

Reviews

Chicano Communists and the Struggle for Social Justice, by Enrique M. Buelna. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2019. 304 pages. \$35.95, paper. \$35.95, electronic.

Enrique M. Buelna, in *Chicano Communists and the Struggle for Social Justice*, makes a case that Chicana/o communists have played a significant role in the political trajectory of Chicanas/os in the United States. The book examines Mexican American labor activism, in the context of the Communist Party (CP), in Southern California from 1930 to 1970 by focusing on the life of Ralph Cuarón, a longtime CP member and labor organizer of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Buelna argues that the CP for Cuarón and other ethnic Mexicans “represented a vehicle—albeit an imperfect one—for achieving community-wide goals” (p. 11). He makes clear that Cuarón never intended to overthrow the U.S. government or align himself with the Soviet Union or other communist countries. To the contrary, Cuarón’s efforts were almost entirely focused on fighting for the rights of the ethnic Mexican working class and to bring about radical change.

The book is divided into five chapters, not including an introduction, conclusion, and epilogue. The first chapter begins in the 1930s and into the early 1940s, focusing on the impact of Repatriation and the Great Depression on the ethnic Mexican community, as well as Cuarón’s joining of the party in 1942 at the age of nineteen (p. 14). The second chapter traces the tragic death of Augustino Salcido in 1948 by two Los Angeles police officers, as well as the East Los Angeles ethnic Mexican community’s mobilization against police brutality. The third chapter addresses World War II and the impact of redbaiting on union organizing, specifically looking at the CIO. The fourth chapter, and perhaps the most compelling chapter, charts out how ethnic Mexicans forced the CP to come to terms with “the Mexican question.” The final chapter continues to address the shortcomings of the CP to address ethnic Mexican workers’ needs and Cuarón’s growing frustration with the party as he organized a housing project and worked with students in the infamous 1968 Walkouts.

Chicana/o historiography, Buelna argues, has largely omitted the contributions of Chicana/o communists. Therefore, he maintains, we do not have a complete

portrait of radical organizing and understanding of how and why it was sometimes favored by working-class ethnic Mexicans. Buelna writes, “The intent of this book is to revise and add to this complex history of radical working-class activism by focusing on the life of Ralph Cuarón and those who worked alongside him as members of the Communist Party USA” (p. 11). Buelna adds to the historiography of social movements by arguing that the CP was a “dynamic and evolving political organization” (p. 6). In this sense, this book doesn’t necessarily focus on the CP in the traditional historiographical approach. Instead, it draws attention to the ways in which folks like Cuarón utilized the platform of the CP to organize workers. Buelna captures why the CP attracted some ethnic Mexicans to the party, but—equally important—the book traces the multi-dimensional organizing efforts of East Los Angeles residents. It is a book as much about East Los Angeles as it is about Cuarón. The book is laced with examples of how ethnic Mexicans fought for better working conditions, an end to police brutality, access to affordable housing, and an equitable education.

Chicano Communists will be of interest to history teachers who focus on class, race, Southern California, and post-war politics. It will make a great addition to libraries, both personal and public. High school and college students and teachers alike will find it useful and an easy read clear of academic jargon and filled with useful information about how ethnic Mexicans were able to utilize the CP as a political toolbox to aid in their efforts for equity in the community and the workplace. The book offers insight into life in a Southern California barrio and the ways in which working-class folks resisted oppression through formal and informal organizing and came together to address pressing concerns in their communities.

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Lorena V. Márquez

The Battle of Negro Fort: The Rise and Fall of a Fugitive Slave Community, by Matthew J. Clavin. New York: New York University Press, 2021. 251 pages. \$24.95, cloth. \$14.95, paper. \$24.95, electronic.

This book examines the quest for freedom across borders in early nineteenth-century mainland North America. That quest failed. The story of why and how, however, is inspirational, significant, and deserves greater recognition. It is this desire to inform a general readership that shapes this latest work by Matthew J. Clavin (University of Houston). Spanning 192 pages of text, it is easily digested in several hours. The prose recalls George Orwell’s window pane metaphor as well as Ernest Hemingway’s iceberg theory. The style is lucid, while military, political, and diplomatic events are narrated concisely and engagingly. In addition, the author brings an expertise on transnational movements and identities, robust interracial coalitions, and the unsettling of usually frozen analytical categories like race, slavery, and nation.

The battle over Negro Fort occurred during July 1816. It pitted American troops against Indian warriors and black rebels. The former fought to expand the

frontiers of the new republic, as well as protect Southern slaveholding interests from destabilizing elements across the border in Spanish Florida. Indians and blacks—many of whom were fugitive slaves (or self-emancipators)—fought to resist this foreign incursion, as well as to protect their existing liberties. The fort's more than one hundred black residents bore Hispanic, French, Anglo, and African names. They were skilled, well-armed as a consequence of earlier British ordnance left from the War of 1812, and competently commanded by Cyrus, Prince, and Garçon. The fort was governed by “martial law” (p. 86). The settlement was destroyed after a cannonball inadvertently hit the fort's gunpowder magazine in an explosion heard one hundred miles away and claiming men, women, and children. More broadly, argues the author, it was a battle that deserves greater awareness alongside other famous U.S. battles and well-known slave rebellions and conspiracies. Whether it could serve both causes, however, is a debatable point.

The lack of knowledge about the settlement in the modern era contrasts with greater information among contemporaries two centuries prior. The book's epilogue charts early American writers who lauded this battle as a successful suppression of the “relentless and savage war” (p. 181) waged by “blood-thirsty & murderous wretches” (p. 122) against the United States. With the 1830s abolitionist movement, an alternative narrative emerged of the Negro Fort representing a “beacon of freedom in a sea of slavery” (p. 181). It would be interesting to research this latter view as part of a radical intellectual tradition. Kenneth W. Porter's *The Black Seminoles* (1947) examined the rich interactions between fugitive slaves and Native Americans in the region. Vincent Harding's *There is a River* (1981) includes Negro Fort as part of a long river of resistance by African Americans.

This book deserves our attention for several reasons. It provides the first narrative of an important military conflict during the third decade of U.S. history. Moreover, it should be added to the pantheon of slave rebellions and slave conspiracies against U.S. slavery. Also, it adds to a burgeoning literature on U.S. maroons, including Sylviane A. Diouf's *Slavery's Exiles* (2014) and Marcus P. Nevius's *City of Refuge* (2020). This was, claims the author, “the largest fugitive slave settlement” in U.S. history (p. 76). In addition, it is well-researched in British, Spanish, and American colonial archives. Some of the images are remarkable, including a hand-drawn illustration of Negro Fort showing its formidable defenses, troop quarters, and supply depot (p. 95). Perhaps its most important contribution to the historical literature, however, is the situating of the rise, brief existence, and fall of Negro Fort within the complicated milieu of clashing empires of slavery, freedom, and nation-building. It was the juxtaposition of slave soil and free soil that allowed fugitive slaves to gain liberty *permanently* that was less likely for self-emancipators within national borders because they always risked being captured and returned. This proved to not be the case in early nineteenth-century Florida, although it did not deter other freedom seekers across the hemisphere over the next several decades. Finally, this human struggle is part of Florida's early history, and should be required reading for all public high school students in the state.

