

NOTE

1. For the impact of the 1850 Act generally, see Michael F. Magliari, "Masters, Apprentices, and Kidnappers: Indian Servitude and Slave Trafficking in Humboldt County, California, 1860–1863," *California History* 97, no. 2 (2020): 2–26.

Phylis Cancilla Martinelli and Ana Varela-Lago, Eds. *Hidden Out in the Open: Spanish Migration to the United States (1875–1930)*. Louisville: University Press of Colorado, 2019. 312 pp. Paperback \$27.00.

The legacy of Spanish imperialism in Latin America, as well as protracted cycles of agricultural and economic stagnation and struggle in Spain over the course of the nineteenth century, made the Spanish-speaking republics magnets for migration. The post-Civil War, Progressive Era expansion of the U.S. economy likewise drew tens of thousands of Spaniards, not only from Spain but also from various points in Latin America. The Spanish presence in late nineteenth-century waves of immigration to the United States has been "hidden out in the open" because it was a fraction of that of other non-native-born peoples. The editors and authors of this collection of essays successfully assert that Spaniards were very much a part of the migrations that characterized this important period in American history.

In addition, the authors and editors demonstrate how Spanish newcomers mirrored, in their new American communities, the tensions that were common back home in Spain. Many Spaniards, for example, felt obliged to identify as Spanish nationals, but also to proclaim their local and regional identifications, as demonstrated when they established clubs and mutual aid societies named for their Spanish provinces of origin. Another recurrent theme of the essays is focused on the press as a crucial element in nourishing what Benedict Anderson calls the "imagined community," as newcomers created transnational networks between their homelands (be that Spain and/or a specific province) and their new homes in the United States (35, 41–44).

Pockets of sophisticated industrialization existed in Spain at this time, particularly in Catalonia and the Basque Country, but most Spaniards were engaged in various forms of agriculture. Often precarious economic conditions drove millions of Spaniards to emigrate to the Americas beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century. In some cases, migrants traveled by successive waves to the United States. Many Basque immigrants, for example, migrated first to Latin America, where they lived for generations before flocking to California during the 1848–49 gold rush. Others built conspicuously large and proud communities in the Mountain West.¹ The book is made up of nine excellently crafted, well-researched essays, including Ana Varela-Lago's extensive and utterly useful introduction and a short postscript. The strength of the volume is its exploration of the diverse labor and social experiences of Spanish immigrants in America, as well as the diversity of geographic loci in which their community histories unfold. The volume includes a reprinting of Beverly Lozano's classic 1984 study, based in part on oral histories/interviews, of Andalusian migration, first to Hawaii and then to California, during the early twentieth century.² Given California's Mediterranean climate and its burgeoning

economy in the 1920s, many Spaniards in Hawaii were quick to jump at employment and entrepreneurial opportunities in the Golden State.

Christopher Castañeda's account of Spanish cigar-makers is richly written, with almost loving descriptions of cigar quality; and Gary Mormino and George Pozzetta's description of a Tampa-based Spanish cigar factory is replete with a photograph of a literate worker or foreman reading revolutionary newspapers or books from a type of lectern above the workers (III). These three authors remind us of the important role that international ideologies, including anarchism, played in connecting partisans or believers across the Atlantic. Thomas Hidalgo's chapter on Spanish immigration into southern West Virginia in the early twentieth century offers a family microhistory built upon personal interviews as well as the documents of 163 Spanish immigrants to Raleigh and Fayette counties; these serve as windows into the processes of chain migration, work in Appalachian coal mines, and the community's foodways and language traditions. Cancilla Martinelli contributes an excellent study—informed in part by her own interviews—of Spanish miners in Arizona's copper mines from 1880 to 1930, in an effort to “re-envision” western history and to further diversify immigration history through the inclusion of Spanish migrants in a new, more inclusive paradigm for western history (207). The migration of thousands of Spaniards to Arizona was hidden because English-speaking, white Americans tended to lump all Hispanics, including the Spanish, under general labels such as “Spanish-speaking” or “Spanish-surnamed” (208). Spanish Americans, by virtue of their European origins, may have reached an intermediate status above Mexicans and other Hispanics.

