewish traditions.

Conceptually he argues that the “Catskills resorts were, to a large extent, *shtetl* (small village) cultures mediated by the journey to the New World” (p. 195). This claim presents major problems. Brown’s concept of the *shtetl* apparently derived from *Fiddler on the Roof* or romantic “organic community” notions. A *shtetl* was a market town, not a small village (*dorf*); the “organic community” had started disintegrating before large-scale immigration began. The *shtetl*’s social hierarchy and *milieufrömmigkeit* were neither transferred nor transformed in the Catskills.

Dreadful documentation further mars this book. Rather than numbered footnotes or endnotes, he lists page numbers followed by source citations. Many

assertions lack documentation altogether. Thus, he devotes one paragraph to organized crime, “a story frequently told in other books...and the subject of several essays in *Retrospect*” (p. 121). The source notes contain nothing for page 121. How did organized crime intersect with the resorts? Which criminal groups were involved?

Catskill Culture illustrates oral history’s methodological problems. Brown presents no corroboration of interview statements, nor does he consider the problem of memory. How many of these “memories” were consciously or subconsciously augmented by knowledge, beliefs or attitudes acquired later? Brown makes uncritical use of novelistic evidence. Claiming that Catskills customers felt guilty vacationing while European relatives faced the Holocaust, he cites no sources contemporary with the Holocaust or immediately thereafter, instead relying on one 1957 novel.

By restricting himself to English sources, Brown omits a major repository of information, the Yiddish press. Using this resource would have allowed him access to contemporary attitudes. For Yiddish newspaper quotes, he cites Andrew Heinze’s *Adapting to Abundance* (1990) twice. Heinze, in nine pages, does more to put the Catskills in its larger context and explain its meaning to Jews, than *Catskill Culture*’s 298 pages.

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Der rothe Doktor von Chicago—ein deutsch-amerikanisches Auswandererschicksal. By Axel W.O. Schmidt. Frankfurt a.M, Germany: Peter Lang, 2003. 601 pp. Photos, illustrations, tables, notes, bibliography, appendices, and index. \$ 79.95.

One of the most interesting personalities of Chicago’s German-America, Dr. Ernst Schmidt, finally found his biographer, or we might say Axel Schmidt found Ernst Schmidt. The author of this impressively detailed study stumbled across a student by the name of Ernst Schmidt (born 1830) while writing the history of a German fraternity (Burschenschaft) at the University of Würzburg. The author is a lawyer with a passion for history. Ernst Schmidt, his subject, was a medical doctor and researcher, freethinking liberal turned socialist, and active participant in the 1848 revolutionary upheaval in Germany. Further, he was a translator, journalist and poet, promoter, and shaper of German-American community life in Chicago; and the father of three influential sons. As a relentless promoter of social justice in Chicago, Schmidt defended the Haymarket martyrs, and was influential in bringing about the pardoning of those still alive but imprisoned in 1893.

Axel Schmidt left no stone unturned to chronicle the life of this manifold

personality. The book seems to leave no question unanswered. We learn much about Ernst Schmidt: the genealogy of his ancestors, his student years in Bamberg and Würzburg, his activities in the revolution, his subsequent escape and travels through Switzerland and Italy, further training and education in hospitals with prominent doctors such as Rudolf Virchow, marriage and emigration in 1857, his abolitionist activities and military service during the Civil War, return to Germany, settlement and political activism in Chicago, support for Lincoln, cooperation to build the (Catholic) Alexian Brothers hospital and the (Jewish) Michael Reese hospital, birth of his sons, his death in 1900 and the many praising obituaries. The biographies of the three sons, Frederick Michael, Otto Leopold, and Richard Ernest, who later have their own successful careers (Otto Schmidt became an equally influential community builder) blend in with the main story. The book provides a complete bibliography of Ernst Schmidt's publications, mainly in newspapers such as the *Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung*, and many of his more important articles and his poetry are reprinted in the book.

The book is a goldmine for historical detail—we might be tempted to say trivia, as the author moves into any direction the sources lead him. No uncle (never an aunt) is too remote to not follow the lead regarding the possible influence on Ernst Schmidt's development. In the process we learn quite a bit of German history. However, the book is totally void of any kind of historical analysis, let alone theoretical reflections of broader implications and context: no analysis of ethnicity and class; no concept at all of gender relations. The wife is a total non-entity in this otherwise minute chronicle of events and influences. The study is not embedded in German-American historiography or in any analysis of identity: multiple, trans-, bicultural or otherwise. The guiding principle of this book is the chronology of events and the goal is to include each and every bit of information on Ernst Schmidt the author could possibly access. As such it may be very useful for any historian who wants to write a "real" biography, a study of this truly complex and remarkable personality; a person who managed to remain uncorrupted by political power and financial rewards and respected by (almost) everybody in the community. How did such a personality fit within the larger context of Chicago politics, when his various identities—German, socialist, uninterested in riches—put him so squarely outside of the bourgeois, political mainstream of late nineteenth century urban America? This story remains to be written. Axel Schmidt has provided the resources for it.

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The Immigrant as Diplomat: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and the Shaping of Foreign Policy in the Lithuanian-American Community, 1870–1922. By Gary Hartman. Chicago: Lithuanian Research and Studies Center, 2002. 258 pp. Photographs, illustrations, notes, and bibliography. \$32.95.

The most significant contribution of this book is to demonstrate the importance of the Lithuanian-American nationalist movement in shaping how “Lithuanian Americans viewed themselves, their relationship with their ethnic homeland, and their place within American society” (p. 10). Hartman, grounding his work in the theories of Werner Sollors and Eric Hobsbawm, demonstrates how divergent groups of Lithuanian nationalists attempted to create and manipulate ethnic identity in order to win support for Lithuanian independence.