Why Study History? by Marcus Collins and Peter N. Stearns. London, United Kingdom: London Publishing Partnership, 2020. 197 pages. \$19.99, paper. \$15.00, electronic.

Marcus Collins and Peter N. Stearns provide a clear and well-supported presentation of why people should study history, how history supports broader educational endeavors through skill development, and why history plays an important role in variety of careers, while also serving the public good. They have broken down their approach into four useful categories: historical skills and careers, the structure of university programs, the evaluation of programs and historical study for intended goals, and how history and historians can provide a public service in democratic societies.

While the different sections of the text connect and support the others, readers will find each part has a specialized area of contribution to the study of history. Faculty and administrators will find that Part I, “Skills and Jobs: The Results of Historical Study,” provides both historical and contemporary rationales for the important skills history develops in students, and the importance of history programs to the wider university. Students can begin to develop strategies for entering a variety of careers based on the highlighted skills and their applicability.

In Part II, “How History is Structured,” Collins and Stearns provide an examination of traditional history program organization, and some recent changes to foundational approaches. The authors highlight the importance of historical study keeping pace with larger developments within and outside the historical arena. They also note how current research has prompted the expansion of frameworks, challenged the insular nature of over-specialized fields, and expanded the importance of historical skills to careers in STEM, business, sociology, and public service. Collins and Stearns encourage instructors and students to think about connections across time and space historically, as the contemporary study of history grounds historians in the interdisciplinary nature of all learning and understanding.

Part III, “Studying History at College and University,” specifically addresses potential and current students’ approaches to the study of history. The authors provide a rigorous template for students to utilize in examining history programs. This includes the study of history to facilitate knowledge and skill acquisition, while also keeping career goals and opportunities at the forefront of their education. Instructors may find this section useful as a way of understanding how best to guide students into and through the educational process. Faculty and administrators may also see opportunities to enhance or even reorganize their programs to better address advancements in historical knowledge and skills, and more fully connect historical studies to other careers. Additionally, advancements in data collection and archiving can guide new forms of historical analysis, inform future developments in the field, and indicate courses and experiential learning opportunities that support student career interests and public initiatives. The authors stress the importance of programs remaining relevant, advancing skills in an interdisciplinary fashion, and connecting with students on an individual basis.

Collins and Stearns make a crucial connection between connecting with students in Part III and connecting with the public in the fourth and final section

of the text, “History as a Public Good.” The authors offer a multitude of reasons why historical knowledge and skills are important to both specialists and the public throughout the text, including finding and analyzing data, putting forward arguments, assessing conflicting interpretations, writing and speaking, thinking critically, and challenging ambiguity (pp. 28-32). In Part IV, the authors argue that historical study, composed largely of these skills, has an essential social function. Society today needs citizens to strive for accuracy, learn from the past, and seek greater agreement on what has worked in the past and can work in the future (pp. 164-173).

Collins and Stearns have incorporated several recent events to enhance the significance of how the study of history prepares individuals to critically analyze sources and arguments. In particular, they emphasize the connection between the changing nature of nationalism and rising divisiveness (pp. 169-170). They also address the highly popularized use of “fake news” and how historical training “cuts through misrepresentations of the past” and requires “commitment to the greatest possible accuracy and objectivity” (pp. 26-27). With examples such as these, along with providing an in-depth analysis of history program trends, careers, salaries, and job satisfaction for graduates, the authors advance their text from a self-interested argument for historical studies, to a foundational component of higher education and understanding a complex and diverse world. While some of the particular topics included may grab the reader’s attention today, their inclusion may likely leave parts of the text outdated in a few years. However, this does leave many opportunities for revisions regarding topical case studies and future developments in the field.

A few scholars, such as John Lukacs, Wilfred M. McClay, and Robert Tracy McKenzie have written brief examinations of the question “why study history?” However, most authors embed this important question within their specialized research publications. Collins and Stearns offer a text that accentuates the utility of history, while also challenging historians to develop approaches and applications relevant to today. With this grounded and insightful text, Collins and Stearns provide an incredibly useful and multifaceted rationale for the study of history.

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Paul Nienkamp

Deportable and Disposable: Public Rhetoric and the Making of the “Illegal” Immigrant, by Lisa A. Flores. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021. 219 pages. \$89.95 cloth. \$29.95, paper. \$23.99, electronic.

In *Deportable and Disposable*, Lisa A. Flores examines the long history of what contemporary scholars and activists call the “deportation-industrial complex.” Decades before President Trump’s endless calls for “the wall” and President Obama’s record-high deportations, the U.S. government targeted Mexican

immigrants and Mexican Americans, transforming them into racialized subjects that could be deported and disposed of at any time. Focusing on the 1920s-1950s, Flores examines four case studies to explore the construction of the “illegal alien,” the “zoot suiter,” the “bracero,” and the “wetback.” All these categories could be read, rhetorically, as racially coded language for “Mexican.” These racializations eventually became ingrained, in Gramscian terms, as “common sense,” as the public associated Mexicans with illegality and, hence, criminality, making them deportable and disposable.

In Chapter 1, Flores explores how Mexicans were framed in the mass media as “illegal aliens,” specifically during the Great Depression in the early 1930s. Having whipped up widespread fear and hysteria, more than one million Mexicans, most of whom were U.S. citizens, “voluntary” left the United States. Citing historian Mae Ngai, who called this mass repatriation and deportation campaign “a racial expulsion program exceeded in scale only by the Native American Indian removals of the nineteenth century” (as quoted on p. 45), Flores demonstrates how Mexicans were rhetorically marked, seen, and read through the lens of “illegality.” Mexicans were not the first “illegal aliens,” as Asian and European immigrants were categorized as such as in the late nineteenth century. However, while Europeans became “white,” Asian immigrants were restricted and even banned. These legislative measures created a labor shortage that Mexican immigrants filled, particularly in the 1910s during the Mexican Revolution when hundreds of thousands of Mexicans came to the United States. While Flores doesn’t focus on the links between immigration and U.S. imperialism or racial capitalism, she argues that Mexicans were alternatively “desired” for their labor, which quickly turned into “disgust” in the early 1930s as they were blamed for the nation’s economic crisis. Flores writes, “Mexicans were no longer the useful peons who worked tirelessly on the nation’s behalf. Instead, they were criminal interlopers, coming to take jobs and resources from the nation” (p. 45).

