

riods of relatively good acceptance, to once again more difficult challenges and times when coal mining employment experienced substantial decreases.

Chapter Nine deals extensively with the generational split in the 1980s: the lack of interest in unionization by the younger generation of coal miners, who had usually not grown up in a union environment. Also noteworthy is the far more successful approach taken by non-union companies to minimize the potential attractions of unionization.

The book's epilogue focuses extensively on the split and the differences between western strip mining and eastern underground coal mining. Resolving these different interests and priorities has remained a difficult challenge for the UMWA. The second part of the epilogue centers on very recent political developments, notably the strong support from coal miners, including those in Utah, for Donald Trump, and the growing separation between coal miners and the Democratic party. Included is a much broader discussion of what the recent past of labor and unions, very broadly, has been, and what their future might be. Highly uncertain, at best?

Wright's book presents the history of the UMWA in Carbon County and Emery County, Utah, and coal country, USA. It recounts the ups and downs of miners and of their unions, primarily in Utah, but makes substantial contributions to the history of coal in the West, and even in the nation. Interlaced with the history of coal mining, from pick and shovel, blasting and hand loading, through mechanical loading, continuous mining, and longwalling, *Carbon County USA* is stunningly well told using an astonishing set of superbly illustrative and telling anecdotes—the result of an amazing amount of research in primary sources.

The UMWA's story is often a sad and painful tale of advances and retreats, internal fighting, and fighting with the companies and various political and media opponents. However, the union has

most certainly contributed mightily, frequently against strong opposition, to safety improvements that have transformed coal mining from an extremely dangerous occupation to a relatively safe, if still rather unhealthy one.

Superbly illustrated, with a marvelous collection of photographs, and multiple informative and illustrative reproductions of various documents, *Carbon County USA* also contains helpful maps, an excellent index, and an extensive bibliography. Also impressive is the very wide range of primary source documents, indicative of the depth of the research upon which this book is based. The book also contains three informative appendices, although one wishes the chronology in Appendix A had continued at least a little bit beyond 1985. Also, the subtitle seems at least a little bit of a misnomer, since only relatively minor sections of the book deal with the Miners for Democracy, with far more coverage of the UMWA than of the MFD.

*Carbon County USA* should appeal to a broad range of people interested in the history of Utah or of the West, of coal mining, or of the labor movement. In this (final?) twilight of King Coal, Wright's book makes a superb contribution to its history!

Jaak Daemen  
Reno, Nevada

David M. Gitlitz. *Living in Silverado: Secret Jews in the Silver Mining Towns of Colonial Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019; 432 pp., 6 b&w illus., 17 figs., 3 tabl., 25 sidebars, 3 append., notes, bib., ind., cloth \$65, e-book \$65. ISBN: 9780826360793 (cloth), 9780826360799 (e-book).

David Gitlitz's *Living in Silverado* consists of three disparate New Spain stories: silver mining, "crypto-Jews," and the emigration of Portuguese-Spanish villagers from the Iberian Peninsula. By focusing on the cultural and religious background

of individuals connected to silver mining and the silver trade, the book adds to the historiography of both the all-important silver production in colonial Mexico, and the understanding of the life and place of crypto-Jews in New Spain in the century after the Conquest (1519-1521). The other story involves an emigration of Portuguese-Spanish villagers set in motion by the choice facing Iberian Jews in 1492—conversion or expulsion. Each topic adds to the other. Notably, Gitlitz's treatment of the Spanish and Portuguese "conversos" (Jews who converted to Christianity by 1492) in New Spain benefits from his previous look at conversos on the Iberian Peninsula: *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews* (2002).

The reader with background in mining history will find new details about Mexico's colonial silver mining experience. The book reinforces the overall settled mining story with a reliable review of how "some dug for silver, some refined silver, some bought and sold silver, and some managed the general stores that supplied miners with credit and their material needs" (1). Two major silver mining centers are featured: Taxco and Pachuca. Two lesser-known mining centers are also featured: Ayoteco and Tlalpujahuá. As the mercury-based "patio process" for extracting silver from its ore is so central to the mining history of Mexico, Peru, and Bolivia, Gitlitz's explanation of Bartolomé de Medina's development of the patio process (49-57) is both a welcome overview and a necessary foundation for the book's narrative. For the reader lacking any background on Mexico's mining past, the book is a solid introduction to silver production over the sixteenth century and how it drove Spain's colonial policy.