Three major factions competed for leadership of the Lithuanian-American nationalist movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: Catholic clericalists, secular nationalists, and socialists. During the 1870s and 1880s, all three factions worked to define Lithuanian Americans as a group distinct from the Polish Americans with whom they were often confused. Each faction supported the creation of separate Lithuanian Catholic churches and parochial schools, and promoted Lithuanian-language newspapers and cultural events. But in the 1890s, clericalists and secular nationalists split over a variety of issues, most critically the question of whether allegiance to church or former homeland should come first. Factional infighting became particularly vicious in major Lithuanian-American communities in Pennsylvania and in Chicago, Illinois. The large Lithuanian socialist party, for its part, sometimes cooperated with the secular nationalists against the clericalists but was also critical of secular nationalist policies that undermined working-class solidarity.

During World War I and its immediate aftermath, the clericalists and secular nationalists temporarily set aside their differences and formed an alliance that lobbied tirelessly for Lithuanian independence. These clericalists and nationalists were inspired both by the complex events in Lithuania, Russia, and Eastern Europe generally during the war and by President Woodrow Wilson’s proclamations about self-determination for oppressed nationality groups. By contrast, most Lithuanian socialists came to favor a semi-autonomous status for Lithuania within a Russian federation after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917.

Despite the efforts of Lithuanian clericalists and secular nationalists, President Wilson failed to champion independence for Lithuania at war’s end because he believed it would undermine efforts by opposition leaders in the Soviet Union to overthrow the Bolshevik regime and reconstitute the Russian empire. Thus, Hartman downplays the importance of Lithuanian Americans in actually influencing Wilsonian foreign policy, suggesting that geopolitical considerations were instead more important to Wilson. Although Senator Henry Cabot Lodge quickly seized on the Lithuanian independence issue to undermine Wilson’s credibility, it was only in 1922 after Warren G. Harding took

office that the United States finally recognized Lithuanian independence. Harding may have been influenced to some degree by Lithuanian-American propaganda, but his decision to grant Lithuania diplomatic recognition was based primarily on “pragmatic political and economic considerations” (p. 227). In particular, Republican policymakers had decided that the Bolshevik regime would not likely be overthrown and that independent Baltic states could serve as effective buffers to contain communist expansion.

Yet if geopolitical considerations ultimately trumped interest-group lobbying in determining United States foreign policy toward Lithuania, Lithuanian-American political mobilization during this era nonetheless likely had significant long-term repercussions—for both foreign and domestic policy—that deserve a bit more attention by Hartman. One wonders, for example, if the post-World War I era marked the beginning of important political party and class realignments within the Lithuanian-American community. If so, did these realignments contribute to, or undermine, support for the League of Nations and a broader internationalist agenda? How were Lithuanian-American perceptions about a “democratic diplomacy” altered by their experiences with interest-group lobbying and socialist politics during the World War I era?

These omissions aside, this is a pioneering and well-researched book which illuminates the central role that international affairs and diaspora politics can play in shaping patterns of assimilation, adaptation, and resistance within immigrant communities.

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Una famiglia che mangia insieme cibo ed etnicità nella comunità italoamericana New York, 1920–1940. By Simone Cinotto. Turin, Italy: Otto Editore, 2001. 458 pp. Illustrations, notes, and bibliography. \$21.15.

Cinotto’s book, while an important contribution to Italian American history, has a larger significance for migration and ethnic studies in general. Viewing Italian American ethnicity through the prism of food, he addresses issues of tradition, authenticity, and assimilation in an original and penetrating study. Although applying a semiotic analysis, Cinotto’s text is not burdened with theoretical exegesis or jargon. Rather it is an accessible and engaging study, more so through Cinotto’s skillful use of oral histories and memoirs. Although *Una famiglia* runs to over 400 pages, it is consistently enjoyable and enlightening because of the author’s ability to render the human dimension as well as analyze the symbolic meanings of his subject.

Cinotto’s thesis is that neither Italian American ethnicity nor Italian American food is traditional (i.e., based on pristine Old World sources). Rather he

argues that the one and the other were invented in response to exigencies posed by immigration and life in America. Rejecting the dualities of tradition vs. modernity or assimilation vs. authenticity, he views them as products of interaction between "Old World traits" and New World environment.

No sacred cows escape Cinotto's eye. *La famiglia*, the icon of Italian American ethnicity, he maintains, is no time-honored institution, but rather a strategy by which immigrant parents sought to discipline and control their "americanizing" children. In this process, food and rituals of eating played a central role. Not only was the cuisine transformed by abundance and cultural contacts, but conviviality *a tavola* was an expression of family unity in response to the disintegrative influences of urban, industrial, multicultural modernity. In response, immigrant wives and mothers through their dominance in *la cucina* created a "domestic ethnicity" to hold the family together.

Cinotto extends his analysis beyond the household to the role of food in shaping the Italian American community. He offers a provocative reading that food culture became one of the basic forms by which Italian Americans differentiated themselves from African Americans and Puerto Ricans. "They don't eat together", "they eat beans; we eat meat" were pejorative judgments by which Italian Americans affirmed their new status as "white Americans." Their retail shops, bakeries, and open air markets, and the resulting medley of tastes and smells, constituted an essential ingredient of the "Little Italies" whereby they distinguished their neighborhood from that of Others.

Rather than subverting Italian American ethnicity, Cinotto maintains that modernity was its source. New forms of food production, distribution, and consumption made possible by the transformation of the United States food industry radically altered the Italian-American diet, e.g., pasta (which was particular to the Naples region) became symbolic of the cuisine. Cinotto emphasizes the influence of technology, advertising, and mass markets in this process. While immigrants largely resisted certain innovations, such as chain stores, culinary adaptation became a fundamental aspect of the "americanization" of the second generation.