In Chapter 2, Flores analyzes the so-called “zoot suit riots” in Los Angeles in June 1943. Like the “illegal alien” trope, local newspapers repeatedly stated that “zoot suiters” were responsible for a massive “crime wave” that culminated in the death of José Díaz on August 1, 1942 at the Sleepy Lagoon reservoir in Southeast Los Angeles. While it was never conclusively determined that Díaz was murdered, 600 Mexican American youth were quickly arrested and several were wrongly convicted and given lengthy prison sentences. The Sleepy Lagoon “incident” happened just months after more than 100,000 Japanese Americans, most of whom were U.S. citizens, were interned. On June 4, 1943, white Navy sailors attacked Mexican American youth who were wearing zoot suits (also popular among African American and Asian American youth). Because the zoot suit was so visible and so transgressive—it challenged racial, gender, sexual, and national boundaries—those wearing it were subject to what Flores calls “Blackened violence.” White sailors thus stripped Mexican American youth of their zoot suits and, hence, of their dignity and pride. This “symbolic annihilation,” as Mauricio Mazón phrased it, was praised in the press, as white sailors became patriotic heroes for “cleaning up” the city by removing the dangerous, criminal zoot suiter.

In Chapters 3 and 4, Flores examines the Bracero Program and Operation Wetback (as officially named by the U.S. government) in 1954. Quite tellingly, the same year that Sleepy Lagoon incident occurred, the United States and Mexico signed the Bracero Program to address farm worker shortages prompted by World War II. Initially seen as a temporary measure, the program lasted twenty-two years before it was finally ended in 1964. Five million Mexicans entered the United States as braceros. Initially, they were welcomed and depicted as virtual heroes for feeding the country. Soon, a racial trope emerged—braceros were short-term workers who were happy to provide for their families back home. Seen from this perspective, Mexican farm workers could be deported and disposed of when the need for labor subsided. However, once the war ended, agribusiness leaders lobbied for the continuation of the Bracero Program. As Mexican immigration increased in the post-World War II period, a new term—“wetback”—emerged in the mass media. “Wetbacks” were represented as a major threat as they “streamed and flooded, milled and slunk, [and] polluted and endangered” (p. 136). Their bodies were seen as dirty and diseased, making them as deportable and disposable. Indeed, more than one million Mexicans were deported during Operation Wetback in 1954.

Deportable and Disposable is a timely volume, as it helps students, scholars, and the public see the longer history behind today’s polarized debate around immigration. In college classrooms, the book can be supplemented with documentary films such as Gilbert González and Vivian Price’s *Harvest of Loneliness: The Bracero Program* (2010). Francisco Jiménez’s memoir, *The Circuit: Stories from the Life of a Migrant Child* (1997), is another useful source, especially for junior high and high school students. Overall, *Deportable and Disposable* is an excellent text, particularly for upper-division undergraduate and graduate courses, as its prose is quite sophisticated and may require some deeper unpacking with complementary materials.

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Ralph Armbruster Sandoval

Borderland Narratives: Negotiation and Accommodation in North America’s Contested Spaces, 1500-1850, edited by Andrew K. Frank and A. Glenn Crothers. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2019. 224 pages. \$74.95, cloth. \$21.95, paper. \$21.95, electronic.

Andrew K. Frank and A. Glenn Crothers’ edited volume, *Borderland Narratives*, provides an approachable introduction to recent borderlands scholarship. Comprised of eight chapters, the collection of essays explores a variety of places, including the Gulf Coast and the Missouri Valley, with special attention paid to the Ohio Valley. Like most work on North American borderlands, the volume highlights the importance of both conflict and cooperation among those living in these dynamic places. Many chapters cover material typical of borderlands

scholarship—examining, for instance, Native and settler relations or the unstable meanings of borders and boundaries. But others investigate the less-trodden ground of “racial borderlands” and “religious borderlands,” producing, overall, a variegated and well-rounded volume.

Frank and Crothers begin with an overview of the history of borderlands scholarship that helpfully frames the individual essays that follow. Beginning with Herbert E. Bolton’s first use of the “borderlands” concept in his work on the Spanish presence in the Gulf South, the editors’ introduction traces how subsequent generations of scholars have continued to develop the concept in their search for a “new vocabulary and framework to understand cultural contact” and in their efforts to decenter Anglo-Americans within the broader narrative of U.S. history (p. 3). Though the material covered will be familiar to many scholars, it will be valuable for those readers and students encountering the scholarship on North American borderlands for the first time.

Several essays examine the development and significance of the social, political, economic, and cultural connections forged in volatile borderlands spaces. Chapter 1, Rob Harper’s contribution on the politics of coalition building in the Ohio Valley from 1765 to 1774, provides an exceptionally lucid explication of how divergent and often contradictory interests were mobilized into powerful, if temporary, forms of power. Focusing on Lord Dunmore’s campaign against the Shawnee in 1774, he shows how the short-lived success of Virginia’s colonial governor depended on his ability harness an unwieldy coalition of land speculators, colonists, and western Indians. In Chapter 2, Andrew Frank probes the “community convergence” between Seminole and African maroon communities in Florida’s interior from 1780 to 1840. He finds evidence of extensive ties, in part, because both groups “followed converging and coalescing paths” (p. 48). And in Chapter 3’s focus on the adoption of horses by southeastern Indians, Tyler Boulware contends that equestrian culture transformed their societies, facilitating new systems of trade while exacerbating conflict with other Native nations and settler colonists.

Many of the essays illuminate the possibilities for cooperation and exchange that emerged amidst conflict. However, Carla Gerona’s evocative essay in Chapter 4 on those who “disappeared” during Spain’s colonization of the Gulf Coast in the sixteenth century focuses in on the staggering amount of loss, death, and trauma experienced by those living in these borderlands, especially the region’s Indigenous inhabitants. Drawing on the contemporary association of *los desaparecidos*, Gerona explicitly connects the past to the present, reminding readers of the violence and disappearances that continue to haunt the U.S.-Mexico border.

