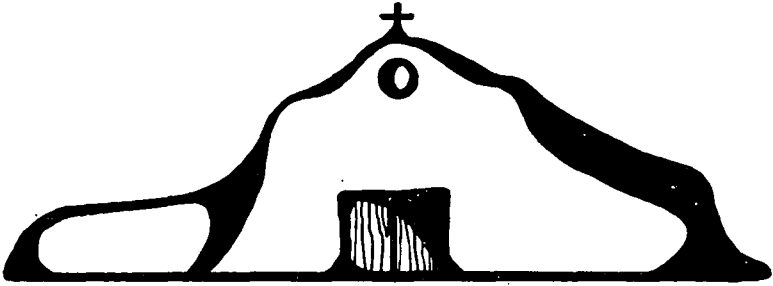


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**NEW MEXICO
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APRIL 1956

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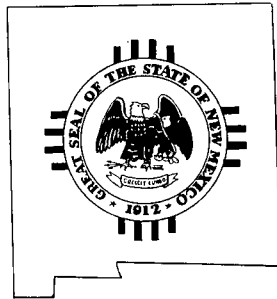
IN APPRECIATION

One of New Mexico's prime attractions, both to its own residents as well as to outsiders, is its rich and deep history. Nowhere did Indian society have greater historical impact, nor was there any area of the United States to which imperial Spain bequeathed such an indelible legacy. The pioneer period completes the trilogy and vies for historical attention.

With this historical background, today's society in the Land of Enchantment has need for substantial information concerning New Mexico. Chief vehicle for periodical publication concerning the state is the *New Mexico Historical Review*, which was born in 1926. In it, articles of maximum value have appeared quarterly for over a half century, representing a great treasury of authoritative information. However, with the passage of time some of the most important issues of the *Review* have become unavailable, with these out-of-print issues accessible at high prices at rare book shops, or sometimes unobtainable at any price. With a growing population desirous of becoming better informed concerning New Mexico, the need to provide availability to such important material became apparent.

The present reprint program was only a scholar's dream until farsighted citizens became likewise convinced of the utility of making available a storehouse of knowledge, particularly focusing their concern on educational need for republication. Max Roybal, Bennie Aragon, Robert Aragon, Mike Alarid and Adele Cinelli-Hunley provided effective leadership. Legislators Don L. King and Alex Martinez presented Senate Bill #8 to the 1980 session of the New Mexico State Legislature and used their influence and that of Governor and Mrs. Bruce King to insure favorable consideration. The Board of the NMHR, speaking for followers of New Mexico's important history, warmly thanks these friends for such support.

Donald C. Cutter
Chairman, Editorial Board, NMHR



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CAPTAIN JASON W. JAMES, FRONTIER ANTI-DEMOCRAT

By M. L. DILLON*

JASON W. James—Confederate Cavalry Captain, Ku Klux leader, Texas Ranger, and Southwestern cattleman—was no systematic or original thinker; nor, obviously, had he time to be. Yet, for all his lack of intellectual discipline, James was a man of extraordinary perceptiveness. He was aware, perhaps more keenly than most of his equally unsophisticated contemporaries, of the changes taking place in American society during the last half of his life, and he spent much time pondering their meaning. In two small books of reminiscences, essays, and public speeches published at Roswell, New Mexico, toward the end of his long life, he recorded his opinions about a variety of current social and political phenomena.¹ However crude his writings may appear to be, they remain nonetheless of considerable interest to the historian of American ideas, the more so because as a Southwestern frontiersman, James represents a group of active men who rarely left written records revealing their social philosophy. Quite understandably, James enjoyed no direct contacts with the intellectuals of his day. His books may thus be read as the independent account of an essentially artless man's reaction to the rapid alterations that were occurring in American society during the half century that followed the Civil War. It is necessary to emphasize, however, that since no other

* New Mexico Military Institute

1. Jason W. James, *Memorable Events in the Life of Captain Jason W. James* ([Roswell, N. Mex., 1911]); Jason W. James, *Memories and Viewpoints* (Roswell, N. Mex., 1928).

records of James's life are available, we cannot be certain that the distinctive pattern of thought and action that emerges from the memoirs was implicit in the events. What we can be sure of is that by the time James had reached old age, he assumed that the pattern had existed, and he arranged the record of his life to accord with it.

Jason James, writing and speaking in the first decades of the twentieth century, was no democrat. The experience of living on the Missouri, Texas, and New Mexico frontiers had not made of him an enthusiast for democratic political institutions. Thoroughly disenchanted with most of the easy clichés of liberal thought (if he ever heard them), James belongs to that company of Americans whose social and political views require them to bear the label "arch-conservative." And, after all, why should James have been other than pessimistic? There was little in his youth to connect him with the faith in romantic democracy and the genial assurance of progress that had appeared to be so characteristic of Americans in their early national period. Indeed, he was produced by a South whose best thinkers had rejected the tenets of Jeffersonian democracy, and he was schooled in the violence of civil war and reconstruction.²

From the end of his childhood until well after his thirtieth year, James was an almost constant participant in the titanic events of war and its aftermath. Born on a Missouri farm in 1843, he attended school fitfully until he was fifteen, when he quit for good. Then he hired out to a wagon train going west to supply Camp Floyd in the Salt Lake country. The next year he traveled with another train to Fort Bridger. In 1861, with the outbreak of war, he enlisted in the Missouri State Guard, and his boyhood was over.³

He served most of the war years with the Confederate Cavalry, first in Missouri, where his force was part of the time under the notorious W. C. Quantrill, and then in Arkansas and northern Louisiana. Much of the fighting he took part in was border action marked by the wholesale destruc-

2. Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought; an Intellectual History since 1815* (New York, 1940), 12-25; Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South* (New York, 1949), 389-390.

3. James, *Memorable Events*, 7-21.

tion of property and the spectacular violence peculiar to warfare that is essentially guerrilla in nature. Toward the end of the war, James was in Louisiana where the unit in which he was then captain fought small bands of Federal soldiers and groups of Negroes organized to protect those northerners who had taken over cotton plantations. When news reached the Louisiana sector that Generals Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston had surrendered, the local planters, as James remembered it, persuaded him to keep his command in order "to remain there and protect them." The Federal commander at Vicksburg soon authorized his status, and for the next few weeks, James later wrote, "I felt all right and safe with my command, and from then on was a dictator in several parishes." By the time of his parole in the summer of 1865, he had developed a youthful self-assurance that enabled him to look back on his war experiences with complete pride and toward the future with sanguine expectation: "I felt a foot higher," he remembered, "and of a great deal more importance in the world."⁴

But his confidence in his own ability was not immediately justified. Afraid to return to Missouri after the war because of his connection with W. C. Quantrill, he raised a few hundred dollars and went into the hardware business with his brother at Bastrop, Louisiana. The venture promptly failed. James might at that time have agreed with the modern historian who wrote that "Louisiana went through a terrific crucifixion" during Reconstruction,⁵ for as James wrote many years later, everything in the state seemed wrong in 1866 and 1867. He thought that political conditions were deplorable, and he knew from costly experience that business was bad. The situation required analysis. No matter how James looked at the factors involved, he always arrived at the same explanation: Negroes, scalawags, and carpetbaggers were responsible for throwing the times out of joint. Negroes could vote, and many whites could not; Federal troops controlled the elections in each parish, and Negroes

4. *Ibid.*, 21-27. The quotations are on pp. 86-87.

5. E. Merton Coulter, *The South during Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 352.

couldn't be convicted of crimes they were guilty of; carpet-baggers held the important state offices, and worst of all, they collected the taxes. "Business was almost at a standstill," James remembered, "confidence was destroyed and we realized that something must be done. We could not stand to be dominated by a lot of renegades and negroes." The solution, of course, was the organization of the Ku Klux Klan. "The best way to fight the devil,' " James philosophized, " 'is with fire.' " ⁶

The Klan's outstanding extra-legal action against "the devil" in Louisiana, so far as James was concerned, took place in 1876. The local leaders had decided that the Democrats must win the fall election no matter what the cost: The goal was good; therefore, any action necessary to attain it was justified. The greatest obstacle to political victory appeared to be the Negro voters who remained loyal to the Radical element. They must in some way be made ineffective. For that purpose James organized his Bulldozers, six companies of about forty men each, who were to operate with the utmost secrecy. Members were ordered to attend Negro political meetings to listen to the proceedings. If they heard a speaker make "an assertion that was not true," they forced him to "correct it then and there" ⁷ From spending four years in the army, James had become accustomed to taking orders and to giving them. His authoritarian attitude now proved helpful in supervising the work of the Bulldozers. He personally took a group of his men at night to warn the leading Negroes in the region that they must either support the Democrats or "move out of the country." When a Republican sheriff became "disagreeable," one of James's delegations went to him "and told him that he had to resign." He was soon replaced by "a good man." ⁸

Shortly before the crucial election, some of the Negroes in James's parish were summoned to a Republican meeting to be held at Monroe. James promptly called together a company of forty men and started after them. Before the chase was over, the Negroes had raised an ambush from which they

6. James, *Memorable Events*, 89-90.

7. *Ibid.*, 91-93.

8. *Ibid.*, 93-94.

opened fire on their pursuers. James's force charged, "killed several, wounded a few and made several prisoners . . .," but most of the quarry escaped into a cane brake. Reinforcements for James soon arrived to the number of three hundred, including the sheriff and "many of the most conservative men." When some of the more cautious citizens took James aside to warn him not to allow his men to kill any of their captives, James responded that "it does not set very well with me to be ambushed by a lot of negroes and get no satisfaction for it." He had his captives thrown in jail, however, instead of killing them; and after they had supplied him with certain information that he wanted, he allowed them to be released.⁹

This was the most violent action James chose to record from his Reconstruction experience, but it was hardly the most clever. As election day approached, James and his friends began to fear that the voters in one of the wards in their parish would not vote "right." James engineered a special ruse to save the day. On the Saturday night before election, he broke into the registrar's office and stole all of the unused voter-registration blanks. These he filled out in imitation of the originals. He then dressed four of his men in the uniforms of the United States Army and sent them at night to visit the homes of Negro voters. Their job was to persuade the Negroes to exchange their genuine registration papers for the bogus ones. "The first night they got more than 300 genuine registration papers," reported James.¹⁰

With the election of 1876, Louisiana once more came into the political control of white Democrats. James, who had contributed his share to the victory, took no more part in politics. He now occupied himself in turn as a farmer, a partner in a firm supplying timber for railroad construction, the manager of the Roswell (New Mexico) Land and Water Company, and a Texas cattle rancher. None of these activities, however, allowed him to outgrow his martial past. Indeed, James never quite got over the Civil War; perhaps no one who lived through it did. His war experience was, after all, the great event of his life, and, like Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., his

9. *Ibid.*, 95-100.

10. *Ibid.*, 101-103.

heart was "touched with fire." But in James the fire remained chiefly as an old soldier's nostalgia for things military, a respect for force, and an almost childish desire to have society recognize in him the valiant officer, the martial authority. Violence, as C. Vann Woodward has pointed out, was "if anything more characteristic" of the South after 1876 than before.¹¹ Certainly throughout most of his own life, James retained a penchant for strong, vigorous, even violent, action. Although it was apparently poverty, not necessarily a love for action, that led him to join Company E of the Frontier Battalion of the Texas Rangers in 1884, his activities in that organization followed a pattern already familiar in his life: violence in the name of a worthy cause. One of his adventures in his capacity as Ranger required him to kill a man, and though he was at pains in his memoirs to indicate that he had killed in self-defense, one cannot, even as he reads both the description of the event and the disjoinder, quite blot out the picture of James the border terror burning the houses of Yankee sympathizers, of James the Klansman riding through the Louisiana countryside in pursuit of Negro voters.¹²

James's move to Roswell, New Mexico, in 1892, gave him a chance he had not often enjoyed since 1865 to indulge his military tastes. At Roswell lived Joseph C. Lea, Confederate Colonel and war-time associate of James. A man of considerable local reputation, Lea is credited with being largely responsible for the idea of establishing the New Mexico Military Institute at Roswell and was a member of its first board of regents.¹³ James gloried in his association both with Lea and with the school. He now had a socially respectable opportunity to satisfy his propensity for military affairs. He took a personal interest in the corps of cadets and arranged to give them equipment for target practice at a time when such facilities were not otherwise regularly furnished.¹⁴ In his honor

11. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 155.