Cinotto concludes with a fascinating chapter on the role of Italian restaurants in constructing the narrative of Italian American ethnicity. He analyzes the relationships between American patrons and Italian proprietors, cooks, and waiters. Rather than creating mutual understanding, these encounters tended to reinforce stereotypes on both sides. Italian restaurateurs catered to American tastes and expectations by adulterating their cuisine and creating an ambiance of warmth and simplicity. American views of the Italians as artistic, romantic, and primitive, were confirmed, as were those of the Italians of their customers as ill-mannered, vulgar, and lacking taste.

In sum, the author convincingly sustains his interpretation that food played a central role in the production of Italian American ethnicity that was in turn an aspect of their Americanization. To my knowledge, no such exhaustive study of

the relationship between ethnicity and cuisine has been written for any other ethnic group. In that respect, *Una famiglia* poses a challenge to the field.

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Buddha is Hiding: Refugees, Citizenship, the New America. By Aihwa Ong. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. xix + 333 pp. Photos, illustrations, notes and index. \$55.00 (cloth); \$21.95 (paper).

In her newest book, *Buddha is Hiding*, anthropologist Aihwa Ong traces the lives of Cambodian refugees from their experiences before and during the Pol Pot regime, through their new lives in the Bay Area. Expanding her theoretical concern with citizenship, which informed her *Flexible Citizenship*, Ong looks at the varying challenges her subjects face in the United States, with particular attention to the myriad institutions and everyday practices through which Cambodians are crafted (with varying degrees of success) as “new Americans.”

The book is composed of four main sections, with ten chapters and an additional prologue and afterword. Conceptually, however, the book is divided into three principal components: First, a fairly dense theoretical discussion of citizenship, which forms the focal point of Ong’s introduction and final sections. Second, there is a very clear and readable account of Cambodian life prior to arrival in the United States, focusing on life in Cambodia before and during the Pol Pot regime, and in refugee camps thereafter. This section makes excellent use of published sources, supplemented nicely by Ong’s own informants. Finally, most of the chapters in Parts 2 and 3 focus most directly on Ong’s own research among Cambodians in the Bay Area.

Readers will vary on the sections they find most rewarding. Ong’s theoretical approach to citizenship contains a range of well-argued insights that will be of interest to many readers. Her insistence that we look at citizenship as a cultural construction—rather than merely a political category—which may be constituted through a range of unreflected upon, everyday practices is a useful approach. Her argument that images of refugees/immigrants tend to become wedded to deeply embedded racial categories should similarly spark productive debate. Ong suggests that Asian immigrants provide a particularly interesting case because while some Asian “model minorities,” such as Japanese, become ostensibly fused to racial categories of whiteness, others, like the Cambodians, come to be viewed through American ideas of blackness—poverty, welfare, gang violence, and the like. The disadvantage is that here Ong’s style sometimes becomes burdened by too much jargon, which will lessen the appeal for general readers in immigration studies, and its accessibility for an undergraduate audience.

In contrast, the ethnographic sections are written in an almost uniformly clear and engaging style, appropriate for students at all levels. The finest chapters are organized around Ong's own rich ethnography, centering on such topics as refugee engagement with the medical profession, domestic violence, changes in intergenerational relations, religious conversion, and gang violence. Although these topics are staples of the literature on the resettlement of refugees from Southeast Asia and elsewhere, Ong's concern with the everyday construction of citizenship often breathes new insights into these topics—how, for instance the control of smells with deodorants and disinfectants is an unreflected upon part of becoming American, or how an array of practices experienced in diverse institutions ranging from the medical community to the welfare system, to the police, to churches, craft refugees as deserving or undeserving citizen-subjects.

A fairly minor issue, though one that I found affected the usability of the book, is an absence of a bibliography, instead relying on endnotes for scholarly citation. This is a matter of style, but one that has important implications for intellectual engagement with a text. Even in sections that are driven by Ong's own rich ethnography, she makes effective use of the well-developed literature of Southeast Asian refugee resettlement from such authors as Judy Ledgerwood, Nancy Smith-Hefner, Marjorie Muecke, Nazli Kibria and others. This citation style makes it an unnecessarily unwieldy task to differentiate which insights come from these authors or Ong, or when existing studies are employed simply as additional case studies that bolster Ong's own original analysis.

Overall this is an important contribution to the ethnography of Southeast Asian refugees, as well as to conceptual approaches to refugee resettlement and citizenship more generally. Ong's ability to wed her theoretical concerns with detailed ethnography is a welcome accomplishment, which is becoming ever less typical in contemporary anthropology. This is a worthwhile book that will be of interest to not only to area specialists, but to anyone interested in the politics of refugee resettlement and citizenship.

Jon Holtzman
Western Michigan University

Global Divas: Filipino Gay Men in the Diaspora. By Martin F. Manalansan, IV. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004. xvi + 221 pp. Notes, bibliography, glossary, and index. \$21.95.

Over the last two decades, the trend within Gay and Lesbian Studies has been to use the global as a trope to erase differences. Manalansan explores and explodes this myth in his interdisciplinary study of Filipino queer diaspora and global difference. He maps the realities of gay Filipino men living in New York to demonstrate how citizenship status, race, class, and culture influence indi-

vidual and community identity. According to Manalansan, neither increased economic globalization nor the spread of United States popular culture have homogenized queer identity. Instead, citizenship status, ethnicity, and other social factors continue to shape identity, even in metropolitan areas such as New York City. In this text, the influence of colonial legacies on the lives and language of Filipino gay men is carefully examined as well as the influence of immigrant status, religion, and AIDS.