Most of the essays, however, cover the early nineteenth century, where race and religion both shaped and were shaped by their borderlands contexts. Essays by Michael Pasquier (Chapter 6) and Philip N. Mulder (Chapter 7) examine why Catholic and Protestant authorities in the Ohio Valley struggled to impose particular religious identities and to cultivate specific religious practices among borderlands inhabitants. Religious figures are present, but less prominent in Rebekah M. K. Mergenthal’s impressive Chapter 5 about how local enslavers,

enslaved people, Shawnees, and white missionaries in the Missouri Valley interpreted the border dividing Indian Country from Missouri. Her essay conveys the unexpected ways people evaluated and exploited borders for their own specific purposes. The volume fittingly concludes with an engrossing essay by Julie Winch (Chapter 8) on the multi-generational history of a free family of color in St. Louis. By tracing how members of this influential family navigated their ambiguous legal status, shifting racial codes, and familial obligations in these “racial borderlands,” Winch demonstrates how complex entanglements of race, family, law, and property could profoundly shape experiences and identity.

Overall, this collection provides a nice sampling of the various methodological and interpretive approaches of borderlands studies, while showcasing the different types of historical questions and subject matter they can explore. The short and self-contained chapters would be easily assignable to undergraduates. Moreover, essays like Mergenthal’s will almost certainly upend students’ expectations, making them especially useful teaching devices. And by foregrounding the decisions and experiences of marginalized peoples, the essays will help students appreciate the diversity of people, places, and interactions that constituted the continental history of North America.

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Franklin Sammons

Traffic in Asian Women, by Laura Hyun Yi Kang. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2020. 352 pages. \$104.95, cloth. \$28.95, paper. \$28.95, electronic.

Traffic in Asian Women is a study that represents the highest ideals and, just as clearly, maintains the highest of hopes, whether those are likely to be realized or not. Its reference point throughout is the history of the “comfort women” redress movement that began in the 1990s and continues today, and it frames the rise and the progress of that transnational phenomenon in new ways. But justice for the survivors of Japan’s system of military sexual slavery is not the prize on which this author, unlike many others who have dealt with similar material, sets her eyes. Laura Hyun Yi Kang has different and broader goals in mind. The conclusion toward which *Traffic in Asian Women* builds is fueled by her disappointment in the survivors’ supporters who, in her view, have been insufficiently dedicated to achieving these other ends. In the final chapter, which deals with recent attempts both to honor the young victims who suffered under the so-called “comfort system” and to protest the Japanese government’s denial of legal responsibility for that system by erecting statues in public places, Kang is scathing about what she sees as the narrowness of such preoccupations: “The question should not be reduced to a simplistic and moralistic binary of whether one supports or opposes these memorials and their unending proliferation. Rather, I would ask how these awovals of care and concern for the ‘comfort girl’ might open out and extend to other, contemporary, and more immediate victims of sexual violence, state

racism, compulsory, uncompensated labor, and forced removal and detention in each and every site of their moving commemoration” (p. 259).

Although *Traffic in Asian Women* is ostensibly a reconsideration of history, both recent and farther back (extending to her rigorous analyses of documents such as photographs and written accounts by the U.S. military from 1945 that have been used as evidence of the “comfort system”), Kang’s main interest is in the present and future—in shifting the efforts of those who claim to be feminists and/or human rights activists toward a wider sphere of current injustices. At the same time, Kang’s other project throughout this volume is to cast doubt on the motives of many of the groups and individuals who have worked so far to amplify the voices of “comfort system” survivors by linking their experiences to issues such as “violence against women” and “sexual slavery.” A proponent of deconstruction as a method, she carefully deconstructs any and all such concepts. To her, they seem to have concealed the hidden forces of imperialism and racism—forces that she finds as having underpinned everything from investigations conducted by United Nations commissions to the creation of academic research institutes at U.S. universities. Indeed, virtually nothing that was done in the name of working on behalf of victims/survivors or changing the political landscape in a positive way—whether by NGOs such as the Korean Council for the Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan, or by governmental bodies anywhere, though particularly in the West—emerges here looking the least bit positive. Behind all such work, Kang finds again and again such evils as self-interest, self-aggrandizement, promotion of capitalist concerns, concealment of other kinds of guilt closer to hand, redirection of attention away from greater abuses by Western military forces, and backstage manipulation by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and a host of other shadowy, sinister economic actors.

Kang’s is a powerful polemic. For those who share her skepticism and fierce commitment to unveiling the past thirty years of feminist activism and women’s human rights activism in support of the “comfort system” survivors as a misguided (and perhaps even misbegotten) enterprise—one that has allegedly reinforced stereotypes of “Asian women” as “incoherent and inconsequential” and as visible only through their “violation and violability” (p. 16)—it will be persuasive. Before they can get to that stage of agreement, however, readers will have to cut through an immense amount of intricate academic jargon. This study is not likely to be popular with undergraduates, and would be difficult to place in secondary school classrooms. In one example, the text offers the following pronouncement: “I call for careful accounting for multiple formations and unaccustomed permutations of Asian women in a coeval time-space of intra-Asian and transpacific economic interpenetration and concerted collaboration, which also problematize East/West and Asian/American boundaries” (p. 195). Graduate students (and professors) would be best apt to decode this type of language that may leave others scratching their heads.

Medicine Women: The Story of the First Native American Nursing School, by Jim Kristofic. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2019. 329 pages. \$24.95, paper. \$24.95, electronic.

In *Medicine Women*, journalist Jim Kristofic offers an expansive history of the Ganado Mission (in Navajo Nation) from the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. Told primarily from the perspective of the Presbyterians who ran Ganado, its boarding school, and later its nursing school, it is a deep dive into how one mission approached the business of conversion and colonialism in the Southwest. To a lesser extent, it explains Indigenous reactions. The title suggests a history of the first Native American nursing school in the United States. While Kristofic does cover the rise and fall of the school from its first graduating class in 1933 to its last in 1951, the first one hundred pages or so focus on the mission's start and growth. Throughout the book, Kristofic writes with novelistic flair and thick description that transport the reader to the deserts and mesas of Navajo Nation. He describes with great care the complex interpersonal relationships that made the mission a success, and allowed Dr. Clarence G. Salsbury, arguably the protagonist of the story, to establish a nursing school for Native women in the first place. Salsbury and his predecessors needed support from the Board of Foreign Missions back East, help from local traders (like John Lorenzo Hubbell), and the trust of the Diné (Navajo) people. We learn how, in turn and over time, he was able to secure all three to varying degrees. Those skills would serve Salsbury, himself a physician, in his quest to run a successful hospital and nursing school for Diné people in south-central Navajo Nation.

Many of the trials and tribulations the mission faced will be familiar to scholars of Native history and the history of medicine: distrust of hospitals, underfunding, low staff retention, staff (including Salsbury) who did not learn the local language, and a colonial regime that imposed its political, economic, cultural, and social mores onto a community who were doing quite well with their own. Eventually, unrelenting financial and staffing challenges forced the School of Nursing's closure in 1951. Yet the school rightfully remains a point of pride for Navajo Nation to this day.