12. James, *Memorable Events*, 45, 51, 107-110.

13. James-R. Kelly, *A History of New Mexico Military Institute, 1891-1941* (Albuquerque, 1953), 20n., 9, 18.

14. James W. Willson to Jason W. James, Aug. 21, 1907, *Superintendents' Letter Books*, no. 15, Willson Hall, New Mexico Military Institute, Roswell; James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 78-80.

the Institute's superintendent named the awards for excellence in marksmanship the "James Medals." James reciprocated by providing funds for the granting of the medals in perpetuity, and as an additional gesture, he presented his portrait to the school.¹⁵

James frequently used the occasion of the presentation of his medals to deliver an address to the assembled corps of cadets. Often these were developed around a military theme. In a speech delivered at the New Mexico Military Institute in the spring of 1909 on "The Need for Military Preparedness," he informed the cadets that while Americans had been busy developing the arts of peace, aggressive nations had produced "breech-loading artillery, rapid-fire guns, smokeless powder, battleships, submarines and hundreds of other death-dealing instruments . . ."¹⁶ It was perhaps natural that James, having recognized the existence of an armaments race, should adopt as his own some of the swaggering posture in international affairs assumed by the United States during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt. "The strong military governments," he once told the Institute cadets, "are today, and will remain, the rulers of the earth, besides [*sic*] whom the political governments are and will continue to be powerless to oppose, and they will be compelled to submit to all demands and exactions made on them."¹⁷ Probably this was his explanation for the Southern defeat in 1865; certainly the moral he intended to teach the new generation was clear. The United States ought to become "military" and cease being primarily "political."

If James easily accepted the necessity for America's large role as a world power, he accepted as willingly the industrialization that had made such a role possible. Perhaps the most striking change in the United States during James's lifetime was the growth of the giant manufacturing industries that had come to dominate great sections of the country. Some of the leaders of the South, likewise smitten by business, proclaimed their region the "new South," and dreamed of the day the factory system would contend with their

15. James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 81-82.

16. *Ibid.*, 164.

17. *Ibid.*, 182.

agrarian economy. James, an intensely practical man, an admirer of ingenuity, ambition, and initiative, welcomed these changes. At the same time a streak of conventional sentimentality impelled him to admit his regret for the passing of the old, simpler society.¹⁸ It was, however, nostalgia for the yeoman farmer class that he felt. James was never a mourner for the Lost Cause; he did not weep for the antebellum South. At no time himself a member of the planting aristocracy, James shared only a part of its ideals. He could not, therefore, after the passing of years and upon mature reflection, regret that the Civil War had been fought. Disastrous though it had seemed at the time, the War had proved in the long run a blessing for the South, "a step," wrote James, and much of nineteenth-century thought echoes in the phrase, "in the march of progress."¹⁹ True, the war had had certain unfortunate long-term results. The Negroes' morals had been worsened, they were less happy, they died sooner than in the beneficent days of slavery. (James could accept such an analysis as easily as any other Southerner.) And in the North the War had created a horde of pension seekers who were responsible for much of the corruption that had lately crept into the government. But when all of this had been admitted, one could still insist that it was for the best that the War had been fought and that the South had lost—and here James differed most sharply from the stereotyped Southerner, was most like the prophets of the "new South." The War, he thought, had freed the South from domination by the agrarian-aristocratic ideal. Its young men, finally emancipated from their bondage of indolence and ease, were now hastening to create a new South in the image of the conquering North. James approved of what he saw. He was, in short, thoroughly pleased with the material achievements of his day, and his pleasure was the greater because he believed that the historical events in which he himself had participated could be credited with their accomplishment.²⁰

Such a thing as material progress does exist. James was as sure of it as were Americans generally. Certainly the evi-

18. *Ibid.*, 103-104.

19. James, *Memorable Events*, 142.

20. *Ibid.*, 139-143.

dence of its work was all about for everyone to see—in the reaper, the automobile, the irrigated farms surrounding Roswell. Yet James could not bring himself to agree that all was right with the world. After all, had “progress” made Americans “better citizens and better neighbors, happier and more contented” than they were in 1843, the year of his birth?²¹ James decided that the answer was probably no. He remained unconvinced that “all of our fine schools with the moral teachings they are supposed to inculcate” had been able to make men “better and more honest than they were.” The population of the country was simply lacking in the elements of morality. Witness, for example, the “pension grabs” of the 1880’s and 1890’s.²²

A reservation as to the fundamental goodness of man lay at the root of James’s pessimism. It did not leave him, and as he grew older, his doubt became conviction. This was not, however, a conventional Christian belief in original sin and imperfection; nor was it the result of any Melvillian obsession with doubt and insecurity. America and Americans, like the Romans of the Republic, had once been virtuous, James believed. The Founding Fathers had created a nearly perfect government, but that government had soon fallen into a decline. Worse and worse times had succeeded the days of its youth until now corruption was everywhere. “In 1913 hell broke loose,” he declared.²³ By 1920 he had become convinced that the country had taken the road to national, perhaps racial, ruin.²⁴

James’s dark view was prompted by the political changes that had occurred during the administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. Although James could enthusiastically approve the foreign policies of this period, he adjudged the constitutional achievements of the Progressive Era to be merely additional flagrant examples of the contemporary degradation. A prime purpose of state and national legislation during the two decades before the first World War had been to establish a greater degree of political democracy, apparently upon

21. . *Ibid.*, 141.

22. *Ibid.*, 148-149.

23. James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 92.

24. *Ibid.*, 94-95.

the premise that the ills and inadequacies of American democracy could be cured by administering larger doses of democracy. With such a point of view James was in total disagreement. He finally allowed himself to conclude that universal democracy itself was a mistake, its results all grievous.²⁵ This verdict, so extreme for an American of his day, although hardly unique, had been reached partly because of the racialism that James had espoused. The first decade of the twentieth century saw throughout the nation a vast increase in the popularity of such views. Those were the years that "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman was touring the Chautauqua circuit spreading his opinions of the Negro's inferiority. At the same time, Tom Watson was writing in *Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine* about the menace of the Negro. Charles Carroll's work, "*The Negro a Beast*": or, "*In the Image of God*," was published in 1900. Thomas Dixon's anti-Negro novel, *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*, appeared in 1905, and Robert W. Shufeldt's *The Negro, a Menace to American Civilization* in 1907.²⁶ Obviously James did not arrive at his prejudices in isolation.

James, however, did not limit his attacks to the Negro. He was an enemy to all non-Nordics, whose biological inferiority he took for granted. Exactly where he acquired this idea cannot now be determined. It was, in any case, not an uncommon opinion among Americans at the turn of the century. His views of the superiority of the "Nordic race" constitute a generalized reflection of the works of J. A. Gobineau, H. S. Chamberlain, and Madison Grant, whose books were either published or re-issued shortly before James began expressing views similar to theirs.²⁷

Scarcely a hint of these sentiments appears in James's *Memorable Events* published in 1911, but they provided him with a major theme for his *Memories and Viewpoints* written in the 1920's. By that time, James had been captivated by the view that the Anglo-Saxon or Nordic is a superior crea-

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 95, 133-134.

²⁶ Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 352.

²⁷ For a discussion of racialism in the United States, see Harvey Wish, *Society and Thought in Modern America, a Social and Intellectual History of the American People from 1865* (New York, 1952), 423-425.

ture beside whom the Mediterranean races, to say nothing of the African and Oriental, are distinctly inferior. Such evils as existed in the United States of his day James believed might properly be charged to these races. Universal suffrage had been the device by which the lesser breeds had secured political control of the country. Progressive legislation had only allowed them to work greater damage. Their intent from the very first had been sinister. Representatives of the Mediterranean races had created the abolitionist agitation of the preceding century in order to "destroy the Nordic race" in a great civil war.²⁸ It was they who were responsible for disastrously altering the constitution in the first two decades of the twentieth century. They were always trouble makers, disturbers of the peace, if not downright depraved; and if their influence were not curbed, universal destruction was bound to follow. "Anglo-Saxon civilization will stand as long as the constitution of the United States stands," James warned. "When that constitution falls, Anglo-Saxon civilization will fall." "All mongrel races of people have had a short life," he added. "Will this government be an exception? I cannot think so."²⁹

When Bastrop, Louisiana, had been in distress some fifty years earlier, James had known what to do. He had joined the Ku Klux Klan and resorted to the use of extra-legal methods in order to save society. Now when the United States and all the rest of Western civilization seemed to him to be in peril, James repeated the action. He became a member of the Pioneer Klan number 15 in Roswell and took a leading part in its work during the 1920's. The Klan in its modern, revived form, reported one Southerner in a spirit of unfairness, was "the fun-making social side of the Masons"³⁰ However inaccurate and exaggerated such a generalization may be, James, at least, thought of the two organizations as partners, bulwarks against the onslaught of foreigners and Roman Catholics. He was a member of both societies in Roswell, and the speeches he delivered to them

28. James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 146.

29. *Ibid.*, 92, 100.

30. Quoted by Raymond Brooks in *El Paso Times*, Sept. 28, 1954.

indicate that he thought of their purposes as practically identical.³¹

"The members of the orders of the Ku Klux Klan are the Nordics of America today," James declared. "They are the foundation upon which rests its civilization, and are responsible for the leading position we occupy in the world today."³² The purpose of the new Klan, James told its members, "was to preserve and perpetuate the Nordic race, and the Protestant religion . . ."³³ Aside from these grand goals, however, the Klan attempted to promote order and morality in the community. Roswell itself was probably little troubled by violence at the time. Although the local newspaper observed editorially in 1926 that "laws are broken wilfully and boldly every day," it reported in the next issue that the "people of Roswell [had been] extremely law-abiding . . . and serious crimes" were "very rare."³⁴ Nevertheless, there were other things not precisely of a criminal nature for James to worry about. He had developed an almost overpowering fear of the Papacy, and the Roman Catholic element in Roswell was undeniably large and influential. He was worried about radical political theories, and the rumor spread that a secret convention of the Socialist Party of New Mexico had met in Roswell.³⁵ He was interested in protecting the morals of Nordic youth, and moral conditions in Roswell were distressingly lax. In evidence everywhere, said James, were "lewd women, young libertiness [*sic*] with expensive cars, [and] the insidious bootlegger."³⁶

James was equal to the great need. Although he did not this time organize a company to drive out the lewd women and the libertines (he was now past eighty years old), he did deliver little speeches at the meetings of both the Klan and the Masons warning the members of the danger the nation faced from the Pope through his agents, the Knights of Columbus, and from Negroes and non-Anglo-Saxons in general.

31. These speeches make up the last portion of *Memories and Viewpoints*.

32. James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 145.

33. *Ibid.*, 148.

34. *Roswell Daily Record*, July 14, 15, 1926.

35. *Ibid.*, Sept. 31, 1926.

36. James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 161.

He even hinted that the Klan might eventually resort to military action in order to save itself as the agent of civilization. "While we are a unit," he declared, "we can put a larger and better army in the field when necessary than General Pershing had in France."³⁷

James's work for the new Klan may not have been spectacular, but his efforts were appreciated. To show him their respect for what he was now doing and for his services during the years of Reconstruction, the members of the Roswell Klan presented him with a gold "Hero Cross" bearing both the features of General Nathan Bedford Forrest, who had been the first Grand Wizard of the order, and a representation of "the beautiful fiery cross."³⁸

James knew very well that his views on racialism and political democracy were not shared by all the people who listened to his speeches, particularly not by the Masons: ". . . it is perhaps too much for me to expect," he admitted, "that the younger generation of Masons will be able to see things as I see them. . . . Universal suffrage, with all that it implies, appeals to you men as a mark of progress; it does *not so appeal to me.*"³⁹ By the time James died on September 14, 1933, his Klan had been generally discredited, his opinions become a decidedly recessive strand in American thought. Economic dangers and an external menace to democracy led by the "Nordics" of Europe were attracting, or were about to attract, the attention of the country; and the United States had already launched on new national projects in the name of democracy. James's Cassandra-like books, therefore, had little to say to Americans after his death, nor are they likely to prove very appealing today. James remains of interest, however, not for what he did or for whom he may have influenced or even for the substance of his philosophy; but rather, he is of interest because he provides us with evidence of the reaction of one Southwestern frontiersman to the great events and the changing society of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

37. *Ibid.*, 154.

38. *Ibid.*, 156-157.

39. *Ibid.*, 133-134.

A LETTER TO CLIO

By FRANK D. REEVE

Dear Lady. Having a moment to spare, and being in a mood to write, I shall address a few comments to you, long revered Goddess of History, on a recent offering by one of your disciples. It is entitled *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History*. Written by Paul Horgan, a long time resident of Roswell, New Mexico, it was published in two volumes by Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, in 1954.

Seven novels, four items classified as shorter fiction, and four more in history and belles-lettres have come from the same pen. They constitute an enviable record. But his latest work does not do justice to your Mystery, and thereby hangs a tale.

In the preface to *Great River*, Mr. Horgan informs the reader that he "wanted to produce a sense of historical experience, rather than a bare record. This required me wherever possible to see events, societies, movements, through human characters in action. Without, I hope, departing from the inflexible limits of respectful scholarship, I took every opportunity to stage a scene. . . . If here and there I halted the narrative of events to describe various ways and customs of the people, then I had precedent for it; for Herodotus did this, to our enrichment. Only when events are rooted in the soil of the culture might they seem to have true reality."

