

High School basketball team's journey to the brink of a state title is a wonderful example of the effect of friendships across ethnic boundaries. We all may benefit from such stories.

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Yaqui Resistance and Survival: The Struggle for Land and Autonomy, 1821–1910. By Evelyn Hu-DeHart. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016, revised ed. 320 pages. \$29.95 paper.

This revised edition of Evelyn Hu-DeHart's groundbreaking monograph *Yaqui Resistance and Survival* includes a section on more recent scholarship and theories on transnationalism, diaspora, and borderlands that have emerged since its initial publication in 1984. Along with the classic studies of Edward Holland Spicer, scholars of Yaqui history have utilized the book under review and Hu-DeHart's earlier *Missionaries, Miners, and Indians* as starting points for their studies, including my own history of the Pascua Yaqui Tribe of Arizona in *Forgotten Tribes*. Despite the passage of more than thirty years since its first printing, *Yaqui Resistance and Survival* still remains essential reading on the Yaqui people of Mexico in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.

The book chronicles the Yaqui Nation's valiant, but ultimately failed, century-long battle to preserve their land and autonomy against an increasingly powerful post-independence Mexican state. This history details repeated cycles of Mexican pressures to assimilate the Yaqui people and to destroy their nation. The first pages trace the immediate post-independence era, roughly the 1820s through the 1830s, a time when the author finds that several realities enable the Yaqui to preserve their homeland: the weakness of the frontier Sonoran government, the sparse Mexican population, hacienda owners who needed Yaqui labor, and the fragile national government based in Mexico City. As Spicer first concluded, Hu-DeHart also notes that the seventeenth-century Jesuit project of consolidating the scattered Yaqui rancherías into larger mission-based communities, the "Eight Pueblos," inadvertently provided a nineteenth-century bulwark against non-Yaqui intrusion, particularly conferring the unity and strength to maintain control of their fertile lands in the Yaqui River valley of Sonora.

As the author remarks, this book does not delve into the social or cultural history of the Yaqui. Despite newer theoretical frameworks presented in the introduction, there is very little detail on transnational and/or diasporic aspects of Yaqui resistance and survival strategies. The work primarily details the various government campaigns against Yaqui autonomy and control of their lands. As the author admits, a problem of reconstructing Yaqui history is a general lack of sources from the Yaquis themselves; they only appear in records when there is trouble. Because he was so noteworthy and led a rebellion, we thankfully get a glimpse into the life of Juan Banderas, who emerged as the outstanding Yaqui leader of the 1820s and 1830s. Banderas brilliantly combined

a messianic appeal of a return to a “golden age” of Indian independence with goals particular to his people. Hu-DeHart’s treatment of Banderas provides the most fully realized portrait of a Yaqui individual in the book.

The book chronicles the next period, roughly 1838 to 1868, during which the Yaqui Nation is drawn more and more into the larger national struggle between Mexican Centralists and Federalists over the fate of the nation. Hu-DeHart notes that here, for the first time, Yaquis tied their fortunes to outsiders, allying primarily with Centralist Manuel Maria Gandara, whose position opposing a stronger Mexican state dovetailed with their efforts to preserve their land and autonomy. In dense detail Hu-DeHart chronicles the Yaquis’ decades-long battle against Sonoran *caudillo* Ignacio Pesquiera, a prominent follower of Mexico’s great Liberal reformer Benito Juarez. Liberals nationwide were attempting to assimilate indigenous peoples while alienating them from communal lands. With his general Jose Urrea, Pesquiera began to implement (unsuccessfully) the Liberal agenda that would ultimately crush the people in later years: using federal land laws to seize Yaqui lands, promoting non-Indian colonization, garrisoning troops in Yaqui country, and employing spies and other surveillance techniques. As the author concludes, Yaqui warfare and the failure of the federal government to provide adequate troops doomed these initial efforts at Liberal reform. As the 1870s began, Yaquis were exceptional in Mexican history, a populous indigenous people still in control of their homeland.