At the heart of *Global Divas* is a critique of the totalizing discourses of globalization, both within L/G/B/T Studies and within gay popular culture. And it is this critique that historians may find most useful in their own work. Pride publications and travel guides, Manalansan argues, can assume a global gay identity only because they ignore class, race, and citizenship privilege. Likewise, gay scholars who argue the emergence of global gay community can only do so if they ignore political economy and historical context. For Manalansan, difference matters. Among white gay citizens *coming out* stories dominate. Among immigrant gay Filipinos, discourses of successful immigration are dominant. Religion and family play a minor role in the lives of white gay citizens and are often rejected when they *come out*. Filipino gay men maintain family ties and utilize organized religion to create ethnic spaces within dominant United States culture.

Manalansan also utilizes tools from linguistics to understand gay Filipino communities, and it is here that some historians may find the text challenging. For gay Filipinos speak a specific dialect: *swardspeak*. The dialect is comprised of a number of languages: English, Spanish, Tagalog, and Cebuno, yet it is the colonial languages that dominate the dialect, thus reflecting the powerful influence of colonial discourses on the lives and culture of his subjects. Swardspeak also allows gay Filipino communities to name and discuss AIDS. The men call AIDS Tita, or auntie, a term they use to address each other. Tita Aida affects access to citizenship status; class and citizenship affect access to health care. Thus, in Manalansan's discussion of swardspeak and Tita Aida, the "Third Space" of postcolonial studies is de-romanticized, and totalizing experiences are, once again, disrupted.

Global Divas is part of a new and exciting body of literature that disrupts totalizing discourses of globalization within L/G/B/T Studies and popular culture. The text is dense, utilizing tools from a number of disciplines including anthropology, postcolonial studies, and linguistics. Hence, it would most probably be most appropriate for use in graduate seminars, not undergraduate courses. On the other hand, its examination of the intersections of class, culture, and citizenship on individual and community identity make it an important text for those of us who write in Global, Ethnic, and/or L/G/B/T Studies.

Linda Heidenreich
Washington State University

Brazilian Immigrants in the United States: Cultural Imperialism and Social Class. By Bernadete Beserra. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing, 2003. xiv + 242 pp. Tables, notes, bibliography and index. \$65.00.

Over the past twenty years Brazilian immigration to the United States has grown from an almost imperceptible trickle to an important immigration stream. The 2000 U.S. Census documented the presence of over 200,000 Brazilians, while the actual number of Brazilians residing in the United States is certainly much higher. This rapidly increasing flow of humanity has been examined by numerous recent studies. Beserra's is one of several doctoral dissertations examining this movement that have subsequently reappeared as a book.

Beserra's title suggests a national study that is theory driven. Although her attempt to position her research within relevant theoretical literature is laudable, this book is certainly not a comprehensive national study of Brazilian immigrants in the United States. Rather, the reader is presented with an ethnographic examination, based on a lengthy period of participant observation, of two small groups of Brazilians who reside in the Los Angeles area. Beserra's goal in examining these two groups is to find support for the two core premises that drive her explanation of Brazilian immigration. First, she rejects the "innocent assumption that people migrate to better their lives" (p. 12) and suggests that contact with U.S. culture, both directly and indirectly, is what generated the desire among Brazilians to relocate to the United States. Her second premise is that their social class position in Brazil largely determines the extent to which these immigrants become integrated within United States society, as different classes provide access to diverse social networks and opportunity structures. The book's introduction and chapter one provide the study's theoretical overview, while chapter two introduces the reader to Brazilian life in Los Angeles.

To address the study's research questions, Beserra gathered ethnographic data from members of two groups of Brazilians, the Portuguese-speaking Seventh Day Adventist Church of Chino and the Brazilian Women's Group of Los Angeles. Chapters three and four, respectively, are devoted to presenting these two groups. Each chapter contains some interesting insights about group dynamics, social networks, assimilation, and transnationalism, frequently presented in the informants' own words. However, both chapters devote too much space discussing relatively unimportant demographic details of these groups. Beserra neglects to provide a discussion of the atypical nature of the two groups examined. Most members of her two groups have lived in the United States for many years, have always possessed legal documentation, and in many cases maintained a relatively high standard of living. Readers unfamiliar with Brazilians in the United States would have benefited from at least an overview discussing the uncharacteristic situation of these groups.

The two remaining chapters of the book focus on how Brazilians have

adapted to life in Los Angeles and some of the socio-economic factors that affected their adaptation, or in the author's words, "Americanization." These chapters are the most successful of the book. Here Beserra integrates some of the earlier discussion to address several interesting questions. For instance, do these Brazilian immigrants perceive of themselves as Latinos? How do others perceive them? Her discussion of the ways in which relevant social constructs are arrived at is insightful. She concludes that because of the low status attached to Latinos, especially in southern California, Brazilians generally opt to retain their unique status; even though others frequently lump them in with all those emanating from south of the Rio Grande.

Reading the thoughts and feelings of the immigrants in their own words is thought provoking, and in places Beserra's analysis is insightful. However the book would have benefited greatly from more careful editing to eliminate the many spelling errors, redundancies, and digressions that mar this study. In sum, the author did not convince me that Brazilian immigration developed as a consequence of American imperialist expansion, nor that the immigrants' social class position in Brazil determines their status in the United States. Nonetheless this book offers an interesting comparative study of two groups of Brazilians in the Los Angeles area.