Mr. Horgan also found inspiration from other writers. One was "The Literary Historian" in the *London Times Literary Supplement* (January 16, 1953), who believes that "Macaulay wrote to stimulate the reader, not to contribute an original piece of research. He wrote, in fact, much as he talked. . . ."

From Aldous Huxley's *Vulgarity in Literature*, Mr. Horgan drew the reflection: "What is the smallest amount of simplification compatible with comprehensibility, compatible with the expression of a humanly significant meaning? It is the business of the non-classical naturalistic writer to dis-

cover. His ambition is to render, in literary terms, the quality of immediate experience. . . ." And from Eugène Delacroix in his *Journal* (July 21, 1850) : "The historian's task appears to me to be the most difficult of all because he needs to give unceasing attention to a hundred and one things at the same time, and must preserve through quotations, precise recitals of events, and facts that are only relatively important, the enthusiasm that gives life to his story and makes it something more than an extract from the newspapers. . . . We need to be very bold. Without daring, without extreme daring, even, there is no beauty. . . . (Translated by Lucy Norton, London, Phaidon Press, 1951)."

Finally, Mr. Horgan confesses that he agrees "with Professor Nevins that the writing of history, in addition to being a technical craft, is also an art. Its proper aim is to produce, in literary form, to whatever degree the author may command, a work of art."

Great River has received wonderful recognition. It is one of "35 books chosen by the American Library Assn., as the 'Notable Books of 1954.'" The author was awarded a Bancroft prize of \$2000 "for distinguished writing on American history," and received the Pulitzer Prize.

In arrangement, the first volume has a subtitle, "Indians and Spain." This in turn is subdivided into Prologue, River-scene; Book one, The Indian Rio Grande; Book Two, The Spanish Rio Grande. Under these headings are a total of forty-nine lesser subdivisions that can be called chapters. Volume two has a similar outline; it also contains a general bibliography. Both volumes have a list of sources for each chapter.

I hope, Mistress Clio, that you will not be too annoyed on learning that the author did not give footnote reference to specific books or pages, at least for quotations. As he writes: "I followed this course not because I did not have precise references for my facts, or because I did not want to share these with the reader; but because it seemed to me more to the reader's advantage to give him the story without diverting his interest to the anatomy of my framework. But of course I must identify my sources, under two obligations:

one is to acknowledge my debt to those authors whose works I have consulted; the other is to provide anyone interested in the source material—its range and authenticity—with general evidence for my statements” (p. ix).

I wish that he had been more interested in “anatomy.”

The critics have judged this publication with varying degrees of enthusiasm. E. W. Foell writes: “Mr. Horgan relishes every detail of his subject, but though this often enables him to sublimate the prosaic, it never forces him to drop the demands of objectivity . . . All of the peoples, as well as their country and river, are recreated with poetry and integrity in this wide-screen history of the Rio Grande.” (*The Christian Science Monitor*, October 14, 1954.)

The distinguished J. Frank Dobie thinks that “Some defects of the book are not as urbane as Mr. Horgan’s irony. The essay on cowboys is more belletristic than realistic. For some readers the long treatment of American pioneers will seem in places redundant and labored, in contrast to the subtle understanding of the reposeful Pueblos. . . . But a work that a fine writer, a gentleman of noble mind, and a painstaking scholar has taken thirteen years to write is not to be finally considered for flaws but for the bounty of life and beauty it holds.” (*New York Times*, October 10, 1954, in *Book Review Digest*).

Walter P. Webb comments: “His acquaintance with the sources, and with individuals along the river and away from it that know them, is amazing.” *** “I would not say in public that he has turned out the most comprehensive and adequate history of an American river, but I will say that he is as good as the best.” (*The Saturday Review*, October 16, 1954).

A fourth one believes that “The author, with many novels and histories of the Southwest to his credit, has released a monument to diligent, painstaking research that is as interesting as it is definitive. The at times almost poetic prose is a joy to read. Recommended for all college, university and large public libraries for circulating and reference collections.” (M. S. Bryan, *Library Journal*, 79:1498, quoted in *Book Review Digest*).

And Stanley Walker: "With the greatest reluctance, it must be argued that the Horgan book, although of high merit in many respects, need not be viewed with either awe or unqualified approbation. In the first place, there is the style. Some people will like it; others, with considerable evidence on their side, are bound to be confused and even embarrassed by its occasional lofty pretentiousness." (*The New Yorker*, December 4, 1954).

Oliver La Farge writes that "Great River is logically and interestingly organized. The writing is extraordinarily well sustained. Not only feeling for the subject and poetic gift but a real craftsman's technique, control and use of restraint are necessary to hold so high a level in a narrative of this length. There is a great deal to be explained, yet the explanations do not lag. Always the story moves." (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, October 10, 1954, p. 1).

One more comment: "In a limpid, smoothly-flowing prose that approximates poetry an author identified with the southwestern U. S. traces the romantic, eventful history of the Rio Grande country. Volume one begins with the Valley inhabitants known only by the dwellings and objects they have left behind, and continues through the Indian and Spanish eras; volume two brings the account up to modern times, with the entrance of Mexico and the U. S. Twenty-page bibliography. A distinguished addition to U. S. history." (*The Booklist*, December 1, 1954, p. 149).

In a magazine (name unknown to me) advertisement by Rinehart & Company, the following comments are printed: "A masterpiece . . . a most remarkable literary achievement."—Tom Lea. "Fuses the imagination of a good novelist with a remarkable sense of a region's character."—*Time*. "The authoritative work on the subject for a long time to come."—Russell Davenport. "Monumental . . . a genuine event . . . A grand sweep of history."—Oliver LaFarge.

I suggest, Dear Lady, that you take some of the above with a grain of salt, especially the words "definitive" and "authoritative work." It is far from being either one.

The physical description of certain areas of the country wherein the story is laid confuses me. An initial statement,

for instance, referring to the whole length of the Rio Grande, so I judge, is as follows: "always visible on either side are reaches of desert . . ." (p. 5). This could not be literally true.

The localized area between the river and the mountains to the east of Albuquerque, a distance of about ten miles, is described as "a band of desert rising far away into a long range of blue mountains . . ." (pp. 113, 124). And yet I read farther on (in reference to this same area): "Cattle and sheep were grazed in the foothills rising away from the bottom lands . . ." (p. 353).

From the Pueblo of Isleta, about thirteen miles south of Albuquerque, travelers "turn west over the desert . . ." (p. 146), so Mr. Horgan writes. And again, "the rocky towns to the west, in the deserts, where Zuñi people lived" (p. 109). (The Zuñi people would not approve of this statement). "There were people always moving on the long trails that went from the western deserts to the eastern plains" (p. 110). And yet the text reads: "Beyond the mountains on each side of the cultivated valley lay immense empires of unworked soil" (p. 549).

Wondering what a desert is in the light of the above statements, I find that it is "a term for those lands which produce insufficient vegetation to support a human population" (*Britannica*, 14th ed.). Or, an unoccupied region—a deserted region. Arid region. Desert rainfall usually less than 10 inches (*Dictionary*). If population is the criterion, a population has lived in and around the Valley for countless generations, according to the story in *Great River*. If rainfall is the criterion, the average annual for New Mexico varies from about 10 inches to 25 inches. In the San Luis valley of south-central Colorado, where run the headwaters of the Rio Grande, the rainfall is about eight inches, possibly nine, and likewise in the lower part of the Valley in New Mexico. And yet *Great River* reads: "Even at its [Rio Grande] high sources the precipitation averages only five inches year-round" (p. 6). A single definition of a desert is not agreed upon among scholars, but aside from this the picture here presented involves too much literary license. As a setting for the story, it is not in harmony.

I might call to your attention also that the text does not reveal care in regard to streams. It states that the "major" tributaries of the Rio Grande in New Mexico are "the Red River, the Chama River, and four great draws that are generally dry except in storm . . . —Galisteo Creek, the Jemez River, Rio Puerco and Rio Salado" (p. 5) ; many pages later you will read that "In the canyon of the Rito de los Frijoles the river is an everflowing stream" (p. 20). This is another tributary between the Rio Chama and Rio Jemez. The Rio Jemez has been used for irrigation for centuries. It is not generally dry, except at the mouth. Taos Creek is marked on the map (p. 12), but is not mentioned in the text. Red River, mentioned in the text, is not marked on the map, nor is the Rito de los Frijoles.

The map draftsman was a bit careless about mapping the trail of Cabeza de Vaca. The author presents Mr. Hallenbeck's interpretation (a sound one) that this sixteenth century traveler moved westward from the Rio Grande valley at a point considerably north of El Paso, but the map (p. 82) marks his route as southwestward from El Paso in keeping with an earlier historical interpretation.

These few comments, Dear Lady, lead me to forewarn you that *Great River* is marred not only by a (1) carelessness of description, but also by (2) questionable statements of historical interpretation, (3) weakness in bibliography, (4) and errors of fact.

(1) For carelessness of description I submit a number of statements from the text. The First Americans, coming across the Bering Strait (or Isthmus), had to move southward "between the sea and the mountains" (p. 13). How far south? If very far, they would have been confronted with very difficult mountain barriers. The better judgment is that they soon moved inland and came southward along the eastward side of the mountains that border the Pacific ocean.

The hulls of Pineda's ships "were perhaps a *third* as long as the masts were high" (p. 86). I doubt it. According to Samuel Morison, the *Santa Maria* (flagship of Columbus) had a mainmast that was *higher* than the length of the hull, measuring the mast from the keel, but the other two masts

were about one-third as high. The height of mainmasts on later day three masters, when actual information is available, was about equal to the length of the hull.

"Seeing in one place a white woman with painted chin . . ." (p. 137), should read an Indian woman who was light (or white) colored. The expression "white woman" implies a member of the Caucasian race. She might have been an albino.

In 1746, Don José de Escandón was selected "to command the settlement of the last Spanish frontier" (p. 340). The shades of Spanish-California pioneers should certainly protest this historical judgment in view of their labors in founding missions and presidios of Upper California in the 1770s.

Travellers left for the West from St. Louis, "floating down to Independence," where the trails began (p. 718). These travellers, of course, took boat *up* the Missouri river to Independence.

At the time of the annexation of Texas to the United States, "she had been guaranteed the right to divide herself by vote of her citizens into as many as five states . . ." (p. 800). The statement is well meant, but not correct. Statehood requires an act of Congress; it is not achieved by a simple expression of Territorial or Texan will. The text of the law reads: four more states "may hereafter, by the consent of said State [Texas], be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution." Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, 2:2.

After a discussion of the establishment of forts in the Valley above El Paso in the 1850s, the text reads: "In later decades Fort Macrae . . . and Fort Selden were added to valley defenses" (p. 812)—a rather vague statement. These two named forts were established in 1869 and 1863 respectively.

"Every small party travelling the road from San Antonio to El Paso was attacked by Comanches . . ." (p. 813). I have read a statement of this sort elsewhere referring to the-year 1852; but I doubt that it would apply to every year; the author may be referring to 1852, but if so his discussion does not make that clear. To generalize so for the decade would be incorrect.

“Private inspiration was also the cause of much public disorder and suffering on the Texas river in the years that bracketted the Civil War . . . it was organized into bands of outlaw Mexicans (sometimes allied with Indians) that killed ranchers and travellers, destroyed property, and stole stock animals.” They were chased by the authorities of the United States and Mexico (p. 834). But on p. 853 one reads: “After the period of relative calm during the Civil War on the border, river outlaws [American and Mexican] came back to dominate the country with more violence than ever.”

Describing the Cliff Dwellers in the Southwest: “In one typical community house fifty million pieces of stone were quarried, carried and laid in its walls” (p. 17). This “typical” house is not named, but in describing the missions of Gran Quivira, I read the following: “Each church and its convent were made of millions of pieces of shaped sandstone, set layer by layer in earth mortar” (p. 261). This time some data is presented for analyzing the statement. The *nave* of the church at Quarái is 102 feet long and 57 feet wide; the ceiling was between 30 and 40 feet above the floor. Mathematical calculation reveals the weakness in the statement concerning the number of stones. And the data is not correct.

L. Bradford Prince (*Missions of New Mexico*) claims that he measured the church and gives the following dimensions: nave 64 feet, transept 24 feet, chancel 15 feet—or a total length for the church of 103 feet. The nave is 27 feet wide, the transept 48 feet, and the chancel at the far end is 8 feet wide. Accepting *Great River's* higher figure for the height of the walls, and without taking into account the area for mud plaster and entrance ways, there were about a quarter-million stones in the church. (Mr. Prince states that the stones varied from one to five inches in thickness and were seldom broader than a foot square). The stones in the convent would not increase the overall total sufficiently to even come close to the figure given by Mr. Horgan.