Medicine Women is most compelling for those interested in Native history when it offers glimpses of the young women who trained at the School of Nursing. The life and career of nurse Charlotte Adele Slivers is one such example (Chs. 13-14). Appendix A—a list of all students and their tribal affiliation (or otherwise) by graduating year—is also a remarkable document that highlights the school's widespread appeal and its success in recruiting ambitious aspiring nurses from far and wide.

For all this, it is difficult to recommend *Medicine Women* to students of history (even at the university level), in large part due to its sometimes-incautious language. Much of it is written in a fairly casual tone. This is not itself an issue, but quickly becomes one when, for instance, Kristofic tells the reader that an 1870s Indian agent named Thomas Keam was known to locals as a “sq—man” for his relations with Native women (p. 56). The slur is printed in full three times on the

page and, although Kristofic places it in quotation marks, he neglects to discuss the well-known and painful history of its use to justify violence against Native women. Much of the problem here and elsewhere stems from a lack of quotation marks and/or explanatory asides about terms adopted from contemporary sources and their complicated histories. For example, Chapter 28 is titled “A Slave Camp” and refers to a 1950 letter from Salsbury’s replacement to the Presbyterian Board referencing how the hospital staff felt about Salsbury’s management style. However, no quotation marks are used in the title and the accuracy of such a somber metaphor is left up to the reader to determine. In addition to questionable language choices, the book’s chronology can be difficult to follow. Phrases like “later that year”—without reminding the reader of what year that is—abound, even at the beginnings of chapters. Occasionally, a new character is mentioned, but their introduction takes place several pages, even chapters, later.

Medicine Women is perhaps best seen as a starting point. The story of Ganado’s School of Nursing deserves to be told and I credit Kristofic for his effort to bring it to light. But as a history text for students, there are other, more careful histories of Native people in medicine from which to choose (for example, Clifford E. Trafzer’s corpus).

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Juliet Larkin-Gilmore

The Making of Asian America: A History, by Erika Lee. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016. 528 pages. \$22.00, paper. \$14.99, electronic.

Asian American history is overwhelmingly absent from K-12 textbooks and social studies curriculum. Educators may be aware of these absences, but unsure where to begin their own learning in order to address them. Erika Lee’s *The Making of Asian America: A History* is an invaluable comprehensive, chronological account of Asian immigration to the Americas with a focus on the United States. Lee recounts Asian American history in five parts. The first part, titled “Beginnings: Asians in the Americas,” makes clear the impact of imperialism on Latin America, tracing the West’s longstanding search for and fascination with Asia, from ancient Greece, to Marco Polo, to Christopher Columbus. Lee begins her detailed accounts of the first Asian migrants to the Americas during the Spanish galleon trade, noting the arrival of the first Filipino crewmembers in Morro Bay, California in 1587. This initial portion spans the greatest amount of time and place, as Lee describes Chinese communities in Mexico, as well as South Asian and Chinese indentured laborers in the 1800s and early 1900s across the Caribbean.

Part Two, “The Making of Asian America During the Age of Mass Migration and Asian Exclusion,” marks the beginning of Asian American immigration, labor, and settlement in the United States. Beginning with the Chinese who first arrived during the Gold Rush in 1849, Lee deftly weaves immigrant narratives within the context of Chinese and U.S. politics, exploring reasons why they left their homes and who they left behind, while detailing the labor struggles in

which they were embroiled in the United States as immigration and other laws were enacted to limit entry and access to Chinese immigrants for the remainder of the century. Lee situates Chinese exclusion in 1882 amidst the larger anti-Chinese movement and illustrates how many of the same tactics used against the Chinese, including labor exploitation, housing discrimination, and violence, were applied to the Japanese, Korean, and Punjabi immigrants who followed them after exclusion. The final chapter in this section addresses border crossing and enforcement, describing Chinese who tried to avert exclusion orders by entering the United States through Mexico and exploring the development of the U.S. Border Patrol in 1924.

Part Three, "Asian America in a World at War," highlights experiences during World War II and the Cold War. Two chapters are dedicated to the domestic incarceration of 120,000 Japanese Americans after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. Lee's attention to a multitude of aspects of Japanese American incarceration is impressive; in Chapter 10, she recounts early surveillance and reports conducted in 1940 and 1941 that established that Japanese Americans were overwhelmingly loyal, describes the increasing racial hysteria after the U.S. joined World War II, and also attends to the deportation of Japanese living in Latin America. Chapter 11 shifts focus to the lived experiences of Japanese Americans, from the first public proclamations notifying them of their removal, to details about the temporary assembly centers they lived in before arriving at isolated War Relocation Camps located in deserts, mountains, and swamplands. Lee provides an overview of constitutional challenges and acts of resistance, as well as a brief history of the Japanese American soldiers who fought in segregated units, ending the chapter with the struggles Japanese Americans faced upon their release and the fate of Japanese Latin Americans. Chapter 12 examines the ways that the United States' new status as a global superpower changed its relationships with Asian nations, resulting in shifts in the popular perceptions of Asian immigrants from the "yellow peril" to loyal and brave allies.

Part Four, "Remaking Asian America in a Globalized World," begins with the pivotal Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, which radically changed U.S. and Asian American demographics in particular. After briefly describing Asian American activism in the 1960s and 1970s, the remaining chapters center on U.S. military intervention in Southeast Asia and the subsequent arrival of Vietnamese, Lao, Cambodian, and Hmong refugees into the United States. The final part offers an emerging understanding of Asian Americans in the twenty-first century, particularly through engagement with the "model minority" stereotype and notions of Asian Americans as perpetual foreigners. The epilogue showcases examples of individuals who have gained political power and national recognition and are putting Asian American communities at the forefront of their work, from Hmong American politician Mee Moua, to undocumented Filipino American journalist Jose Antonio Vargas. Lee's book is stunningly detailed, offering a history of Asian America that truly extends across the Americas while recounting the long and often omitted histories of Asian immigrants in the United States.

Breaking Down Barriers: George McLaurin and the Struggle to End Segregated Education, by David W. Levy. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020. 233 pages. \$24.95, paper. \$24.95, electronic.

For scholars and educators interested in the legal campaign to end segregation in public education prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*, David Levy offers *Breaking Down Barriers: George McLaurin and the Struggle to End Segregated Education*. A concise and well-written examination of the desegregation of higher education in the South in the late 1940s, Levy's latest book combines careful research and discussion of recent scholarship to analyze George Washington McLaurin's desegregation of the University of Oklahoma in 1948, the university's treatment of McLaurin while he pursued a Ph.D. in education, and the legal campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to expand educational opportunities for African Americans in the South and to eventually overturn *Plessy v. Ferguson*.