The era of Mexican dictator Porfirio Diaz (1876–1911) changed this. Under the motto “Order and Progress” Diaz established the strongest, most organized Mexican state of the nineteenth century. True to character, Yaquis resisted national efforts by waging a guerilla war. Yaqui commander Cajeme emerged as the extraordinary Yaqui leader of this period. A Yaqui largely raised outside the homeland, Cajeme used his experiences to consolidate and modernize the Yaqui nation and resistance. Under him, for the first time, the people declared an independent Yaqui Nation; Cajeme instituted a tax system, used communal food stores to support the resistance, and modernized Yaqui military forces and tactics, all in the interest of preserving Yaqui land and autonomy against an increasingly centralized and modernizing state. As was common in Sonora as regards the Yaqui, Cajeme was a paradoxical figure, admired by Sonorans for his military prowess, yet feared as an Indian obstacle to progress. Hu-DeHart finds Cajeme’s era to be “in many ways the high point of Yaqui history in the nineteenth century” (116). Yaquis flocked back to their homeland from exile, and for a time Cajeme’s forces kept Mexican intrusion at bay until he was caught and executed in 1885. All the while forces of modernization, aided by Diaz’s generous concessions of lands and tax breaks to foreigners, closed in upon the Yaquis. Under Diaz, foreign companies built railroads and telegraph lines, and planned massive farming operations on Yaqui lands.

Throughout the book the author details how Yaquis demonstrated their remarkable adaptability. Fighting the Diaz regime, the dispersed and dislocated Yaquis became a diasporic people, maintaining a strong sense of a cultural homeland that they longed to return to one day. Under guerilla chieftain Tetabiate and others, the Yaqui guerilla war continued after the execution of Cajeme. In one year, 1899–1900, approximately

nine hundred Yaquis died in war, hundreds were maimed and crippled, and hundreds of women and children were taken as POWs. Small children were placed in so-called "superior" white homes to erase their Native identity and culture. In the face of massive oppression, Yaqui resistance became more decentralized and mobile, still supported by the larger Yaqui Nation but not as formally integrated into its political structure as before. As Hu-DeHart rightly concludes, the Mexican state could not tolerate an Indian nation within a nation and redoubled efforts to crush them. As development ensued along Porfirian lines, the interests of local hacienda owners and mine owners in preserving Yaqui labor lost ground to the interests of political elites based in Mexico City. The worst years were from 1907 to 1908, when Sonoran Governor Rafael Izabal and his ruthless General Luis Torres instituted what the author calls the "Final Solution" (the title of chapter 6). General Torres required Yaquis to register with the government, carry passes to travel, and live in certain areas including designated Yaqui barrios in local cities. Torres rounded up people, executing masses on the spot. In tandem, for the first time, the more powerful central Mexican state sent adequate troops to quash Yaqui resistance. Having considered genocide (according to the author deemed too potentially embarrassing internationally), Mexican leaders opted for forced deportation (180). In the first decade of the 1900s, thousands of Yaqui men, women, and children were shipped to the Yucatan to work as virtual slaves. As Hu-DeHart concludes, this systematic warfare and deportation almost destroyed the Yaqui Nation. Only a small rebel band under Luis Espinosa never surrendered, keeping the resistance alive.

The dispersed and demoralized Yaquis found hope in the cataclysmic Mexican Revolution that erupted into civil war after Diaz was deposed in 1911. As before, they fought for whatever faction promised to return their land and autonomy. Hu-DeHart concludes that their fighting won the Yaqui very little. The Yaqui were the only Mexican Indian group to receive a unique "Zona Indigena" encompassing some of their homeland, but Hu-Dehart concludes that this land did the people little good; dams upstream cut off water to their farms, Mexican agribusinesses boomed at their expense, and corporate farms did not need their labor. In short, the people had land but could not make a living on it. By keeping Hu-Dehart's in-depth history in print, this revised edition will prove valuable to future scholars of Yaqui history. It still stands as a foundational work for any study of the Yaqui in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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