(2) Another blemish in *Great River* is the number of questionable statements on historical events, despite the desire of the author not to depart “from the inflexible limits of respectful scholarship.” For instance, after discussing the various scholarly suggestions in regard to the abandonment

of the cliff dwellings in the Mesa Verde, he gives full reign to his imagination with the conclusion that "Fear of their gods may well have sent the cliff people from the mesas to the river" (p. 23). Likewise the abandonment of Pecos Pueblo, about 1838, is attributed to the escape of the legendary black snake (p. 22). If one wishes to accept the legend for the end of Pecos Pueblo, the extinction of the fire of Montezuma would be acceptable also. But serious-minded scholars judge that attrition from disease and Comanche attacks were the real factors. I might add that most of the few survivors, around a dozen, migrated to the Pueblo of Jemez, not to one on the "river."

Fray Marcos "saw the city with his own eyes, from a safe distance" (p. 107), is a straightforward acceptance of the Friar's own version of his experience. The weight of scholarly opinion doubts that Fray Marcos saw Cíbola. Even the eminent Professor Bolton did not accept the claim, although he admits that new evidence may come to light some day that will modify the current judgment (*Coronado on the Turquoise Trail*, p. 35). Nor is it correct to write that Estevanico, the advance representative of the Friar, was killed on first arrival at Cíbola because he did not promptly leave at the command of the Indian Chief (p. 107). On the contrary, he was lodged over night and on attempting to flee was killed during the forenoon of the next day, as the Friar states, or three days later according to Castañeda, the historian of the Coronado expedition. (See Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 75, 177, 199).

In describing the battle that led to the subjugation of the Pueblo of Arenal, the mounted soldiers are pictured as making "charges forward on horseback to cover efforts on the ground against the very walls" (p. 124). A charge was made in the battle at Zuñi, but it proved to be fruitless and the men were dismounted to fight better. Why the same tactics should be repeated at Arenal is hard to understand, nor do the sources reveal that a charge was made.

The Battle of Arenal was marked by some extreme examples of brutality in warfare, but it is incorrect to write that Coronado "approved his [Captain Cárdenas] whole

action in the victorious battle" (p. 126). Coronado himself denied responsibility for the brutality, specifically the burning of some Indians. The mature judgment of scholars attribute the cruelty to soldiers stimulated by the heat of battle. (Bolton, *Coronado*, p. 393; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives*, p. 25).

The killing of the Turk, Coronado's guide on the journey to Quivira, was due to more reasons than merely that of lying about the prospects of wealth (p. 141). He also plotted to stir up the Quivira people against the Spaniards and to bring about their destruction by curtailing the supply of corn on which they were dependent. (Bolton, *Coronado*, p. 300f; H. and R., *Narratives*, p. 336).

The only significance granted to the Coronado expedition by Mr. Horgan was that the commander had failed to find "the land of his imagining . . ." (p. 147). But it was not the land of *his* imagining that was not found, but the land of abundant wealth that many believed existed and hoped to find. The Viceroy of New Spain was responsible for sending forth this venture whereby land unknown to the white man was explored along a route from the Colorado river on the west to the present-day state of Kansas, with many a detour between the two points. The Grand Canyon was first seen by white men, the Pueblo people were made known, and the first blood of Christian martyrs was shed on the soil of the United States of America. Professor Bolton devotes nine pages to discussing the significance of the Coronado expedition.

A note of probability (of which I approve) creeps into another judgment in *Great River*. It is in keeping with the doubt, Mistress Clio, that your earliest disciple, Herodotus, sometimes expressed when not sure of his information: "Perhaps more than any one other motive it was a belief in their own inherent greatness that took the men of the Golden Age to their achievements in geography and colonization" (p. 191). You may draw your own conclusion as to the validity of this judgment.

Looking eastward from Tabirá (a pueblo on the southeastern edge of the Manzano mountains) toward "the plains,

where hidden in space lived the quick and starving enemy"—meaning the Apache (p. 262)—is a return to the less critical-minded statements. The Apache on the eastern side of New Mexico lived on the buffalo, a rather secure source of food, and their plight as described does not ring true. Nor does the episode about cannibalism among them, as presented on p. 263. The impression is received that the latter story comes from the letter written by a Friar in 1669, but it originated from a story by Captain Aguilar under date of 1663 (C. W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents . . .*, 3:144). But that is aside the point. The more important aspect is that it can leave the reader with the notion that citizens of Apache descent have a cannibalistic ancestry. That is an extreme judgment and does them an injustice.

Late in the day of August 9, 1680, the Indian governors of Pecos and Taos Pueblos warned Governor Otermín of the pending rebellion of the Pueblo folk, so Mr. Horgan writes. The Governor thanked them. "He then sent warnings to the officials in all Spanish districts. . . . He asked them to muster aid and come to the defense of the capital" (p. 284f). The version in the more authoritative discussion of the subject reads that "On August 9 Otermín learned from the Tanos [not Taos], San Marcos, and La Ciénega chiefs . . ." of the revolt (Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians*, 1:xxvii). He then sent warning messages to the outlying district leaders "that they might exercise the care that the case demands" (*Ibid.*, 1:4).

The uprising of the Pueblo folk in 1680 was precipitated by runners carrying a knotted cord. The Gods had told the rebel leader Popé "to make a cord of maguey fibres 'and tie some knots in it which would signify the number of days' for each pueblo to 'wait before the rebellion.' Each knot was a day apart from the next one. . . . Each pueblo agreeing to the revolt untied its own knot and . . . the runners went on to the next" (p. 296). This is Hallenbeck's interpretation of the knot story (*Land of the Conquistadores*) based on W. W. H. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*. The sensible interpretation of the purpose of the knot, and the one advanced by Hackett (*Pueblo Revolt*, 1:xxvi; 2:234,

246), is that one knot was untied *each day* as the runners traveled their route. Thus each Pueblo would know the number of days remaining and could revolt on the prescribed day.

Great River also reads that "The earliest New Mexico [land?] grant under title was given in 1685" (p. 353). This grant was for a mine (R. E. Twitchell, *Archives of New Mexico*, v. 1). There were land grants prior to the Rebellion of 1680.

"Traders came to Texas, trappers entered northern New Mexico, and by 1804 sixty-eight foreigners had come to Texas to stay" (p. 396). It should be made clear that the few who entered New Mexico were law violators; they were placed in the calaboose for varying lengths of time, or remained in New Mexico under duress.

The statement that "Nolan evidently had the implicit support of the United States . . ." (p. 397) is far too strong, and places our government in a position of positive support of illegal activities. This adventurer into Texas, who operated about the end of the century in catching wild horses, *might* have had the support or encouragement of an American official, namely General Wilkinson, commander on the Southwestern frontier. (Cf. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, 5:232ff; Robles, *Coahuila and Texas*, 1:37; *Texas Handbook*).

"An American lieutenant with a small band of men travelling as traders, and perhaps even as settlers, had been dispatched by General Wilkinson to examine the plains and enter New Mexico from the north" (p. 403). To label this small band of soldiers under command of Lieutenant Zebulon Pike (taken into custody in 1807 by Spanish authorities of New Mexico) as traders or settlers is indeed far fetched. They were enlisted men of the army. They were not provided with trade goods, and least of all could they be described as settlers. The evidence is inadequate to state that they were dispatched to *enter New Mexico*.

For the life of me I cannot understand the statement about the Mexican tariff law of 1830 as applied to Texas. *Great River* reads: "It may have been a measure in retaliation for abuses of the customs laws by the Texans, who for

years had taken advantage of exemption from duty on goods to be used for building the colony to introduce all sorts of other goods in great quantity which they illegally used in commerce" (p. 492). The secondary authorities speak as follows: under the national colonization law of 1823, "the government had granted to the colonists an extension for six years the right of importation for everything they would introduce for their use and consumption, it had not been necessary to establish one single custom-house on the frontier or coast of Texas" (Alessio Robles, *Texas and Coahuila*, 1:401, 105). In John Henry Brown's paraphrase: "As an inducement to immigration, immigrants were to be relieved of all tithes, taxes, impost duties, etc., for six years" under this law (*History of Texas*, 1:110). E. C. Barker and Carlos Castañeda agree with the statement.

By the state law of 1825, "exemption from general taxes for a period of ten years was granted to all settlers" (Barker, *Life of Stephen F. Austin*, p. 198).

The colonization law of 1823 reads: "During the first six years from the date of the concession, the colonists shall not pay titles [tithes?], duties on their produce, nor any contribution under whatever name it shall be called," and instruments and utensils "at the time of their coming . . . shall be free," also merchandise to the value of \$2,000 per family (gammel, *Laws of Texas*, 1:30). The state law stipulated that the settlers should be "free from every contribution under whatever denomination . . .," except in the case of invasion; and their "produce and effect" from agriculture and industry shall pay no duty on transit or sale (*Ibid.*, 1:104, 44).

In a discussion of events during the Texas revolution, the statement appears that "a force of prisoners numbering over three hundred, including the Texan commander Fannin, was under guard at Goliad" (p. 533). But on p. 777 I read that "Santa Anna's subordinates, under his order, massacred five hundred Texans at Goliad after they had surrendered." Colonel Portilla records that there were 445 prisoners, eighty were exempted from execution and the number shot was 365. A recent study lists 352 killed (*Southwestern His-*

torical Quarterly, 43:33; The *Texas Handbook* reads 342).

During the 1830s, under Mexico as under Spain, "organized life clung to the valley of the Rio Grande from Taos to El Paso, leaving the rest of the huge territory virtually without population except for the travelling Indians . . ." (p. 541). The description is misleading. There was a long unsettled area between El Paso and the first of the up-river villages. New Mexico was literally surrounded with Indians. Furthermore the description does not harmonize with the statement that there was a presidial company of soldiers at Santa Fe to protect the northern frontier, "and to deal with civil disturbances throughout a province of over a hundred thousand square miles"! (p. 545). If 400 miles is taken as the estimated distance from the San Luis valley, north of Taos, to El Paso and is multiplied by 40 miles as the estimated average width of the valley, both settled and unsettled parts, and a generous estimate it is, the square mileage is only 16,000.

In New Mexico as of the 1830s, "there were no paupers . . .," because if a man did not have land, he could get sheep on shares (p. 550). But on p. 552 is found the description, "New Mexico in her wretched subsistence economy. . ." A wretched economy without paupers is a contradiction. Josiah Gregg observed "crowds of *léperos*" in Santa Fe (*Commerce of the Prairies*, p. 78 (1954 edition)). I doubt that it was easy to get sheep on shares, or that there were sufficient sheep owners to make a sizable dent in relieving paupers as described above. A description of peonage and slavery in New Mexico at this point would have been appropriate for a picture of the social scene.

The description of military equipment for the same period puzzles me. When Governor Armijo marched against the Texan invaders in 1841, "With him were about a thousand men-at-arms—Mexicans with guns and cutlery, Indians with lances, bows and arrows" (p. 576). On p. 717 the text reads that Mexican laws prohibited the introduction of fire-arms among the population; "But for a handful, ranchers, farmers, and town dwellers were armed only with bows and arrows." More than a "handful" of Mexicans marched against the Texans. I suspect that poverty was the real

reason, not the laws, for the scarcity of firearms among New Mexicans.

The discussion of the declaration of war against Mexico in 1846 (p. 692) is not satisfactory. It reads as though war were dependent on a hostile act by Mexico, and President Polk's diary is cited as authority for the statement. A closer reading of the diary will reveal that a message to Congress recommending a declaration of war was agreed upon Saturday morning, May 11, in cabinet meeting, with the President having stated, and on more than one previous occasion, that there was ample cause for war other than a hostile act. So the presidential decision for war was made before news of the hostile act on the Rio Grande in April reached Washington. This news was subsequently incorporated in the message to bolster the plea for a declaration of war.

"As the American movements of the whole Mexican war, but for the California naval campaign, had been based on the Rio Grande . . ." (p. 774)—this is an odd statement in view of General Scott's major campaign based on Vera Cruz.

President Polk told Congress in December that the United States " 'might have to take the full measure of indemnity into its hands'—which all understood to mean the annexation of the whole of Mexico" (p. 778). This is an exaggerated interpretation of the presidential message. He did not say or mean this, nor did *all* so understand. (The author's quotation, Dear Lady, is from any one of nineteen sources).

"In 1802 the French declared it [Rio Grande] the farthest limit of Louisiana . . ." (p. 780); but not so after the purchase by the United States. According to S. F. Bemis (*Diplomatic History* . . . p. 184, 1941 ed.), France supported Spain diplomatically in the argument over the western boundary of Louisiana. And Jefferson informed Congress, December 6, 1805: "her [France] silence as to the western boundary leaving us to infer her opinion might be against Spain in that quarter."