Much of Levy's story focuses on Oklahoma in the later 1940s. However, *Breaking Down Barriers* begins with a discussion of the state's history prior to that era—including pre-statehood race relations in Indian Territory and the development of segregation in Oklahoma during the Jim Crow Era. Throughout this discussion, Levy makes it clear that Oklahoma's racial policies mirrored those of many former Confederate states. Undeniably, Oklahoma has a long history of racial prejudice and discrimination that severely restricted the rights and opportunities of its African American residents.

Breaking Down Barriers also provides information about many of George McLaurin's predecessors, and peers, in the struggle for equal opportunity in higher education. This includes other pioneers in Oklahoma (most notably Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher), as well as individuals from other Southern states. Levy's coverage of the legal cases of Donald Murray, Lloyd Gaines, and Heman Sweatt, as well as the efforts of Ada Lois Sipuel Fisher, provides essential context to allow the reader to grasp the complexity and importance of McLaurin's story.

McLaurin enrolled at the University of Oklahoma in 1948 to pursue a Ph.D. in education, largely as a result of *Sipuel v. Board of Regents of the University of Oklahoma* (1948), a U.S. Supreme Court decision that required states with segregated colleges and universities to offer substantially equal educational opportunities to both African American and white students. Because the state of Oklahoma offered no Ph.D. program in education at its black institutions of higher education, and because *Sipuel* required that such opportunities be made available as soon as they were available to students of any other race, McLaurin's application to pursue a Ph.D. in education at the University of Oklahoma was approved by a federal district court in Oklahoma not long after *Sipuel*, allowing McLaurin to become the first African American student to attend the University of Oklahoma that fall.

It was McLaurin's treatment within the university that became the basis for his own successful U.S. Supreme Court case, *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950). He was required to sit in a separate area of the room where his classes took place, use a designated table at the library and Student Union, and use a toilet designated specifically for him. To the lawyers of the NAACP, the organization

that had successfully carried *Sipuel* to the Supreme Court, such treatment was a violation of McLaurin's equal protection rights. The organization's attorneys soon brought suit on behalf of McLaurin.

One strength of *Breaking Down Barriers* is its clear and concise, yet detailed, coverage of the litigation surrounding segregation in higher education during this era. Levy successfully weaves McLaurin's story with those of other pioneers and contemporaries in the struggle to provide equal educational opportunities for African American students. In the opinion of this reviewer, Levy does so in a way that allows the reader to easily follow the intricacies of this story without negating the complexity of the subject matter.

Classroom teachers often do not have the time to analyze in detail the road to *Brown v. Board of Education* with their students—typically, units on the civil rights era or the U.S. after World War II focus on the bigger picture. The concise yet scholarly approach, however, of *Breaking Down Barriers* may allow for such a discussion, particularly with advanced students. It is most suited for high school students or those at the undergraduate level (or above). The book's detailed footnotes and primary research also offer the opportunity to discuss the historians' craft with advanced students, either by analyzing the book as a whole or via select chapters. For teachers, *Breaking Down Barriers* will provide captivating details and the latest scholarly knowledge for lectures and discussions related to segregated education, school desegregation, and the civil rights era in the United States.

Virginia Commonwealth University

Brian Daugherty

Deadly Virtue: Fort Caroline and the Early Protestant Roots of American Whiteness, by Heather Martel. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2019. 282 pages. \$80.00, cloth.

Students of early modern Atlantic world history are familiar with the themes of god and gold that drove European colonization efforts in the Americas. These narratives are filled with bloody conflicts of conquest and resistance—and rightly so. It may therefore be surprising how the sixteenth-century French Protestants at Fort Caroline believed they could find and convert an Indigenous king, thereby securing his patronage for a new Protestant empire in what is now called Florida, largely through a diplomacy built on notions of love and friendship (p. 1). In *Deadly Virtue*, Heather Martel examines how theories of humoral science shaped the ways French Protestants perceived of their attempted conversions of the Indigenous peoples that lived near Fort Caroline. As Martel explains, French Protestant travel narratives served as “humoral ethnographies,” simultaneously providing hope that Indigenous peoples could be enticed towards Christianity, but also serving as cautionary reminders that the colonists themselves could lose their Protestant identity by falling under the sway of Indigenous beliefs and customs (pp. 5-6). Their eventual failure, as Martel argues, was understood as a sign of god's displeasure with this colonial strategy—a lesson that shaped how later Protestant colonists

came to understand themselves as “white” through avoiding the “transformative relations of love and friendship with Indigenous peoples” (p. 3). Far from the margins of history, Martel demonstrates how the lessons drawn from Fort Caroline reverberated across centuries in the construction of racialized hierarchies of power.

Martel employs the travel narratives of French Protestants such as René Laudonnière in her examination of how these colonists searched for visible signs of conversion among themselves and the Indigenous peoples (whom she refers to as “the People”) they encountered. Informed by humoralist beliefs that the body physiologically changed in response to environment and culture, Martel explains that these narratives are best understood as studies explaining “how the human body responded to the climate and customs of the Florida country” (p. 38). These accounts were therefore more than descriptions of the locales and peoples their authors encountered. Read from a humoralist perspective, as Martel argues, European descriptions of the appearances and customs of Indigenous groups thus aimed to “define a moral hygiene that would help preserve Christian identity as well as allure and colonize the People, assimilating them into French alliances and customs instead” (pp. 60-61). Educators can point to Martel’s skillful use of these narratives when discussing how racialized hierarchies of power have been historically constructed.

One of the major themes throughout *Deadly Virtue* is the anxiety French Protestants felt surrounding their failure to convert Indigenous groups, which could then result in the loss of their own sense of identity. For example, in Martel’s fourth chapter, she examines this dual process through the lens of gender. As Martel explains, humoral science saw gender as a fluid identity—as malleable as any other aspect of the body. Protestant colonizers thus worried that accepting Indigenous hospitality would result in the feminization of their masculine bodies, while also believing the imposition of a European-styled gendered binary would aid in “civilizing” the Indigenous peoples near Fort Caroline (pp. 87-88). The anxiety that French Protestants might adopt Indigenous customs held spiritual significance as well. As Martel explains, the Fort Caroline colonists had hoped to find signs of a lost group of god’s chosen elect among the Indigenous peoples—but they themselves feared that their own privileged status in the eyes of god could be lost due to the environmental and cultural influences of the Americas (p. 143). Martel expertly unpacks this tension throughout her monograph, explaining how these anxieties resurfaced time and time again throughout European descriptions of Indigenous peoples and their customs.