Franklin Goza
Bowling Green State University

Navajo Land, Navajo Culture: The Utah Experience in the Twentieth Century. By Robert S. McPherson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. xviii + 299 pp. Map, photos, notes, bibliography, and index. \$19.95.

Navajos who live in the most northern region of Dinéétah, the area between northern Arizona and southern Utah, often note that few written histories reflect their experiences. In an effort to build a body of southern Utah Navajo histories, Robert McPherson has combined written documents with Navajo interviews to illuminate the ways in which Navajos faced the challenges of reestablishing their lives after 1868, when they returned from the Bosque Redondo prison camp where they were interned from 1864 to 1868. Utah Navajo life was shaped by a number of factors, including environment, the proximity of Utes, incoming white and Mormon settlers, and the discovery of natural resources.

After 1868, Utah Navajos continued to rely on their traditional lifeways to meet changing conditions. Like other Navajos in the larger region, they resisted and then endured assimilation. They also dealt with the trauma of the livestock reductions in the 1930s and 1940s. The establishment of trading posts necessitated engagement with a wage economy and Navajos became increasingly dependent on outside markets for subsistence. These changing conditions forced

Navajos to adapt and accommodate, and in some cases, to respond in ways that were non-traditional and un-Navajo.

Utah Navajos also faced challenges that were part of living in the most northern region of Navajo land. Navajos found several ways to provide for their families, including hunting wild game to supplement their food source and selling hides to white traders. The region, initially thought to be a wasteland, proved to be otherwise when oil and natural gas were discovered in the 1920s. The establishment of trading posts also brought tourism and attracted film producers like John Ford whose films made Monument Valley a national attraction. Significantly, while McPherson utilizes oral traditions and interviews with Navajos in an attempt to illuminate Navajo perspectives, he does so in a fashion that conveniently incorporates them into a Western historical framework where historical injustices and dispossession are not addressed. Further, McPherson does not reference any Native scholars for his interpretations; rather, he seems to think that only white anthropologists and historians are legitimate sources for critical insights.

New Western historians define the West as a place of conquest where people from different cultures have clashed and struggled to claim limited natural resources for themselves. For Native peoples, conquest has meant the struggle to claim sovereignty, retain land and resources, and adhere to traditional values and practices. McPherson acknowledges that Navajos have wrestled with devastation, from environmental to community to conflicts within the Navajo government and that, for the most part, Navajos have retained a significant measure of their traditional beliefs and practices. Unfortunately, like many other Western historians, he is unable to recognize how European and subsequently American imperialism reduced Native and Navajo peoples to a state of dependency where we have been forced to look to the United States federal government and other dominant powers for our very livelihood. Rather than offer an honest and critical assessment of how state and federal governments and citizens have been complicit in the creation of Navajo people's dependency on outside sources and how colonization is a major factor in contemporary problems that we face, McPherson prefers to summarize the history of white and Navajo relationships as full of benevolent intentions and errors on both sides.

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University of New Mexico

Taking Indian Lands: The Cherokee (Jerome) Commission, 1889–1893. By William T. Hagan. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003. x + 279 pp. Maps, photos, illustration, notes, bibliography and index. \$59.95.

In *Taking Indian Lands*, William T. Hagan offers an authoritative examination of the Cherokee Commission, a group of United States agents that arranged the purchase of 23,595 square miles of land from about twenty tribes in the Indian Territory. In addition to dealing with the Cherokees, the largest tribe of Indians in the area, the commission also dealt with the Apaches, Arapahos, Cheyennes, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Comanches, Iowas, Kickapoos, Kiowas, Osages, Pawnees, Poncas, Potawatomis, Shawnees, Tonkawas, Wichitas, and the Sac and Fox. For the separately negotiated treaties in the late nineteenth century, Hagan carefully details how the commissioners systematically used various pressure tactics that made honest negotiations and the refusal to sell virtually impossible.

Hagan demonstrates how so-called humanitarian concerns for Native Americans played little role in the negotiations and rarely guided the behavior of the commissioners. While some progressive reformers hoped that turning tribal lands into private property would lead to the rapid “civilization” of the Indians, the commissioners explicitly served the interests of land speculators, Boomers, and squatters. The commissioners repeatedly ignored their own estimation of the land’s value, eliminated the ability of the Indians to lease their lands, fired attorneys that the United States government provided for the Indian’s protection, and intimidated tribal leaders into submission. The “outcome of the negotiations,” Hagan concludes, was “determined not by facts or abstract justice but on the perceived needs of thousands of white homeseekers plus businessmen and railroad developers, all of whom were enfranchised and could bring pressure to bear on the government” (p. 166).

Hagan brings this often-infuriating story to life by letting the commissioners and the Indian leaders speak for themselves. By combing more than 2,000 pages of commissioner journals and various tribal newspapers, Hagan reveals the disturbing motives of the commissioners and the reasoned anger of tribal leaders who balked at the unfavorable terms they were offered. The contrast between the tactics of the commissioners and those of the Indians, Hagan explains, could not be farther apart. The Indians, he asserts, “made every effort to win their points with logic and facts, as opposed to the bullying tactics employed against less-educated tribal representatives” (p. 98). In the end, though, the sword proved mightier than the pen and Indian leaders acquiesced to the unfavorable terms of sale.

Hagan makes little effort to hide his indignation at the United States commissioners. At every turn, Hagan chastises the commissioners for their “unflattering views” of Indians (p. 49) and their “divisive tactics” (p. 142). Hagan buttresses his assessments with a series of twentieth-century court rulings that

have redressed many of the wrongs committed at the time. Many tribes have received further compensation for the sales, and several courts have concluded that there were many irregularities in the treaties and that commissioners acted in an unconscionable manner. Rather than letting their words and actions speak for themselves, Hagan repeatedly chastises the commissioners and their agents for being “unscrupulous,” “cynical,” and “ruthless” (p. 142). These assessments may be warranted, but they frequently distract from the analysis.