I also read in *Great River* that President Polk instructed Mr. Trist "not to take a line north of the 32nd parallel," and that he had ignored his instructions (p. 804). The author is

quoting any one of eight sources; I have no intention of trying to find the one that led him astray. Sufficient to say that on April 15, 1847, Mr. Trist was instructed to secure, as the international boundary, the Rio Grande to the "southern" boundary of New Mexico, thence west to the southwest corner of New Mexico, northward to the Rio Gila (far above the 32nd parallel). Later instructions (July 13) called for a line from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the 32nd parallel, thence west and north to the Gila, *or* west to the Gulf of Lower California; *or* (July 19) to the Gulf or the Pacific coast. But the contents of the latter two missives were *not a sine qua non* for a peace treaty. Trist did violate his instructions in one particular, but no agreement thereby was made with the Mexican government; and in later negotiations he secured the Gila boundary line.

"To guard a fifteen-hundred mile frontier containing fifty thousand Indians—of whom over twenty thousand were actively hostile—New Mexico in 1854 had a total of sixteen hundred and fifty-four officers and men, scattered among less than a dozen forts (p. 806). I count five forts along the river in New Mexico in 1854, including Fort Bliss. But the length of the frontier as stated must mean the inclusion of the Rio Grande to its mouth! There were five additional forts along the river in Texas. I might add that there was not a frontier *line* in New Mexico in the 1850s. Uncle Sam's fighting men had established forts in the *midst* of the Indian country, so there were more than just the ones along the river. And there were not 50,000 Indians in New Mexico at that time.

"Each fort on the border river had units of artillery, infantry and mounted infantry, a band, quartermaster's and ordnance departments, occasionally a chaplain; and invariably a component of laundresses—some of whom were soldiers' wives . . ." (p. 807). This is a too ideal picture of border forts. A unit of artillery was not stationed at each fort, nor was it needed. Each fort did not have a band. The term "mounted infantry" is too restrictive for the period under discussion. The Dragoon was also the mounted man of the army. Laundress? *Quien sabe*.

In regard to the famous camel experiment in the South-

west, Mr. Horgan states that an Inspector General of the Army inspected the animals "and approved the first stage of the experiment, which was to keep them for breeding" (p. 810). But Lesley states that "Major Wayne seems to have misunderstood his orders, for he was roundly scolded by the Quartermaster-General at Washington for expecting to experiment with camel-breeding rather than determine on the fitness of the animals for military service" (*Uncle Sam's Camels*, p. 11). Their subsequent fate was much more involved and interesting than is pointed out in *Great River*.

That New Mexico did not encourage slavery in the 1850s, the author states, was indicated by the small number, some twenty-two in all (p. 821). Does he imply anti-slavery sentiment? There was little need for Negro slavery in the Territory due to the local practice of peonage and a supply of cheap non-peon labor. Sentiment in favor of paving the way for the introduction of Negro slaves when wanted was revealed when a pro-slavery law was passed by an overwhelming majority in the Territorial legislature in 1859. A legislative committee reported the following year that "We have room enough and employment enough for all that will come." The Civil War ended the discussion. (The subject is treated in Loomis M. Ganaway, "*New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861*", Santa Fe, 1944).

The discussion of the Indian problem in Book Four, Chapter 36, leaves me unimpressed. The Peace Policy of the Government is confused with the policy of placing Indians on reservations. The latter was started in California and Texas in the early 1850s and abortive attempts were made in New Mexico later in the decade. The Peace Policy was adopted in the first administration of President Grant as an alternative to the Indian wars. The Army took temporary control of the numerous reservations until a new group of Indian agents, nominated by various Churches, could be appointed to office. Therefore the statement that, "In 1867, either by treaty, or by direct order of the President of the United States, the Plains Indian nations were limited to reserved lands. The borderland tribes were assigned to the Indian Territory . . ." (p. 852), leaves an unsound notion in

the mind of the reader. If the term "borderland" tribes refers to the Ute, Navaho and the bulk of the Apache people, the Indians more closely associated with the story of the Rio Grande in New Mexico, it is certainly incorrect. Scarcely a handful of these Indians ever saw the Indian Territory (a part of present-day Oklahoma).

A fairy tale is still passed along in Mr. Horgan's discussion of Judge Roy Bean, popularly associated with the expression "law west of the Pecos." "His village, first called Vinegaroon, Texas, he renamed in her honor," that is, the famous actress, Lily Langtry (p. 904). The sounder version of the story reveals that Vinegaroon and Langtry were two different locations and the latter was named for a man associated with building the railroad across West Texas. The available evidence is found in Ruel McDaniel, *Vinegaroon: The Saga of Judge Roy Bean . . .*; Everett Lloyd, *Law West of the Pecos: The Story of Roy Bean*; C. L. Sonnichsen, *Roy Bean*; *Texas Handbook*. (None of these is listed in the bibliography of *Great River*).

In 1914, during the aftermath of the Huerta revolution in Mexico, some American sailors were taken into custody by Mexican soldiers in a restricted area at Tampico. The detachment had made an innocent mistake. "They were released in two hours," so *Great River* reads, "and General Huerta hastened to explain that . . . his soldiers had only done their duty" (p. 914). This was not so. General Huerta did not hasten to explain anything. The local commander, Zaragoza, made the explanation, but the incident developed into a full-blown diplomatic incident between Huerta and the Government of the United States. A serious situation was finally relieved when the ABC powers offered to mediate, an offer that was accepted by the two contentious powers.

(3) I have had a special interest, Mistress Clio, in the history of the Navaho people for some time, so a statement on p. 743 was intriguing from the standpoint of bibliography: on the day of General Doniphan's departure from Santa Fe, October 26, 1846, "the Navajos, as though to confirm the need of his discipline, raided the old river villages south of Albuquerque—Tomé, Valencia and the rest—killing many

people and driving off five thousand sheep from the valley farms" (p. 743).

I wanted to know the source of information for this raid, but it was difficult to find. The chapter bibliography in *Great River* lists nine items. I judged that two of them would not be pertinent. Five others did not contain the facts (and remember, Dear Lady, there are no specific citations to page numbers). A secondary source (Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, p. 23) reads: General Kearny left Santa Fe, September 25, 1846, "They [the Navaho] trailed his beef herd and stole several head from it at Algodones, 23 miles north of Albuquerque. They raided settlements at various places between Albuquerque and Polvadera; killed seven or eight settlers, and stole thousands of cattle, sheep and horses. Kearny learned of the raids at La Joya." Polvadera is about 60 miles south of Albuquerque.

Keleher cites Emory's *Report*, which states, under date of October 2, that a message was received at La Joya that 40 Navahos had passed the Rio Grande the previous night; on the 3rd, a New Mexican arrived in camp and reported an attack on Polvadera; on the 4th about 100 Indians had driven off all the horses and cattle; they retreated with the "cattle & goats," but were cut off by pursuers. They slaughtered as many as possible of the cattle and goats and scampered away with the horses and "mules."

In Hughes, *Doniphan Expedition*, p. 79f, 1847 edition (a book not listed in the chapter bibliography), I found the following statements: about November 3, 1846, soldiers at Isleta were informed by the Pueblo residents that about three days previous the Navahos had seized one woman, five children, great number of sheep, cattle, mules, and had killed eight Mexicans and Pueblos. They were pursued with some success. Under date of October 2 (*Ibid.*, p. 83), at La Joya, Kearny ordered Doniphan to the Navaho country. He had been informed when near Socorro that Navahos had recently crossed the mountains, killed seven or eight men, taking as many more women and children prisoners, and had driven off 10,000 sheep, cattle, and mules.

The statement in *Great River* is a rather loose comment in view of the sources cited.

Becoming fearful lest I couldn't see the forest for the trees, I decided to investigate fully one chapter, selecting Book Two, Chapter 38, entitled "Hacienda and Village" (pp. 352-390). Thirty-three items are listed in the chapter bibliography (no specific citations to the sources, *caramba*). The description is for eighteenth century New Mexico. Three of the items listed are general histories and cannot be drawn upon safely for this isolated frontier province of New Spain. They are Madariaga's *Rise of the Spanish American Empire* and *Fall of the Spanish American Empire*. Mr. Horgan uses one quote from Humboldt via the first named book; it is of doubtful value for New Mexico. The third item is Priestley's *The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848*.

Four other works provide little insight for this century: Benavides' *Revised Memorial of 1634*, Perez de Villagra's *History . . .*, Bolton's *Coronado . . .* and *The Spanish Borderlands*.

Three eighteenth century works are valid, but furnish little information; Hackett's *Historical Documents . . .* (v. 3), Twitchell's *Spanish Archives*, and an excellent item based on research but of little assistance for Mr. Horgan, namely, Fray Angelico Chavez, *Our Lady of the Conquest*.

The balance of this chapter bibliography consists of twentieth century publications. Some of them are of no value whatsoever for the purpose listed. A few are good studies within their own limitations, but again not reliable for eighteenth century history. When documentation appears, it is nineteenth century sources, usually observations by Americans who appeared on the scene nearly a century and a half after the re-establishment of Spanish control in New Mexico.

"Hacienda and Village," in relation to the bibliography, is largely a figment of the imagination. If traditions among New Mexicans of Spanish ancestry were drawn upon, credit is not given.

While discussing bibliography, Dear Lady, I shall add a few more comments at this point. The discussion of the Penitentes in New Mexico (p. 376f) is confused. The author did not have the benefit of Fray Angelico Chavez, "The Penitentes of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 29:97, because it was published too late. But he does credit

Fray Angelico with a reading of *Great River* in manuscript, so I cannot account for the confusion. The worthy Fray has published the best account of the Penitentes based on research.

Poor Doña Bárcelo takes another beating; the Lady "who presided over much of the vice of Santa Fe . . . with her wig and false teeth" (p. 762). I hope that future writers will pay more attention to a closely reasoned revision of this person's character and place in New Mexican history (see Fray Angelico Chavez in *El Palacio*, 57:227-34).

For the seventeenth century part of *Great River*, the several studies of France V. Scholes on New Mexico, published in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, should not have been overlooked, nor the initial study of Oñate by George P. Hammond (*Ibid.*). The eighteenth century still awaits much historical research, but any beginner in the period should read H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, and C. F. Coan, *History of New Mexico*.

The description of New Mexican government in the Mexican period is quite inadequate. L. B. Bloom, in *Old Santa Fe* (a magazine, not Twitchell's book) should be read. Additional articles, although not as thorough as might be desired, can be found in late volumes of the *New Mexico Historical Review*. Important for the whole period of *Great River* are the several regional journals of history, especially *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, and occasional periodical articles published in more general magazines of history.

(4) Well, Dear Lady, returning again to the text of *Great River*, I shall make a few more comments.

For instance, Henry VIII's essay written in defense of the Church at the time of the Protestant Reformation was published in 1521, not in 1519 (p. 84).

"A few elite soldiers handled the heavily chased flintlock muskets . . ." on the Pineda expedition to the Rio Grande (p. 88). The year 1519 was too early for the flintlock; it was invented about a century later (*Britannica*, 14th ed.)

Fray Marcos did not return to Mexico by "early summer," as the text reads, from his journey to find Cíbola (p. 106). That was too early to complete the round trip. He arrived home in *late* summer.

Coronado in the battles at Zuñi did not wear "a helmet of gold" (p. 109). Elsewhere the author refers to *gilded* armor which is more accurate according to the sources. Gold would not make a good protective headpiece anyway in comparison with iron.

Enroute from Zuñi to the Rio Grande, Alvarado "passed other towns, notably Ácoma . . ." (p. 113). The "other towns" were old ruins. (cf. Bolton, *Coronado*, p. 182f; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives*).

"Cárdenas came to the twelve towns of Tiguex, and near the most southerly, on the west bank . . .," prepared camp opposite Bernalillo (p. 115). The author has followed Bolton (*Coronado*, p. 193) in this statement, but there were probably fifteen pueblos and the camp site was nearer the northern border of Tiguex province (cf. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives*, p. 22 note).

"The royal treasuries had supported the expenses" of the Coronado expedition (p. 147). On the contrary, it was what might be termed a joint-stock company venture. Viceroy Mendoza and Coronado were heavy investors and lost accordingly. Spanish rulers in general did not pay for exploring the New World.

Alexander VI (the Pope) did not give all the New World to the King and Queen of Spain in 1493 (p. 177). Portugal, according to the original line of demarcation, received the tip of Brazil and, the following year, a larger part by the Treaty of Tordesillas, a more significant act than the so-called "gift" of the Pope. For a fuller discussion see Silvio Zavala, *New Viewpoints on the Spanish Colonization of America*, 1943.