The Portuguese conversos were at the heart of the secret Jewish communities in the four silver mining towns examined. These descendants of Spanish Jews who fled to Portugal after 1492, came from just a few villages of northeast Portugal, later returned to Spain, and then removed to New Spain. Chapter 8, "The Portuguese Come to America," details the birth origins for the 104

people accused of Judaizing between 1589 and 1604 by the Mexican Inquisition. "Seventy-six of these (73 percent) were born in Portugal" (95). Of these, thirty-four were from a "single cluster of three small towns lying close together on the east-facing slopes of the Serra de Gardunha: Fundão, Covilhã, and São Vicente da Beira" (95). An unusual story becomes even stranger.

Other readers will come to the book attracted by the suggestive aspect of the book's title: "Secret Jews." The cruelty of the Mexican Inquisition, intended to erase the cultural presence of anyone following the "Law of Moses," as well as Muslims and Lutherans (Protestants), is made clear. The rack as a method of interrogating suspected crypto-Jews is explained, as is the use of water-boarding—no longer a little-known interrogation technique in the modern world. The ethnicity and religion of Iberians involved with silver have been given scant attention until now. Throughout the book terms such as Judaize, Judaizing, conversos, confesos, New Christians, and Old Christians are used.

At a time when the Catholic Church sought to eliminate wrong ideas, accusations of spreading Jewish customs, ideas, or practices brought danger to individuals. The Mexican Holy Office was attentive to whether individuals avoided pork or if they bought unusual quantities of certain foods thought to be Jewish favorites, such as chickpeas (garbanzo beans). Jews who professed conversion to Christianity to avoid persecution, but secretly hung onto some Jewish beliefs or practices, were a target of the Mexico Inquisition. The fear and suffering of these people are all caught in the fascinating dossiers left as records of vigilance by the Holy Office. The interrogation transcripts in these dossiers convey the religious beliefs held by conversos—ideas passed on within families as best they could under the circumstances.

These Mexican Inquisition dossiers record how suspected Jews were noticed, tracked, and denounced. Once arrested, their possessions, homes, and work lives were recorded in detail. These details are what the book presents as new

analysis. As suggested earlier, Gitlitz finds that the Mexican Inquisition at the turn of the seventeenth-century focused more on the crypto-Jews from Portugal than the conversos from Spain. While this may seem an obscure detail, in the book it becomes revealing about who saw opportunity in silver mining and related trades.

The book is also family history. Individuals from three extended family groups are named with their familial links spelled out in family-trees. The most frequent surnames are Fonseca, Castellanos, Rodriguez, Alvarez, Carvajal, and Almeida. Three appendices name individuals found in the Inquisition dossiers.

Appendix 1, "Arrival and Origins," lists 102 individuals by name with their family relationships, origins in Spain or Portugal by town, dates of birth, dates arrived in Mexico, locations of residence in Mexico, and their professions or status (301-8). Only seven individuals are specifically identified as "miners," while the majority of those named were "merchants." One way or the other, connected by both family and trade, some aspect of mining became their livelihoods in Silverado.

Appendix 2, "Holiday Observations," tracks some eighty-six individuals and their observance of the three religious holidays Purim, Passover, and Yom Kippur between 1582 and 1594 (310-23). The table shows that the reported observances were random and periodic, presumably due to the fear of persecution and perhaps execution for the worst offenders.

Appendix 3 looks at religious holiday attendance for the Lucena-Enrriquez-Paiba family of Mexico City and Pachuca. Again, there is a wide variation in reported observances. All three appendices support Gitlitz's conclusion that there was a "range of Jewish knowledge and practices that these New Christian clans brought with them and how they accommodated their sense of Jewishness with their lives as Christians in the mining towns of central Mexico" (287). He also demonstrates all through the chapters that the Portuguese conversos who chose to make their

living in New Spain during the late sixteenth century were "on the whole, an adventurous lot: self-assured, energetic, committed to their passions, ambitions, and willing to take risks" (288).

The bibliography is complete and helpful for anyone looking to read more about sixteenth-century Mexico and the Inquisition. The index is well done. The one complaint is really with the publisher. The notes, organized by page at the end of the book, are interesting and more than just source references, but this reviewer prefers that chatty notes be placed at the bottom of each page. Going back and forth is bothersome. The reviewer assumes that this is not the author's preference. *Living in Silverado* belongs on the bookshelf of anyone interested in Mexican silver mining, colonial Mexico, or the Jewish experience in the Americas.

William W. Culver

State University of New York, Plattsburgh