Through exhaustive research and graceful writing, Hagan thoroughly details how the lust for land resulted in a “tragedy for the Indians of Oklahoma”—the allotment and sale of 15 million acres of Indian lands (p. ix). As a result, *Taking Indian Lands* will undoubtedly be the definitive study of the Cherokee Commission for the foreseeable future.

Andrew K. Frank
Florida Atlantic University

Zuni and the American Imagination. By Eliza McFeely. New York: Hill and Wang, 2002. 204 pp. Photos, notes, bibliography, and index. \$13.00.

When a Zuni boy is initiated into a kachina society, as part of the proceedings the ancient masks are removed, revealing members of the youths' community. Yet this unmasking does not negate the spiritual validity and continued presence of kachinas any more than the “demystifying” of Zuni by a steady stream of *bɛ:si* (“pushy, nose”) Melika (“American”) anthropologists, museum collectors, and historians displaces the essence of the cultural Center of this place and People, embedded as it has been within the pastiche of American social realities. Eliza McFeely aims in this work to unravel the mystique of Zuni as it has been constructed in the imaginations of mainly three Anglo-Americans around the turn of the twentieth century. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Frank Hamilton Cushing, and Stewart Culin are both heralded and—perhaps more rightly in a postmodern vein—derided in this well-documented historical investigation for their intrepid and presumptuous meddling in the private affairs of this community. An alternate title for McFeely's book might well be: *Of Thieves, Tricksters and Charlatans—the Misappropriation of Zuni Tradition*. If this is a mirror of the then emergent American consumer consciousness, what is revealed is an ugly reflection at best. Whatever the nobly cast scientific intentions and amateurish personal quests of these three, they relied often on deceit, subterfuge and sometimes outright intimidation to coerce those Zunis who befriended them into revealing, stealing and/or selling off valuable artifacts of Zuni religion and tradition in the name of establishing American patrimony. Were I a native Zuni reader (which I am not) of McFeely's text, I can only assume I might be outraged at the arrogance revealed in the imperialistic strata-

gems imposed on Zuni people by these and other early outsider-interlopers. It is no wonder today then that tribal officials are at best cautious and suspicious of the attention Zuni receives in the literature of Anglo-American anthropological and historical accounts, including this one. The first time I as a graduate student met with Zuni tribal council members in 1985 to request permission to conduct an anthropological study, the first question I was asked was whether I knew the true story of how Frank Cushing had died. He died trying to swallow a goldfish, I was pointedly informed. Fish have significance in Zuni tradition, and the moral was that after having accepted a lifelong position of religious service to the Zuni community as a Priest of the Bow (among other religious offices Cushing held), he abandoned these responsibilities by returning to Washington; hence his demise was a result of this serious transgression against the people he claimed to be kin to by initiation and tribal adoption.

Are Zunis as McFeely asserts “more important for being what other Americans wanted them to be than for what they actually were” (p. 10)? Do they truly represent “an island away from the tempest of life” (p. 12), invoking the Shakespearean image of a brave new world also depicted by Aldous Huxley with allusion to Zuni as a “paradigmatic primitive Other” (p. 163)? Is Zuni “a place away from the rules of everyday life, a respite from the obligations of the city” (p. 163), or a canonical example of Morgan’s barbarism embraced by restless turn-of-century capitalists with “a powerful nostalgia” for a “simultaneously dismissed mysticism” (p. 13)? If nothing else, McFeely adroitly recognizes Zuni as “a perfect context in which to study...anthropologists” (p. 23). Nonetheless, the portraits McFeely presents of Stevenson, Cushing, and Culin which form the body of her work are ambivalent. In one guise they are heroic figures, especially Cushing when represented in Indiana Jones fashion. On the other, they are misfits, charlatans, and rogues. They stand in relation to mainly unnamed Zuni subjects as masculine (Stevenson, Cushing) is to feminized (We’wha, all Zunis) and as hunter is to quarry. The utopian or, alternately, the beset upon and anachronistically superstitious “island” community McFeely depicts as Zuni is, of course, not Zuni at all. Who she unmaskers are the perpetrators of an elaborate ruse to rob a people like the Zunis of the right to define themselves in the public eye as they choose and to reclaim and preserve the sanctity and secrecy of the Center Place in which they abide to this day, autonomous and independent of any Other’s projections, demystifications, romanticizations or thievery.

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The World in a City. Edited by Paul Anisef and Michael Lanphier. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003. viii + 543 pp. Maps, photos, illustrations, graphs, tables, notes, bibliography, and index. \$70.00 (cloth); \$35.00 (paper).

What city was characterized eighty years ago as a prison of British Protestant respectability by Ernest Hemmingway, but today boasts (erroneously) that the United Nation's has designated it "the most multicultural city in the world" (pp. 20, 378)? The city is Toronto, and its transformation is the result of massive post-World War II migration. *The World in a City* probes the dynamics of this transformation, focusing on contemporary inequalities between racial and ethnic groups in work, income, housing, schooling, health, and civic influence. Using the lens of social inclusion and exclusion, the book's editors want to elucidate "how the diverse origins in a major city become the shaping factor in developing a workable civic society" (p. 4). The book provides the most comprehensive contemporary overview of ethno-racial diversity and stratification in Canada's largest city. It is a true interdisciplinary effort—including an informative photographic essay by Gabriele Scardellato—that contains a wealth of information for students of urban change and immigration.