The Indians were taught "more often in the Indian tongues which the Friars learned rapidly . . ." (p. 181). Unfortunately, the Friars in New Mexico were very lax about learning the Indian languages.

The discussion of the *encomienda* is incorrect (p. 241). It was a system of tribute from the Indian to the *encomendero* for the support of the latter who in turn rendered service in defense of the province. (Zavala, *op. cit.*)

In New Mexico, the "Governors came and went every three years with the supply trains . . ." (p. 245). Neither the

Governors nor the trains were that regular; and the discussion of the trains (p. 268) is incorrect in other respects. (cf. F. V. Scholes, *op. cit.*). Fray Ysidro Ordóñez was not in Taos when he quarreled with Governor Peralta in 1613 (p. 245). The issue arose at the Pueblo of Nambé where he met the soldiers and countermanded orders of the Governor.

“the old colony left El Paso for the north. All their difficulties in the undertaking were by now familiar ones . . .” (p. 316). The resettlement of New Mexico by De Vargas was not accomplished quite so easily. Many of the old settlers did not return; they were *too* familiar with the difficulties. (cf. J. Manuel Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande.*)

Nor is it correct to write that De Vargas, when imprisoned by Governor Cubero, “lived isolated in his cell like a criminal” until released (p. 319); at least not unless the author has better sources of information than Espinosa (*op. cit.*). The confinement of De Vargas was not so rigorous.

It is not correct to write that on April 23, 1706, Santa Fe “decreed” the establishment of Albuquerque (p. 328). The document referred to is a letter from the Governor of New Mexico to the Viceroy stating that the new villa *had been* founded. By the above date the settlers were established in their new homes. Incidentally, El Paso was not a royal town—it was the site of a mission and a presidio. It could be referred to by the Spanish word *real* because the word means a military site or encampment.

After discussing the founding of Albuquerque, the text reads: “Bernalillo was already six years old” (p. 329). The former was founded in 1706. According to Espinosa, the date for Bernalillo is late 1695. However, there were settlers in that locality during the seventeenth century, prior to the Rebellion.

A mid-eighteenth century census estimated a population of 771 households, comprising approximately 10,000 people (p. 348). Household is not usually cited as the basis for population. Bishop Tamarón's census of 1760 lists 1517 *families* or 7665 persons, not counting the Pueblo folk. There are various enumerations for the century (see Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*).

San Marcos, Texas, was founded in 1806 (if I read the text correctly), "as an outpost against organized American intrusion. It was the old design that had been followed over Texas so often before; and it suffered a familiar fate" (p. 402). The town was founded in 1808 (*Texas Handbook*; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, 5:315, 333; 6:56). Its fate was that of abandonment after a few years; otherwise I cannot understand the statement.

Mier and Terán (which should read Mier y Terán) "established a dozen or so military posts in Texas . . ." (p. 493). What this Mexican leader did was to establish five (maybe six) new garrisons and strengthen three long established (Robles, *op. cit.*, 1:373; Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 326).

"No new pueblos and only a few Mexican towns were founded after the turn of the nineteenth century. Above Taos, Arroyo Hondo, in 1823, and Questa, in 1829, were added to the Mexican communities" (p. 542). This statement overlooks the Mexican settlements in the San Luis Valley (present-day state of Colorado); the settlements at Doña Ana, Las Vegas, Carñuel, Tijeras, Cebolleta, and Anton Chico.

In presenting a picture of New Mexico in the 1830s, the author writes: "A farm here, a flour mill there, a lumberyard, a brickkiln, a tannery . . ." (p. 551). This is much overdrawn. There was scarcely a piece of sawed lumber in all New Mexico prior to the American occupation, and I assume that is the kind referred to by the word *lumber yard*. The sun dried brick, or adobe, was the common building material. There were at least two and possibly more flour mills.

Texans would not like the statement that General Houston was their first President (p. 586). They credit David Y. Burnet with that distinction, and rightfully so.

Mr. Snively, in the name of the Texas Republic, planned to attack a rich caravan from Santa Fe to St. Louis in 1843, "which on its return trip from Saint Louis was accompanied by Governor Armijo in his amplitude" (p. 600). The Governor did not accompany the caravan.

When trying to stave off war with Mexico in 1845-46, Mr. Horgan writes that the American diplomatic representa-

tive was instructed to secure as a boundary line the Rio Grande from its mouth to El Paso, thence due west,—Mexico to receive \$25 million in compensation; “and in addition,” the Rio Grande from mouth to source, the United States to assume debt claims against Mexico to a minimum of \$2 million (p. 606). The statement not only is incorrect, but doesn’t make sense on its face. In the first place, Dear Lady, please substitute the word *or* for the phrase “and in addition.” They were two separate and distinct alternative offers. But that is not all. President Polk offered Mexico *four* separate propositions. The minimum was Mexican acceptance of the Rio Grande as the boundary from mouth to source, thence north to the 42 parallel, in return for American payment of American monetary claims against Mexico, the amount to be adjudicated. This could have prevented war if the Mexican government had been in a position to accept it. The propositions are clear in W. R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, 8:182f.

Francisco García Conde is named as one of two interim governors of New Mexico between the second and third terms of Manuel Armijo (p. 716). José Chávez y Castillo, not Conde, was the second of the two.

“At Querétaro on May twenty-fifth [1848] the treaty was ratified by the Mexican government . . . and ratifications were exchanged. . . . In the same month . . . gold was discovered at Sutter’s Fort . . .” (p. 780). The discovery of gold in California occurred on January 24, 1848, and the treaty was *signed* February 2.

The Gadsden Purchase, 1853, included the town of Mesilla “and also Lemitar,” where Manuel Armijo died; “He did not live to see his remaining property formally annexed with southern New Mexico” (p. 805). He could not have witnessed such an action if he had lived; Lemitar was not within the Gadsden Purchase.

In the Purchase, since the War with Mexico, there was “an unremitting terror laid down by Apache, Comanche and Lipan Indians . . .” (p. 806). The Comanche and Lipan did not raid in the area of the Purchase; they lived far to the eastward.

"When first the Apaches and later the Navajos broke out of the reservation [the Bosque Redondo on the Rio Pecos], they were allowed to return to their old lands" (p. 833). These two peoples were placed on this one reservation in 1863-64. They did not get along together for several reasons, so the Apache decamped in 1865 and were not brought back by the military. The Navahos were returned to their homeland by terms of a treaty with the United States negotiated in June, 1868; not because they "broke out" (only a few did so), but for other reasons. (See *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 13).

"The Texas and Pacific reached eastward from San Diego to El Paso in 1877 . . ." (p. 886) is not an accurate statement. This railroad was constructed westward through Texas and never reached a point farther than 90 miles east of El Paso. There it joined with the Southern Pacific railroad which was built eastward from the Colorado river at Yuma.

The statement that "the first World War began in Europe" on August 4, 1914 (p. 917) is certainly an over simplification. Austria declared war on Serbia, July 28; Germany declared war on Russia, August 1; Germany declared war on France, August 3; the British ultimatum to Germany expired at midnight on August 4.

A few statements in *Great River* might be described as the romantic version of history, or a love of the lurid, selections I assume intended to heighten reader interest in keeping with Mr. Horgan's professions in the Preface. This in itself is not bad, but the implications as historical interpretation or judgment are not sound. For instance, in a striking, interesting description of the Spanish crew of Pineda's ship (p. 87), they are all brunettes. I am surprised in view of Spain's cultural heritage that there was not at least one blonde.

When Otermín made his re-entry into New Mexico after the retreat of 1680, he gave up the attempt at reconquest when informed of the plan of the Indians at Cochiti to massacre his advance party while they were being seduced during the night by a bevy of maidens assembled for that purpose. "The whole seventy men were in mortal danger" (p. 296).

This interpretation does not jibe with the belief of the Spanish "in their own inherent greatness" (p. 191). The story can be found in the source material, but it sounds silly to me. Furthermore, a more valid reason for the failure of the expedition can be found in the same documentary source.

Great River presents a sharp contrast in the Mexican character between the colonial and post-independence period. "The politics of the new nation seemed to care little for the individual human life [beginning in 1821]. Such indifference was deeply rooted in the sacrificial rites of the ancient sun priests," etc. (p. 456). Indifference to the individual human life in the *Colonial* period seems well attested in the preceding pages of the book.

"An observant citizen was convinced . . ." that the decline in Pueblo Indian population by the 1830s was due to "an abuse which is deeply rooted among Indian women; they refuse to bear more than four children; they succeed in this matter by drinking certain beverages which they prepare for that purpose" (p. 542). I think that this conviction exceeds the powers of observation; it cannot be substantiated, of course, but colleagues of mine, more learned in the history of Pueblo folk, tell me that this statement is, well, to put it mildly, nonsense. Incidentally, "the observant citizen" was Antonio Barreiro, *Ojeada . . .*, 1832, not Bautista Pino, *Exposición . . .*, 1814, as cited by Mr. Horgan.

The statement that the Rio Grande boundary line was won by the "whole American nation . . .," etc. (p. 781) overlooks the sharp political cleavage in the country over the war with Mexico. Even Abraham Lincoln was a caustic critic of the "Democrats" war. The author accepts Walt Whitman's patriotic interpretation too literally.

Great River informs the reader that the army tried to solve the Indian problem by making peace with them; each commander tried it. At peace scenes Indians camped in tepees. After a treaty was signed, "The soldiers relaxed, and a few drifted among the Indians to see them closely, and discover if they carried gold bullets; and if so, as many did, to trade a dozen leaden balls for one gold. By dark the soldiers were back in their own camp . . ." (p. 814). I would like to

know the source of this yarn. The way it is told implies that it was a regular occurrence in treaty making. I rifled through four of the twenty books cited for the chapter, but wearied of the task. The only story that I know about gold bullets was told by Felix Aubrey and he was not making a treaty with the Apache. Trading for gold bullets was labeled a tall tale over a century ago.

Another example: Apaches perfected the art of sheep stealing. They formed a flock in an oblong pattern, "never wider than thirty feet," and lashed the strongest together by their horns, two by two, for "a living fence"; "Indian drivers strode along beside and behind the flock, and at its head a squad of young, hardy Indians set the pace. Running night and day, the desert thieves could take twenty thousand sheep from fifty to seventy miles in a day, sometimes making swift marches of up to fifteen hundred miles, far out of reach of organized pursuit" (p. 813). If there is a grain of truth in this, Dear Lady, please let me know.

The goriest of the stories about Governor Perez' fate in 1837 is incorporated in this book. His head, so Kendall reported, was kicked around Santa Fe like a football. And also the improbable story of Manuel Armijo stealing the same sheep twelve times and selling it to the owner. The period of Perez and Armijo has never been adequately studied. I hope that some day a serious minded student will take hold of it and work out a valid story. Meanwhile, L. B. Bloom (*op. cit.*) should be read.

"Below the intense scowl of his domed brow gazed his great eyes—the right, level and calm; the left, alight and piercing" (p. 457). In the pictures that I have seen of Austin, there is no such difference between the eyes. There may have been a photographic or printing defect in some picture.

I hope that a scholar will delve into the history of the Southwestern Indians and present a more reasonable interpretation of the relations between the red man and the white man. *Great River* is objective on the whole in the sense that it does not break a lance for the Spanish or Anglo. But the superiority complex of the white man still peeps forth toward the poor red man. Speaking of Indians when posed for

battle: "Sometimes they had with them their rag-bundled women. The warriors were polygamous, and their striding women were fiercely contentious for the man who owned them. Aprowl like cats across the thorny land, they clawed their way after their thieving, murdering, lying, lords" (p. 816). The moving picture producers present a more honest picture of our Indian citizens' ancestors.

In resumé, *Mistress Clio*, I submit for your judgment that an attempt to stimulate the reader a la Macaulay is alright, but it is well to keep in mind that the famous English historian was breaking a lance for Whiggish political principles. This is not the proper approach for presenting good history. In seeking the "expression of a humanly significant meaning," a la Huxley, it is advisable to select historically "significant" facts; or, as Delacroix wrote, the "relatively important." The relatively *lesser* important historical facts have been selected too often in composing the story of *Great River*.

In seeking to present a work of art in keeping with Allan Nevins' point of view, *Great River* reveals too much labor expended on the chapter picture and not enough thought devoted to the whole. There is no over-all theme; no over-all conclusion; no final summation of the significance of the story. The end of the story just fades away. As a work of art, it is comparable to a collection of miniatures, some of them exceedingly well done. But this approach to the story of the Rio Grande leads to a conflict in interpretations and an over-all tone of falseness.

