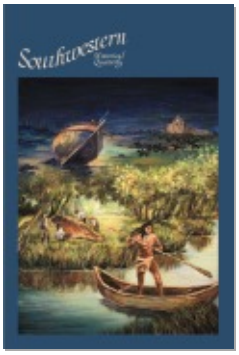
Border Policing: A History of Enforcement and Evasion in North America ed. by Holly M. Karibo and George T. Díaz (review)



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treats religious and philosophical currents in northeastern New Spain in the late eighteenth century. Martínez de Vara embraces Coronado's argument that the region's elites shared a worldview framed by Spanish Catholic liberalism and scholasticism. Coronado traced this through the writings of Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara, an ardent supporter of insurgent leader Miguel de Hidalgo, who invaded Béxar from Louisiana in 1813 and declared Texas an independent Mexican state. Martínez de Vara confidently argues that Gutiérrez de Lara's ideas also influenced Ruíz and his fellow elite Bexareños as they made revolutionary decisions during the Hidalgo era and later.

While Martínez de Vara's view that Ruiz and others in this frontier town shared Bernardo de Lara's revolutionary commitment to liberal Catholic principles in 1813, he does not explicitly explore the theme through the rest of the book. Instead he describes Ruiz as a man with a pragmatic understanding that his economic interests and future lay to the east among Anglo-American Protestant immigrants. The need to pursue pragmatic actions driven by circumstance certainly competed with his Catholic values, but how did his thinking evolve over time? Given the thorough research reflected in this book, apparently Ruiz did not leave much testimony on the subject; Martínez de Vara does not return to the question along the way except to reiterate the point in the conclusion.

The extent to which Catholicism and scholasticism influenced the political worldview of Ruiz and other Béxar elites remains an open question, but Martínez de Vara did a favor in raising the issue and alerting Tejano biographers to explore the intellectual history of these important figures. In the process, historians may even explore the extent to which Tejano liberals may have shared similar views with fellow travelers in Mexico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico during this period and later who also pragmatically looked to the United States as a model for their own societies even to the point of outright annexation.

St. Mary's University Gerald Poyo

Border Policing: A History of Enforcement and Evasion in North America. Edited by Holly M. Karibo and George T. Díaz. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2020. Pp. 336. Illustrations, notes, index.)

Historians of the U.S. Southwest would be hard-pressed to find a moment in history when the boundaries of the nation—both geopolitical and citizenship—were clearly delineated, consistently enforced, and widely accepted. The framing of "crisis" has been a recurring feature of border policing in U.S. history since at least the early nineteenth century. This much is deftly and effectively argued in Holly M. Karibo and George T. Díaz's edited volume *Border Policing: A History of Enforcement and Evasion*

in North America. Comprising events, actors, and processes from the War of 1812 to contemporary media representations of border security, the book relies on a comparative and interdisciplinary framework to examine policing along the country's northern and southern borders. By looking at places and processes, the book shows readers both their distinctiveness and their similarities.

Of chief concern is the fact that both border zones are part of a growing border-policing regime that has subjected people to differential treatment, especially racialized others targeted by state violence since the nineteenth century: Native Americans, Chinese and Syrian migrants, and ethnic Mexicans, to name a few. The editors ask, "How have states (at the federal, state, provincial, and local levels) attempted to regulate and police people and goods at their geographical and political borders? And how have local communities responded to, been shaped by, and at times undermined particular policing objectives and practices?" (6). Contributors rigorously explore these questions in archival materials produced by a range of actors in Canada, the United States, and Mexico. Most of the fourteen chapters follow governmental actors and actual policies, laws, and procedures in border policing, although many also document the practices of non-state actors like Native Americans, vigilantes, smugglers, and migrants. Echoing the approach in new borderlands historiography, most of the chapters frame their objects of analysis in a transnational manner by engaging actors, ideas, and materials across geopolitical borders. Doing so demonstrates how border policing, an integral part of state- and nation-making, has not been limited to governmental agencies, but instead is the result of differently located, distributed processes.

The book is divided chronologically into four parts, each devoted to the means of producing national borders in North America since the nineteenth century. Starting with an emerging, ever-changing geopolitical and physical boundary, the book shows the importance of defining and policing borders to state- and nation-making. The aim of the editors is to demonstrate how border zones moved from soft and "relatively fluid transnational regions" into hardened, "expansive military zones" (5). Yet, I think the book aptly shows the partial, incomplete, and contingent nature of border policing itself. And with regard to militarization—as a progressive, ever intensifying process—the production of the border can be seen as entangled with military logics at the heart of state-making. That is not to say that armed vigilantes, soldiers, and police agents do not denote a distinctive modality of border policing and enforcement. Yet it does push border studies scholars of all stripes to question if militarization should be seen as an intensifying process over time or as a central dynamic of nation-making and imperial formations, particularly in the context of settler colonialism. In this sense chapters 1, 3, 8, and 12 (especially those chapters devoted to Indigenous communities and their contestations of

settler colonial boundaries) help carve new ground, not only for studying but also for interrogating border policing across different regions and across clashing concepts of nation.

In short, to study border policing as a changing historical practice affords insight into its values, imaginaries, actors, and actions. In this sense, the authors in this collection contribute to the growing scholarly consensus that posits borders as central artifacts and geographical areas in the making of national cultures and their regimes of truth. Scholars of Texas history would do well to engage this book for its range of case studies grappling with, among other things, transborder political collaboration (chapter 2), the policing of Mexican identity (chapter 4), vigilantism (chapter 7), peyotism (chapter 8), and the policing of smuggling and gender roles (chapter 9).

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War and Peace on the Rio Grande Frontier, 1830–1880. By Miguel Ángel González-Quiroga. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020. Pp. 592. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, index.)

War and Peace on the Rio Grande Frontier is an eye-opening account of inter-ethnic and inter-racial conflict and collaboration among the residents and transients who comprised the borderlands population from the 1830s through the early years of the Porfirio Díaz regime. Mainly focusing on Euro Americans and Mexican-origin individuals during this period, González-Quiroga argues that collaboration as well as violent conflict among and between these people shaped the contours of this frontier region in deep and far-reaching ways. Building on a large body of primary documentation housed in both Mexican and U.S. repositories, González-Quiroga has produced a powerful narrative of a borderlands region shaped by commercial opportunities, competing social and cultural beliefs, and war and violence. It was not always a matter of Anglo vs. Mexican; what emerges from this careful attention to both collaboration and conflict is a borderlands region that often blurred or softened racial, ethnic, and class lines, albeit temporarily.

Composed of the Mexican Northeast and the province that eventually became Texas, this region plays a preponderant role in *War and Peace.* González-Quiroga does a remarkable job in explaining the eventual emergence of Mexican nationalism intricately tied to the dynamic nature of the region, which was influenced by the ebb and flow of commerce. Commercial opportunities that emerged as a result of external and internal wars, including the U.S. Civil War and the Centralist/Federalist conflict in Mexico, led to the forging of strategic alliances or business partnerships that benefitted all parties. Equally important is the author's examination