Deadly Virtue is a well-crafted monograph that will fit within any seminar on race or religion in early America. The French Protestant quest for an Indigenous king to serve as their patron is a reminder to readers that racialized ideologies are historical processes. Educators can therefore make great use of the monograph to foster discussions about how European colonists came to understand themselves as white, and how whiteness came to signify both separateness from and superiority to Indigenous peoples. Furthermore, Martel provides an excellent discussion for readers concerning how to critically examine European travel narratives in order to avoid repeating historical misrepresentations of Indigenous peoples that continue informing contemporary ideologies of white supremacy (pp. 6-9). Thus, *Deadly*

Virtue abounds with discussion material both for the historically contingent nature of racialized identities and for the methodological concerns that all historians confront when reconstructing narratives of the past.

California State University, Long Beach

Gunner Joachim

Gilded Suffragists: The New York Socialites Who Fought for Women's Right to Vote, by Johanna Neuman. New York: New York University Press, 2019. 240 pages. \$24.95, cloth. \$16.95, paper. \$16.95, electronic.

In *Gilded Suffragists*, Johanna Neuman considers upper-class, elite, white women, over 200 New York socialites, and how they shaped activism for the vote. These women were from among the most powerful families in America, such as the Astors, Rockefellers, Belmonts, and Vanderbilts. Beginning around 1908, their endorsement made the campaign more fashionable. They used their social standing and economic resources to bolster the cause. Neuman's book is a social and cultural history filled with interesting stories and facts for teachers and students.

By 1908, the U.S. suffrage movement had entered a "doldrums." The New York socialites who entered the campaign around this time, due to its intersections with other progressive reform issues they supported, helped to usher in change. They groomed and dressed in fashionable attire to counter stereotypes of suffragists as outdated. Gilded suffragists showed up to events with shorter hemlines, high heels, and plumed hats. Reporters took their pictures and described their attire, helping them to remake the image of the modern suffragist in a more appealing light. They offered financial aid, but also dedicated their time to leadership and planning. They held events in their private parlors and homes, gave open-air speeches from their cars, and planned balls and large parties. One point of entry for society women was via Newport's Colony Club, an elite women's organization designed to discuss important issues of the day. Other gilded suffragists joined mainstream organizations after being moved by international trends. For example, Alva Vanderbilt Belmont was inspired to get involved by militant women's rights activism in Britain.

Gilded suffragists were not monolithic, but all dedicated. Neuman spends several chapters outlining the differences between Katherine Duer Mackay and Alva Vanderbilt Belmont, and their competition with one another in the New York movement. According to Neuman, Mackay was a "parlor suffragist" who believed that the best way to convert men was using "civility and reason and perhaps a winning smile" (p. 68). She lobbied legislators in Albany in couture heels and had a wardrobe of "\$15,000 in gowns from Europe, about \$403,000 in current dollars" (p. 61). Her Equal Franchise Society was "invitation-only" (p. 47). Belmont was rich and brash. Recently widowed, she had excess money and time. She organized her own Political Equality Association, reaching out to diverse women, including African Americans. Where Mackay used femininity to win support, Belmont used money, helping to open a suffrage lunchroom, sponsor balls, and bribe male politicians. Despite the participation of gilded suffragists,

after 1920, Neuman writes, few got the attention they deserved. Presidents and major organizers of national associations shaped the post-victory narrative, highlighting their leadership, the work of their mentors and closest friends, and those who they believed would continue to advance their agenda.

Neuman's book presents suffrage history from an under-examined angle. Her book illustrates that the suffrage campaign was successful because it became mainstream by the twentieth century, a mass movement that attracted women from different backgrounds. Her work helps to educate readers about how activists in the U.S. compared to activists in the United Kingdom. She suggests that while the British movement was political and violent, the U.S. movement was about "selling" and "advertising" the cause to the public. U.S. suffragists were not trying to "frighten" lawmakers, but to "persuade" or "pressure" the American people (p. 108). In the U.S., "Suffrage would be sold as a commodity, and the branding would be as important as the product" (p. 108).

Although Neuman sets her story in New York, her text focuses heavily on gilded suffragists' interactions with national organizations and leaders. She chooses New York because, she argues, it was an important center of Progressive reform and location of "dramatic suffrage activity" (p. 110), but rather than focusing on state and local events, a significant portion of the text discusses campaigning in other places, particularly in Newport, Rhode Island, overshadowing the trajectory of the state suffrage campaign. At times, Neuman's claims seem slightly overstated, such as when she writes, "When they [gilded activists] embraced suffrage, they became the first celebrities to endorse a political cause in the twentieth century" (p. 2), considering the trend of sensational politics during the period and the larger fervent political culture that is part of American history.

Neuman's book, overall, is a fascinating look at the suffrage campaign from the perspective of the upper classes. Neuman shows that while the traditional activists were important, many other women were significant too, particularly upper-class women from New York who used their celebrity, skills, and status to help "push women's suffrage over the finish line" (p. 155). Neuman's engaging book, full of interesting details and stories, would be appropriate for an academic or public audience. Its accessible style and prose would be easy for students, teachers, and interested parties at all levels.

Sacred Heart University

Kelly L. Marino

This Land is Their Land: The Wampanoag Indians, Plymouth Colony, and the Troubled History of Thanksgiving, by David J. Silverman. New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020. 528 pages. \$32.00, cloth. \$20.00, paper. \$16.00, electronic.

On November 25, 2021, the United States will celebrate the 400-year anniversary of the First Thanksgiving. After experiencing the tumultuous year that was 2020, many Americans will surely find comfort in the myth of Pilgrims breaking bread

with the Indigenous Peoples who helped them settle in a new world. History teachers, however, will grapple with the harsh realities of this event. Moreover, how does one tell the story of this colony: the triumph of religious refugees destined to create a new nation or the violent origins of a country made possible through genocide and the theft of land? Instead of choosing between two, overly simplified narratives, there is another approach: re-center the history of Plymouth and Thanksgiving around the Wampanoag perspective. This is the framework for David J. Silverman's *This Land is Their Land*, resulting in an expansive and multifaceted history of southern New England. By focusing on the Wampanoags, Silverman demonstrates how larger historical forces influenced the Wampanoag's treatment of the English and affirms their power in this relationship. In effect, the book not only offers a more compelling account of the First Thanksgiving, but it is an excellent resource for educators wishing to teach students how Indigenous Peoples have always shaped our nation's history.