Brian Bunk shifts our attention to a long-established and stable community of Spaniards in New York City's Greenwich Village. Specifically, he focuses on socialization of the second generation, particularly of Spanish American women, in order to flesh out the persistence of Spanish values and traditions. In addition to his spatial descriptions of Spanish American clubs, Bunk folds in his attention to gender and the performative aspects of ethnic identity, such as those informing beauty pageants and popularity contests, in order to present Spanish social clubs as “intermediate spaces” between public and private spheres that allowed young Spanish American women to experiment with certain freedoms under the watchful eyes of senior members of the community who were ever eager to curb the effects of Americanization (176).

Varela-Lago is quick to explain that this volume does not include an article on Basque immigration to California and the Mountain West (mentioned above) because it is based on the catalog of Basque American studies published and resources managed by the Reno-based Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada. Notwithstanding this justification, one cannot help but feel that a work of synthesis covering other Basque American communities during this period could have served as an important foil or complement to the rest of these case studies. The authors and editors are to be commended for not excluding the context of political, cultural, and societal developments in Spain from their local or discrete studies, as these should help readers not familiar with the modern history of Spain. On the other hand, the few, superficial descriptions of Progressive Era economic and societal shifts found in these essays are not particularly effective in contextualizing the hustle and bustle of *fin de siècle* America. The focus of this book and its production schedule preceded the renewed attention to antifascism after 1922 and the role that

antifascist ideology served as a transnational political and cultural glue for disparate groups of immigrants, including socialists, communists, and anarchists in places such as New York, Florida, and Cuba.³ This by no means marks a deficiency in the editors' project, but the essays in this collection have made conditions ripe for further research into those 1920s Spaniards and Spanish Americans who grew increasingly concerned and/or were moved into activism by the frightening specter of fascism in Italy spreading throughout Europe. Notwithstanding these quibbles, this volume is a special and valuable contribution to a growing field of American immigration history as well as diaspora studies. Cancilla Martinelli, Varela-Lago, and their contributors have started a potentially rich conversation that will go far in breaking through the typical images of early modern conquistadors, bullfighters, and sultry señoritas in Sevillana dresses that Americans have imagined as emblematic of Spain and Spanish life.⁴ This book, thankfully, has shed light on the hidden Spaniards who contributed to the American economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Enrique A. Sanabria

Notes

1. See W. A. Douglass, *Global Vasconia: Essays on the Basque Diaspora* (Reno: Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada Press, 2006). Perhaps no other ethnic or micro-national group from Spain has seen such conspicuous and ample research on its migration, diasporic experiences, and communities in the United States than the Basques, and a complete catalog of the publications on Basque migration can be found on the Center for Basque Studies at the University of Nevada, Reno. See <http://www.unr.edu/basque-studies/cbs-press>.
2. Beverly Lozano, "The Andalucía-Hawaii-California Migration: A Study in Macrostructure and Micro-history," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 26, no. 2 (1984): 305–324.
3. See, for example, Ariel Mae Lambe, *"No Barrier Can Contain It": Cuban Antifascism and the Spanish Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019).
4. See, for example, Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

Valerie Sherer Mathes, Ed. *Gender, Race, and Power in the Indian Reform Movement: Revisiting the History of the WNIA*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020. 284 pp. Hardcover \$65.00.

The authors of this anthology reinterpret an organization, the Women's National Indian Association (WNIA), that played an important role in the U.S. campaign for Indian assimilation. This is the second volume that Valerie Sherer Mathes has edited on the WNIA (University of New Mexico Press also published the first volume, *The Women's National Indian Association: A History*, in 2015). The current work collects pieces by eight scholars, including Mathes, who contributes three of the book's eight chapters, and Albert L. Hurtado, who authored the foreword. Thanks largely to previous efforts by Mathes, a leading scholar of Indian reform history who wrote the book on the WNIA's work in California (*Divinely Guided: The California Work of the Women's National Indian Association*, 2012), the WNIA's history has become better known to scholars interested in Native history in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. Here, however, Jane Simonsen's introduction situates this collection within trends in women's and gender history, presenting the