Carried away by the sensitivity of the artist, the mind of the author sometimes goes to sleep. For instance, in the concluding chapter, "The Rio Grande as the oldest vein of civilized life and communication in the area of the United States was unique in the settling of the West; for unlike other communities and areas of settlement, those of the Rio Grande were not born of the westward movement, but were already long established, with their own various patterns of life, when the recurrent American frontier reached out and put over them a new complex of living ways" (p. 941). The word *unique* is inappropriate because the same statement can be applied to California.

Mr. Horgan was influenced too much by Herodotus the story teller. Thucydides the critical-minded historian should have been heeded also. "If Thucydides lacks some of the graces which make Herodotus a delight, he is free from the sort of 'systematic error' which mars Herodotus' interpretation." (Francis R. B. Godolphin, ed., *The Greek Historians*, p. xxvi). The "systematic error" in *Great River*, I suspect, lies in building the story along the Rio Grande. A river is not a valid basis for writing history. An author, using such a basis, is forced to become a Procrustes who shortened or lengthened travelers to fit the size of his beds. The river historian likewise shapes his material to fit the preconceived form, rather than permitting the material to dictate the form. The ancient Greek should have fitted the bed to the traveller, rather than vice versa.

History is the never ending search for the closest approximation to the truth of what happened, why it happened and when it happened. It is governed by accepted canons of scholarship. Many are the workers in the search. The end result is a product of collective effort. He who spreads abroad unsound history, renders a disservice in the joint effort to find the truth.

Embellishing with a fine literary style enhances the pleasure of the reader, but the *substance*, not the *style*, is the prime consideration. When the historian-artist neglects the former, he renders justice to neither.

"One might add quotation to quotation, merely to show that for almost 2500 years, in the Hebraic-Hellenic-Christian civilization that we inherit, truth has been recognized as the essence of history. In other words, the historian must be intellectually honest. Sublimating his own views of what ought to have been or should be, he must apply himself to ascertaining what really happened" (Samuel Eliot Morison, "Faith of a Historian," *American Historical Review*, January, 1951).

In "ascertaining what really happened," Mr. Horgan has fallen short both in accuracy of facts and soundness of interpretation. These failures stem from an inadequate bibliography. The general studies listed are not sufficient for a good grounding in the history of New Spain as a foundation

for his attempted interpretation of the Rio Grande in history, and specific studies were overlooked that would have prevented many a factual mistatement. I recall, Dear Lady, that Stanley Walker closed his review of *Great River* with the query, "Pretty, but is it history?" It is sometimes pretty, but it is not good history.

Affectionately yours

PS: If the publisher reprints *Great River*, consideration should be given to the following: Leyda de Bonilla should read Leyva (or Leyba), p. 159. The quotation on p. 218 should probably read, "you will detain him," rather than "detail" him. Mesina river should be changed to Medina, p. 472. "When the centralists entered Revilla . . .," should read when the "federalists" entered, p. 562. Harland should be Howland, p. 577. "Their ranks were broken and hundreds of them moved down . . .;" I suspect this should read "mowed down," p. 684.

THE EDUCATION OF KIT CARSON'S SON

By ROBERT G. ATHEARN *

ONE day in the spring of 1848, a young first lieutenant stationed at Monterey, California, learned that the far-famed Kit Carson, trapper and scout, had arrived from Taos with mail and dispatches. Having seen Fremont's recent writings, the officer was anxious to look upon this man who had come to international notice through his feats of daring in the western wilderness. Making his way to the tavern he found a small, round-shouldered individual with hair that was not quite as red as his own and whose appearance was somewhat less spectacular than he had imagined. Carson proved to be a further disappointment in that his speech was monosyllabic and he displayed little tendency to talk about the exploits that were claimed for him. Yet, in their modesty, the two men were much alike and shortly a warm friendship developed. The officer, William Tecumseh Sherman, treasured it the rest of his life.

Nearly twenty years later, when Sherman had risen to the rank of lieutenant general and was in command of the vast Military Division of the Missouri that stretched out across the high plains to the Rockies, the two met again. In the fall of 1866, the General made a trip westward along the Platte River and then swung southward to Denver and on to Fort Garland where he sought a conference with the Ute Indians. He found the fort commanded by his old friend Carson, now a brevet brigadier general of volunteers. As Sherman and Governor Alexander Cummings, of Colorado, put their questions to the Indians, Kit Carson acted as interpreter. The talks went on for several days.

Such negotiations were always long and tiresome. The Indians were given to vexatious periods of silent contemplation between questions and as the time dragged on Sherman had an opportunity to acquaint himself with Carson the family man. The General was quite fond of children and as youngsters of all hues played around the fort he watched them with interest and amusement. General James F. Rusling, who was

* Professor of History, University of Colorado.

present, later wrote that during one of the talks Sherman noticed a small brown child wandering inquisitively around the room. Taking the startled boy in his arms, he sat holding him until the anxious Indian mother discovered her offspring in the council room, his head nestled comfortably against the gold-starred shoulder straps.

Between sessions Sherman visited with Carson and his family. The children, a half dozen of them who Sherman described as "wild and untrained as a band of Mexican mustangs," aroused his curiosity. One day as the young ones streamed through the room in which the men were seated, scantily clad and noisy, the visiting general turned to his host and said, "Kit, what are you doing about your children?"

"That is a source of great anxiety," the aging westerner confessed. "I myself had no education. I value education as much as any man, but I have never had the advantage of schools, and now that I am getting old and infirm, I fear I have not done right by my children." Sherman could appreciate such feelings. He later wrote that Carson could not even write his own name and that his official reports were signed by his wife.

Anxious to be of assistance, Sherman explained that the Catholic College at South Bend, Indiana (now Notre Dame University), had given him a scholarship good for twenty years. He offered to divide it, giving half to Kit, so that two of the Carson boys could each have five years at the school. Kit expressed his appreciation for the offer and said that he would keep it in mind.

In less than two years the elder Carson was dead. He passed away at Fort Lyon, Colorado, in May, 1868, and was buried at Taos, New Mexico. Before the end came, he asked his relatives to send his eldest son on to General Sherman who, he said, had promised to educate him. Before long there appeared before the Sherman home in St. Louis a husky looking young man who identified himself as William Carson and said he had come to fulfill his father's request that he go to school. His sole possessions consisted of a revolver, a copy of Dr. Peters' *Life of Kit Carson** and about forty dollars in cash.

* DeWitt Clinton Peters, *Pioneer Life and Frontier Adventures. An Authentic Rec-*

Sherman was probably somewhat surprised by William's arrival at his doorstep. While he had offered the use of the scholarship to Carson's sons, he had not expected to assume the complete responsibility of educating one of them. As he later admitted, "I found that 'Scholarship' amounted to what is known as 'tuition,' but for three years I paid all his expenses of board, clothing, books, &c., amounting to about \$300 a year." Nevertheless, William was welcomed into the family and after staying on for a while with the Sherman children, he was sent on to South Bend to commence his studies.

The time-honored lament of college professors that their students come to them unprepared for higher education certainly applied to William Carson. Although he had commenced his studies at the Lux Academy in Taos, New Mexico, at the age of four, he appears to have gained little recognition from school authorities for anything except good conduct.* From time to time, Kit had urged upon his wife the necessity of the boy's education and when the youngster was nine he asked her to "tell him for me to apply himself as much as possible so that he may learn for if he applies himself I shall have the greatest pleasure in doing for him." How successfully William wrestled with his academic problems cannot be determined, but his years at the Catholic College indicated clearly that his earlier schooling was insufficient for the hurdles of higher education. Of course, to subject a fifteen year old boy, fresh from the relatively unsettled regions of the Rockies, to the kind of competition he now faced was perhaps asking a great deal, even as a death-bed request.

Records at the University of Notre Dame show that William paid the required five dollar entrance fee at that institution on September 9, 1868.* On that day also he paid \$150

ord of the Romantic Life and Daring Exploits of Kit Carson and His Companions. Peters was a surgeon in the U. S. army who had copied down Carson's life from dictation. The work was published in 1856 or 1857.

* John T. Lux, principal of the Lux Academy at Taos, certified on February 25, 1858, that "William Carson merits the approbation of his instructor for good conduct the past three months."

* No transcript of William's grade is available. The academic records for that period were lost in a fire, but an old ledger from the Office of Student Accounts was saved and on page 576 appears the account of "Wm. Carson, New Mexico." (Letter from Rev. Robert J. Lochner, C.S.C., Assistant to the Vice President to R. G. Athearn, February 18, 1955.)

for a year's board and room. Among his supplies were a Reader, \$.75, an Arithmetic, \$1.00 and a slate, \$.25. Within a few days after he was settled, he wrote a letter to his sponsor. When Sherman read the words that had been painfully etched upon a narrow, lined sheet of stationery, he knew he had a boy in college, for it contained a request as old as education itself. William needed money. "I was very glad yesterday when I reseave your leater," the writer opened his communication pleasantly. "I dont have write you because I was wating a leatter from you every day And please tell me when you write me when you are coming to veaseat us." Then he got down to business. "And please tell me where shal I gate some money. I dont recolect where dead you tell me to geat some." The essentials dispensed with, William closed his letter with "best regards [to] you and Misess Sherman and all the famlay."

During the remainder of the academic year the account shows that William bought the usual things a college boy of that day needed. In December he was charged for a new slate (\$.25), stationery (\$.18) and some collars (\$.25). In February he required "Pants Rep., \$.30," and "Boots Rep., \$1.35." In March he received another reader (\$1.75), thirty-two socks (\$1.50) and some collars (\$.25). In May he was credited with \$.40 for the reader he returned.

In the fall of 1869, now in his second year, William reported to his sponsor that he was getting on quite well. At the General's request he had gone to see one of Sherman's friends who supplied him with some new clothing. "I got from him a pare of pants and a coat and a hat all amounted to twenty one dollars." This was in addition to a "whole soot of clothes" and "two moar shurts" received on an earlier occasion. His ledger sheet indicates that he also purchased the usual handkerchiefs, collars, stationery, and stamps as well as a periodic "H. cut." The latter item cost \$.20. At the opening of his second year he required a Geography (\$1.20), a History (\$1.70) and a linen coat (\$2.00). That term he got to November before the bookkeeper noted "Pants rep. \$.35." He must have paid an unusual amount of attention to his books that fall, for in December the item "Pants rep." again appeared against his account. This time the damage was more serious and cost

ninety cents to repair. By March (1870) he needed boots (\$7.50) and more shirts (\$8.00). During that month he wrote to his benefactor that while he was progressing with his studies, "I am in the same classes I ware last session." Sickness had pulled him down, but, he insisted, "I am tring to do my best. . . ."

His best was not enough. At the end of three years Sherman learned from the authorities at the College that while William was a good natured boy, perfectly willing to try, he had, as Sherman admitted, "no appetite for learning." The General accepted the decision and acknowledged that "His letters to me confirmed this conclusion, as he could not possibly spell." The problem now became one of what to do with William. After giving the matter some careful thought, Sherman decided to send the boy to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. General Langdon Easton of the Quartermaster Corps could find enough for him to do to earn his board and room while he studied for a commission in the army.

Accordingly, William went to Leavenworth where he was employed as a messenger. In his off-duty hours he reported to Lieutenant George W. Baird, Fifty Infantry adjutant, for instruction. In October of 1872, William reported his progress to Sherman, saying he was under Baird's tutelage and hoped to pass the coming examination "for to go in the Army." He mentioned that on September 1 he had become twenty years old. William's newest instructor was very little more optimistic about his academic future than the fathers at the Catholic College had been. In August, 1873, Baird wrote directly to Sherman, describing the scholastic campaign and admitting defeat. "While Mr. Carson's studies were much interrupted, by sickness, he informed me, and from other causes from what I saw of him I infer that he is naturally very dull in all matters relating to books and that he suffers from the effect of having received little, if any, systematic instruction in his earlier boyhood," the Lieutenant explained to his superior. He stated flatly that William could never pass the examination prescribed by Army Headquarters and the only possible solution was to place him under a "conscientious and patient company commander to learn the trade that way."

The future of General Sherman's protege now became an

army problem. Colonel Edward Hatch, stationed at Ringgold Barracks, Texas, volunteered to take him on. Young Carson, he said, would be quite useful on the Texas frontier. He knew the Mexicans well. In fact, "he would make a valuable officer for all scouting purposes." General Stewart Van Vliet, a West Point classmate of Sherman's and a long-time friend, wrote from Fort Leavenworth that unless William were "examined *judiciously*" he would be in deep trouble trying to pass an examination. "He will make a good cavalry officer if he gets in," Van Vliet admitted, "but he is not much on 'larnin.'" As the time for an academic showdown drew near, William joined in the general concern. In August of 1873 he wrote to Sherman, expressing anxiety about the hurdle he must clear. In what subjects would he be examined, he asked? Would he really have to take the examination? He knew that enlisted men who were appointed lieutenant were examined under regulation G. O. 93-1867, but since he was a "sevelian," would this rule apply?