The book begins with the Pre-Columbian evolution of the Wampanoag, challenging the "racist notion that indigenous Americans had experienced little historical change before the colonial era" (p. 29). For instance, Silverman examines the transformation of the Wampanoag from an ancient society of hunter-gatherers to one of fishing, hunting, and horticulture. Furthermore, he draws connections between such developments and their political system, arguing that "it would have been futile for [Wampanoag] chiefs to try to assert control" and create an empire like that of the Mississippian civilization (p. 43). For teachers, these first three chapters wonderfully translate into a lesson providing background information on Indigenous communities and their initial contact with Europeans. This is especially valuable because it would help students understand the Wampanoag perspective when learning about the Pilgrims, Thanksgiving, and King Philip's War, all of which are explored in the next six chapters.

At the center of Silverman's work are the complex power negotiations between the Wampanoags and Plymouth during the seventeenth century. English expansion in the region was not simply one of violent conquest. Rather, it was a series of land sales arranged between Plymouth and the Wampanoags' paramount sachem, Ousamequin. While one might assume the colonists swindled the Wampanoags out of their land, Silverman highlights the mutual benefits of this partnership and the larger context for Ousamequin's actions. Recovering from the 1616-1619 epidemic and facing threats from their Narragansett neighbors, Ousamequin and other Wampanoags viewed Plymouth as a source of economic and military support. On a more personal level, Ousamequin used Plymouth to protect himself against challenges from other Wampanoag sachems. Over time, the drawbacks of these agreements would become increasingly disruptive and more apparent to the younger generation of Wampanoag, culminating in King Philip's War. By centering the narrative of Plymouth's expansion around the Wampanoag, Silverman reveals Indigenous agency during the colonial era and their efforts to maintain authority over the region.

The book touches upon so many themes educators cover that the Wampanoag could be a recurring group in one's class, providing students with a consistent Indigenous perspective throughout the history of the United States. As an

example, teachers could use the 1616-1619 epidemic to discuss the transmission of diseases as a result of the Columbian Exchange. Educators looking to challenge student expectations regarding the Revolutionary War should certainly note Mashpee service, which, as Silverman explains, was “a higher percentage... than any other town in Massachusetts” (pp. 383-384). And those teaching contemporary American history will be delighted by Silverman’s brief overview of the Red Power Movement as well as the Wampanoags’ current struggle to regain sovereignty.

Though the book’s strength lies in its re-examination of the Wampanoag-Plymouth relationship during the colonial era, at the very least it is a useful primer for teaching about Native Americans in the United States. Teachers hoping to incorporate Indigenous Peoples into their American history courses would greatly benefit from Silverman’s *This Land is Their Land*. In doing so, these educators will help Silverman achieve his ultimate goal: developing “school curricula that treat Native American history as basic to American history in general rather than something to be discussed only at Thanksgiving or Native American Heritage Month” (p. 17).

Orange Coast College

Melissa Archibald

Why They Marched: Untold Stories of the Women Who Fought for the Right to Vote, by Susan Ware. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020. 345 pages. \$26.95, cloth. \$16.95, paper. \$16.95, electronic.

As Susan Ware notes, leaders in the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) had a strong sense of history. They documented their movement as it unfolded, which built a scholarly narrative from the top, dominated by a few leaders who were almost all white, native-born, elite, and well educated. In *Why They Marched*, Ware seeks to disrupt this narrative by telling the story of woman suffrage through biography, focusing not only on some of the most famous suffragists, but also on lesser-known advocates for the cause. Her aim is to “recapture the breadth and spirit of the movement through individual lives” while also maintaining the broader suffrage narrative (p. 4). In addition, Ware uses specific images (like Sojourner Truth’s 1864 carte de visite) and objects (like Charlotte Perkin Gilman’s death mask) to anchor each chapter. By focusing on more obscure activists, Ware rejuvenates the history of woman suffrage, discovering not only how ordinary people shaped the movement, but also how the movement transformed their lives. Advocacy did not end with the Nineteenth Amendment; most women continued to publish, speak, or otherwise agitate for related reforms long after 1920.

Ware’s analysis extends to issues including race, religion, class, and strategy as she explores the lives of women like African American activist Mary Church Terrell, prominent Mormon and plural wife Emmeline Wells, labor advocate Rose

Schneiderman, and militant suffragist Hazel Hunkins (later Hunkins-Hallinan). Nineteen chapters feature even more men and women, and Ware expertly organizes these biographical treatments into three parts, including “Claiming Citizenship,” “The Personal is Political,” and “Winning Strategies.” The text serves as a strong resource for educators who want to add depth to broad narratives found in textbooks. Examples from *Why They Marched* could anchor interactive lectures with rich portraits of ordinary activists who bravely answered when the movement called or who took the initiative to join on their own accord. Teachers also could assign specific chapters to advanced high school students or introductory-level undergraduates ready to explore the lesser-known aspects of the history of woman suffrage. For both students and educators, Ware offers a challenge to consider seriously the movement’s multiplicity of perspectives, tactics, and aims.

One of the clear strengths of *Why They Marched* is the biographical analysis, which allows Ware to emphasize specific topics within a broad chronological narrative. To explore how suffragists increasingly employed public demonstrations by the mid-1910s, for example, Ware examines Molly Dewson and Polly Porter, the “farmer-suffragettes” who worked for suffrage in rural Massachusetts. Cruising the Worcester countryside in a Buick and Ford, Dewson and Porter planned open-air meetings and orchestrated parades to publicize the cause. While these tactics were radical at the time, they helped to infuse suffrage deeply into rural areas often overlooked by national leaders. Ware also uses the “farmer-suffragettes” to ask questions about the queer lives and personal relationships among suffragists, including Carrie Chapman Catt, Susan B. Anthony, Alice Stone Blackwell, Doris Stevens, Maud Wood Park, and Anna Howard Shaw. Ware notes that term “queer” denotes non-normative and signals a range and depth of attachments that defy easy categorization. In this way, Ware identifies the suffrage movement as a “space where women felt free to express a wide range of gender non-conforming behaviors” (p. 162).

While Ware offers important insights about often overlooked suffragists, she also raises further questions about what scholarly gaps remain and how historians ought to fill them. A number of the people Ware profiles, including but not limited to Susan B. Anthony, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Ida Wells-Barnett, and Alice Stone Blackwell, are familiar to historians who study women’s history, but Ware often engages with lesser-known elements of these women’s lives, adding welcome multi-dimensionality. But the story that unfolds in *Why They Marched* maintains a national focus instead of exploring state or regional contexts. While Ware features four suffragists from the West and South, readers will not find much about suffrage activism in the Midwest or among Indigenous communities. In this way, Ware not only accomplishes her goal of exploring the untold stories of an array of lesser-known suffragists, but also offers a powerful blueprint for more investigation into the individual lives that shaped the woman suffrage movement.



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