At the same time, it largely fails to illuminate the processes underlying urban inclusion and exclusion. Toronto has adapted amazingly well to its transformation. Yet, as the authors show, race, ethnicity and foreign-birth stratify access and outcomes in social, economic, and civic institutions. Are processes of inclusion and exclusion complementary—the advancement of some comes at the expense of others—or are they independent? Each chapter offers tantalizing hints at what might be going on. Historian Harold Troper suggests that post-World War II Canadian nation-building, complete with a new citizenship, provided an inclusive identity to immigrants. Geographers Murdie and Teixeira imply that, unlike American inner-city ghettos, residential concentration proved helpful to many newcomers in Toronto, but that declines in public housing augur poorly for the future. The volume would have been strengthened if the authors and editors had better elaborated these causal strands within and across chapters.

The volume opens with Troper's engaging overview of Canadian immigration policy and ethno-racial diversity. Those looking for a fine-grained analysis of local change will be disappointed—his subject is Canada at large—but this historical groundwork is essential to the subsequent chapters, all of which focus largely on post-World War II Toronto. It would have been helpful to have a second historical chapter exclusively on Toronto, though one finds bits and pieces elsewhere in the volume, notably in the discussion by Siemiatycki, Rees, Ng, and Rahi of the Jewish, Italian, Caribbean, and Chinese communities in Toronto.

Chapters 2 and 4 provide statistical overviews of Toronto's population and a comparison of groups' (defined by ethnicity, race, foreign-birth or some combination of these categories) relative placement on socio-economic indicators such as home ownership, employment, and citizenship. Jansen and Lam show convincingly how changes in national immigration policy transformed, literally, the face of Toronto, and that large differences exist between groups. Especially in the economic arena, whites do better and—using Canadian parlance—"visible minorities" do worse. Since earlier arrivals tended to be European and new arrivals are largely non-white, it is unclear what accounts for the differences: length of residence, racialized inequality or economic restructuring from manufacturing to service employment? The authors paint "a picture of social and economic marginalization" along racial lines, but suggest that "with time, [new immigrants] will also participate in the success that other immigrant groups have achieved" (pp. +129, 126). Preston, Lo, and Wang echo findings of economic stratification, but they claim that time in Canada does not explain inequality. They extend their examination to include an intriguing analysis of immigrants' net fiscal effect, balancing taxes paid against public cash benefits received, as well as the benefits of ethnic entrepreneurship, concluding that immigrants give more than they receive.

Murdie and Teixeira provide an insightful overview of residential patterns and housing. A series of maps illustrate the traditional movement of immigrants from the inner city to the suburbs and the emerging contemporary pattern of direct migration to the suburbs. Affluent immigrants avoid the traditional pattern by immediately buying better housing stock, while poorer newcomers are shut out of the urban core by gentrification and drawn to declining inner suburbs by cheap rental housing.

Schooling and health provide an opportunity to examine the intersection of institutional structures and individual action. James and Burnaby present a picture of largely response-driven and uncoordinated education policy, and they highlight the tendency of teachers and guidance counselors to "stream" newcomers out of top academic programs because of language or cultural barriers. Noh and Kaspar probe why immigrants initially report better health than the Canadian population, but slowly lose their advantage over time. Backed by sophisticated analysis, they favor an acculturation model that highlights how stress affects physical and mental health. Left unexplored is the impact, positive or negative, of Toronto's medical system.

The final chapters deal with civic participation and policy. Siemiatycki and colleagues outline three phases of relations between immigrants and government: pre-1960 immigrant self-reliance; growing interaction from the 1960s through to the 1980s with the rise of the welfare state and multiculturalism policies; and a recent trend of government retrenchment. They favor intervention since it establishes a norm of inclusiveness and provides material support to community based organizations. Meyer Burstein and Howard Duncan, gov-

ernment policy insiders, respond by accepting the Canadian government's need to foster "social cohesion," but they question calls for more money, "the simple logic of increasing government spending...is very often ineffective...in the absence of a clear understanding about the problem, the remedies that could help, and about the agents who are best able to bring about effective solutions" (pp. 460, 465). Their own contribution would have benefited from a stronger analysis of key policy players and policy access points (where, exactly, do actors have the best chance to change policy?), but their criticism of the academic research is well-taken: contributors carefully document problems but often fail to explain the processes driving unequal access and outcomes. The puzzle of Toronto remains: how has the city managed a radical, and largely successful, transformation from homogeneity to diversity, but at the same time been home to significant social exclusion?

Irene Bloemraad
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A Rainbow of Gangs: Street Cultures in the Mega-City. By James Diego Vigil. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002. xiii + 213 pp. Photos, notes, bibliography, and index. \$19.95.

Gangs have captivated criminologists and law enforcement and public health professionals as a critical social problem for many years, with many in these fields lamenting a lack of tangible strategies to curb gang violence. James Diego Vigil's *A Rainbow of Gangs: Street Cultures in the Mega-City* is a thoroughly researched, accessible, and rich book that attempts to identify the root causes of gang membership. As Vigil states, his book "is a measured step in the direction of identifying the causes of gangs and generating more balanced, inclusive strategies for combating them" (p. xv).

Vigil's approach to exploring this topic is engaging. *A Rainbow of Gangs* provides a historical backdrop to the contemporary gang cultures that mushroomed at different stages throughout contemporary Los Angeles, California (the study site for this text). Specifically, he offers four case studies (each comprising its own chapter) of individual gang members, one representing each of the following ethnic groups: Mexican American, African American, Vietnamese, and Salvadoran. Equally important, preceding each of these qualitative biographies, Vigil overviews the broader socio-political factors that shaped immigration and/or political flight to Los Angeles. In turn, Vigil outlines how these macro forces affected and continue to impact social marginality for these ethnic communities, thereby increasing gang membership.

For instance, Vigil discusses how the United States rejected a great majority of Salvadoran refugees' asylum claims in the early 1980s although hundreds of

thousands of Salvadorans had been displaced and tens of thousands killed in civil war. Because El Salvador's government was not communist, Salvadoran refugees were not identified as "political refugees fleeing in terror from an oppressive regime, they were simply economic immigrants seeking a higher standard of living in the United States" (p. 134). Hence, Vigil outlines how Salvadoran communities in Los Angeles are comprised heavily of undocumented residents, and therefore tend to lack the social networks that would help to minimize gang influence. Thus, *A Rainbow of Gangs* illustrates how gang development is traced not only to structural breakdown within ethnic communities, but also to wider international conflicts, many of which the United States is complicit in creating.

Vigil also posits that structurally, when three key institutions—families, schools, and law enforcement—fail ethnic communities, gang membership increases dramatically. Consequently, he is careful in highlighting how family breakdown, scholastic alienation, and/or corrupt law enforcement sway the lives of those young men profiled in *A Rainbow of Gangs*. Finally, a critical contribution to the field is Vigil's attention to the need for cross-cultural analysis while working within this theoretical approach. In each of the chapters, readers are able to see the distinct ways that gang membership has evolved for Mexican Americans, African Americans, Vietnamese, and Salvadorans. In particular, Vigil's chapters on Vietnamese gang members do much to dismantle the model minority myth that characterizes Asian American youth in general, while also showing distinctions within Vietnamese communities, based on gender and refugee status.

The only major shortcoming in *A Rainbow of Gangs* is its marginal attention to girls and young women; all four individuals profiled in the text are male. In fact, Vigil is aware of this, stating, "Females also undergo the experiences outlined in the biographies included here, but the biographies do not speak of them much" (p. 163). Had at least one of the biographies been of a young woman, the book would have enhanced prior scholarship on girls and young women in gangs such as Miller's *One of the guys* (2001), Chesney-Lind and Hagedorn's *Female gangs in America* (1999) and Moore's *Going down to the barrio* (1991). As it stands, *A Rainbow of Gangs* does advance the field on masculinity's relationship with gang membership and is an important contribution, one accessible to undergraduate students.

David T. Mayeda
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Voodoo Queen: The Spirited Lives of Marie Laveau. By Martha Ward. Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2004. xvii + 246 pp. Maps, photo, illustrations, notes, bibliography, appendix, and index. \$26.00.

Voodoo Queen is the most recent biography of Marie Laveau and her namesake daughter, two of the most elusive figures in nineteenth-century New Orleans history. According to Martha Ward, the Laveaus were so mythologized by their contemporaries and subsequent observers that separating fact from fiction is a near-impossible task for any historian who attempts to reconstruct the world in which they lived. Ward's book thoroughly covers the life and times of the Maries: from the birth of the first Marie Laveau in 1804, to the youthful motherhood of Marie the second, to their diverging religious careers and social work as free women of color in a multiethnic, slaveholding society that was rife with race and class discord.

Ward does a good job of separating the experiences of the two women. Marie Laveau I was born within two years of the Louisiana Purchase, when Spanish and French control was ceded to American authorities in 1803, a time in which the political and social agency of nonwhites in the city of New Orleans was severely restricted. Defining herself as a Creole within New Orleans' highly race- and class-stratified environment, Marie Laveau I was married and widowed by the time she was twenty-five, acquired skills as a professional nurse in wartime, and served her community during multiple epidemic scourges in the city. A member of the Catholic Church in good standing, Laveau was also an active practitioner of New Orleans' unique brand of Voodoo, a syncretic religion of drums, spirit possession, ritual magic, and medicine. Her daughter, Marie Laveau II, was an unwed teen mother who shunned Catholicism to become a hairdresser and businesswoman, while secretly devoting her psychic and spiritual energies to conjuring practices and a form of her mother's Creole Voodoo faith. Both Maries died decades before the turn of the twentieth century.

Ward's is an ethnohistory that relies upon folklore, collected local hearsay ("gumbo ya-ya"), secondary, and tertiary materials that sometimes provide confusing data. The story she tells is a melange of "facts" and her own imagined narrative of the past, and sometimes it is hard to distinguish between the two. Her use of such a wide range of sources, and her lack of self-conscious theorizing on the complex issue of subjectivity, will inevitably give pause to some historians. Likewise, Ward's discussion of religion is somewhat problematic. There is only a limited background given on New Orleans Voodoo and its relationship to Haitian Vodou, the latter a distinct tradition that ostensibly emerged in the same period. Ward speculates on the convergence of the Maries' Afro-Creole spirituality within the French Catholic Church that socialized them, and the African and African American religions that inspired them, but actual evidence of a complementary relationship is hard to see. Ward provides an

almost seamless account of the evolution of Marie the first from Ursuline catechist to powerful Voodoo leader, yet we learn little about how these roles were actually negotiated by her and other practitioners in New Orleans. Some of Ward's most intriguing assertions—for example, concerning the formative influence of Pere Antoine, priest at St. Louis Cathedral and mentor to Marie Laveau I—or the initiation of Marie II by two Voodoo elders named Sanite Dede and Jim Alexander—are provocative but not entirely convincing, given her sparse documentation and forced reconstruction of events. Other unique observations by Ward, such as the profound and enduring influences of Kongolese religiosity that she finds in New Orleans' local spiritual practices, cry out for further explication.

These criticisms notwithstanding, *Voodoo Queen* is a long awaited offering, and a distinctive perspective on two of the most fascinating female personages of American ethnic history and culture.

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