Sherman had done all he could in the matter. He had gone to Grant, in person, asking that William be appointed a second lieutenant in the Ninth (Colored) U. S. Cavalry. Grant promptly ordered the appointment, subject to the examination required by law. Reluctantly William went before a board of officers at Fort Leavenworth and listened to the dreaded questions. "After careful examination," Sherman revealed, "the board found him *deficient*, in reading, writing and arithmetic. Of course he could not be commissioned."

And so William dispiritedly made his way back home. He was no more discouraged than Sherman who wrote, "I had given him four years of my guardianship, about \$1,000 of my own money, and the benefit of my influence, all in vain. By nature, he was not adapted to 'modern uses.'" There was no further course to pursue now. With reluctance he wrote to William, advising him to return to Colorado to live with Thomas Boggs, a long-time intimate of Kit Carson's, and a relative by marriage. In the ensuing years Sherman heard little from his young friend. Once William wrote, asking Sherman to procure the Ute Agency for him and dutifully the General tried, only to learn that someone else had been promised the post.

Back in Colorado, William settled down to raise livestock. He married a daughter of Thomas Tobin, one of Kit's old friends, and lived a quiet rancher's life. In January, 1889, while he was unharnessing a team of horses, his own revolver was accidentally discharged and its bullet passed through his knee joint, lodging in the bones below the knee where it would be difficult to remove. A Denver paper reported that "owing to the bad condition of Carson's system the Doctor expressed doubts as to his recovery," but nevertheless the surgeon planned to amputate the limb if the patient indicated that he could survive the operation. Before he had a chance to operate, the patient suddenly died.

While William Carson showed that he could become a successful rancher, the educational experiment in which he had participated proved to be a signal failure. The unlettered Kit Carson did not live to share his son's disappointment and his old friend Sherman, who would soon express his unhappiness over his own boy's decision not to go to law school, wrote off the effort as one of those losses sustained in any speculative venture. He had done his part in trying to fulfill Kit's wishes. Kit, who Sherman said could not even write, had become a volunteer brigadier general. But that day was gone, and by the 1870's the army, steadily shrinking in size, was obliged to tighten considerably the conditions under which it would give a commission. William, who was "not much on 'larnin,'" was simply the victim of rising army educational requirements.

Note: Information concerning the efforts of Kit Carson and General W. T. Sherman to educate William are found in the following locations: The letters of William to General Sherman while the young man was at Notre Dame are in the William T. Sherman Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Volumes 24 and 27. The letters from Carson, Baird, Hatch and Van Vliet, written while William was at Fort Leavenworth, are in Volumes 33, 35 and 36 of the Sherman letters, Library of Congress. William Carson's expense ledger, while at school in Indiana, is at Notre Dame University, in the Office of Students' Accounts. Other material can be found in Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days, 1809-1868* (Chicago, 1914 and the revised, two volume edition, New York, 1935); Edward S. Ellis, *The Life of Kit Carson* (Chicago, 1899); and William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman* (2 volumes, Fourth Ed., N. Y. 1891). Very little information concerning William's later life is available. Ellen F. Walrath, a pioneer woman, wrote a small piece entitled "Kit Carson's Son, Billie" for the *Alamosa Courier* in June, 1937. Major John H. Nankivell mentioned that he ran a general store in an article about Fort Garland, Colorado, in *The Colorado Magazine*, Volume XVI, No. 1 (January 1939), 27. Sherman's interest in William appears in Albert W. Thompson, "The Death and Last Will of Kit Carson," *The Colorado Magazine*, Volume V (October, 1928). Details of his death can be found in the *Denver Republican*, January 20, 1889.

ALBERT PIKE AS A TENDERFOOT

By ALEXANDER E. JONES*

IN the summer of 1831, Albert Pike was faced with a somewhat unusual problem: should he take a long steamboat ride up the Missouri River to the Yellowstone, or should he cross the plains to Santa Fe with a trading party?¹

A few months earlier, Pike had been teaching school in Newburyport, Massachusetts, with never a thought of tasting the delights and dangers of the West. But in March the town authorities had turned him out of his job—partly for demanding an assistant and partly for playing the fiddle on Sunday. So Pike, who was then twenty-one years of age, decided to head for the frontier, where, since he was “finely educated,” he confidently expected to find his opportunities for success “greatly improved.” Later, of course, he came to realize that “what a man needed out there more than a school education was practical common sense.”² Such wisdom, however, came gradually; and before he finally attained it, Pike was to experience all the classic misadventures of the lowliest of Westerners, the tenderfoot.

When he left Newburyport, Pike took the stagecoach to Boston and from there began his long trek westward, sometimes hiking or riding horseback and sometimes traveling by stagecoach. His route lay through Albany, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Nashville. In Nashville he searched unsuccessfully for suitable employment and then wandered on through Tennessee and Kentucky. At Paducah he boarded a keel boat and floated down the Ohio to Cairo, where he took deck passage on a steamboat headed up the

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1. Although Fred W. Allsopp has dealt briefly with Pike's adventures in the West in chapters II to IV of *Albert Pike: a Biography* (Little Rock, Ark., 1928), his sources of information were severely limited, consisting chiefly of the so-called *Pike Diary* as published in the *Arkansas Advocate*. The present study, on the other hand, is based primarily on the unpublished manuscript, “Autobiography of General Albert Pike: from Stenographic Notes Furnished by Himself” (Library of the Supreme Council, 33°, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, U. S. A., Washington, D. C.); and it therefore contains much material never previously printed. Whenever dates or other specific details given in the present study differ from those cited by Allsopp, my authority is the Pike “Autobiography.”

2. “Autobiography,” p. 6.

Mississippi. And so it came about that in August, 1831, he found himself in Saint Louis, wondering whether fame and fortune lay at the headwaters of the Missouri or somewhere along the Rio Grande.

After due deliberation, Pike decided to join the Santa Fe trading party. On August 10 the ten wagons left Saint Louis and creaked across Missouri to Independence, where the men bought oxen, repaired their wagons, and added to their stores. At last, when all was in readiness, the little caravan rumbled out of Independence on September 10 and bumped along the rutted trail to Council Grove, where there was another stop for repairs and the checking of supplies. Then, finally, they began their long journey across the vast rolling prairies which reminded Pike of the sea.

At first the trip was high adventure. Pike was awed by the vast herds of buffalo which the party encountered; and when the men shot several of the beasts for food, he found the meat exotically delicious. Furthermore, his comrades showed him the trick of leaving a buffalo leg overnight on an ant hill. The ants would strip all the flesh away, and next morning the men would roast the bones and then crack them to get at the marrow.

Prairie wolves also added drama to the journey. Years later, Pike liked to tell how at least a thousand wolves followed the trading party, and how at night they sent up such a chorus of howls that "you would have supposed there were twenty thousand of them."³ Buffaloes, wolves, and the ever-present threat of hostile Indians—Pike was enjoying life to the full. And then, somewhere along the Cimarron River, his horse became frightened during a thunder storm and ran away, leaving Pike stranded. Almost immediately, the term "tenderfoot" acquired added significance.

More than five-hundred miles remained, and Pike covered most of them on foot. When his shoes wore out, he replaced them with moccasins. But these gave him scant protection against sharp stones and sand burs; and little pieces of gravel kept getting inside, where they bruised his feet. Somehow he acquired another pair of heavy shoes be-

3. "Autobiography," p. 10.

fore reaching Taos; but meanwhile his throbbing feet became such an obsession that they kept turning up in the verses he tried to write. Although he told himself, "Well, I have chosen my own rough way, / And I will walk it manfully,"⁴ in more candid moments he admitted that life already seemed too long "To one who walks with bleeding feet / The world's rough paths . . ."⁵

As Pike trudged southwestward, he gradually became aware of another problem: summer was ending, and the weather was becoming chilly. Before leaving Saint Louis, Pike had asked Captain Bent, the leader of the trading party, what clothing he would need on the trip. Bent had assured him that they would reach Santa Fe before cold weather; and, guided by the captain's opinion, Pike had sold his extra clothing in order to get enough money to buy a horse. Now, therefore, he was shivering in the November wind as he limped toward Taos. A snow fell; the situation began to grow quite serious. Then, at last, they reached the mountains; and Taos lay just beyond. Pike heaved a sigh of relief—and, as if in answer, a sudden blizzard halted the party in its tracks. For a week the men camped in the mountains while over five feet of snow fell on them. "It was," said Pike years later, "as big a snow storm as I ever saw in my life. I stood guard one night when a horse froze to death within twenty feet of me, and I would have frozen to death myself if we had not gotten something that would burn and made a fire and squatted down over it and by this means kept alive. I froze my feet in the mountains twice . . . It was a horrible time."⁶

When the men were at last able to dig the wagons out of the drifts, they floundered along the buried trail to Taos, where there was a week's stop. Then they made the last lap of the journey without incident.

Santa Fe, Pike discovered upon arrival, was not without a certain charm; but as the novelty wore thin, he began for the first time to experience the pangs of homesickness. Apparently he spent the next ten months there, although the

4. "Noon in Santa Fe," *Gen. Albert Pike's Poems* (Little Rock, Ark., 1900), p. 186.

5. "Lines Written in the Rocky Mountains," *Gen. Albert Pike's Poems*, p. 240.

6. "Autobiography," pp. 8-9.

record is vague concerning his activities during the period. In September, 1832, however, he heard that a trapping party was forming in Taos and that its leaders planned to head down the Pecos River and onto the Staked Plains. Immediately, Pike's love of adventure made him decide to join the trappers, and he rode north out of Santa Fe highly exhilarated:

Farewell, my land! Farewell, my pen!
Farewell, hard world—thy harder life!
Now to the desert once again!
The gun and knife!⁷

But unfortunately for this mood of derring-do, Pike got lost on his way back to Taos and wandered in baffled exasperation for almost a day. Finally, however, he was able to overtake the party; and so the trip proper began.

At first the journey proved uneventful. The party was a large one—almost eighty men—and consequently had little fear of any hostile Indians. But after a few days they discovered that both game and water were growing scarce. The men were forced to travel nine days before striking water; and for five of those days Pike had nothing to eat. The situation was acute, and at last some of the men took up a collection to buy a horse from Holliday, who had several. "The horse," said Pike in later years, "was old and worn out. And I recollect I would not eat the meat and William Boone made a soup out of it . . . I tasted some of it and it tasted like? . . ."⁸

To hunt more efficiently, the party now broke up into little bands of men which fanned out across the countryside. There were thirteen in Pike's group; and although one of them managed to shoot an antelope a day or so later, it made only a token meal when divided among all the men. Next, they killed a buffalo—only to discover that they had no more fuel: "The only chance we had to make a fire was to cut down weeds and throw them into a pile and set fire to them and then throw the meat into the blaze. It would get partially

7. "Lines," *Gen. Albert Pike's Poems*, p. 520.

8. "Autobiography," p. 17.

cooked and when we tried to eat it, the longer we chewed it the larger it would get. It was horrible stuff.”⁹

Although such unscientific cookery was sobering enough, the men had a more serious problem: they were almost out of water again. Repeatedly they hastened toward a promising water hole, only to discover that they had been pursuing a mirage. Or, if they did actually find a water hole, its dry, salt-encrusted bottom mocked them silently. Pike had neither food nor water for three days; and to relieve his thirst, he first tried chewing on a bullet and then ate narcotic mescal beans. When his group reached the headwaters of the Brazos River and found the stream dried up, they dug all night with their knives, hoping to find water below the surface of the river bed. And, finally, they did indeed strike water—but so brackish that they were unable to drink it. The situation was now desperate, and Pike began to reflect somberly upon the bleached bones he had encountered along the way and to wonder if his was to be a similar fate.

When the men had done their utmost, and had failed, the horses suddenly found water—and plenty of it. The thirsty animals rushed into the pool they had discovered; and, despite their owners' efforts to get them out, there they stood, knee deep, drinking water eagerly until their swollen sides resembled barrels. It is quite possible that upon this occasion Pike's horse saved its master's life; however, by bloating itself with water, it lost its own. Three days later Pike found himself without a mount, and so once more obliged to trudge into Taos on foot.

Perhaps this inglorious return from the trapping expedition soured Pike on frontier life. At any rate, after another two months in Taos he decided it was high time he got back to civilization, and he therefore acquired another horse and started north with a group of traders. At first the trip was marred only by petty annoyances—Pike lost his knife, scratched his legs while attempting to force passage through brier thickets, and became sick after unwisely eating a prickly pear. Then his own peculiar brand of tenderfoot misfortune struck again: he lost his horse and was faced with

9. "Autobiography," pp. 17-18.

the prospect of walking back to Missouri. Very possibly, he thus became the only man ever to make a round-trip hike on the Santa Fe Trail.

Soon after crossing the Red River, Pike and his companions encountered an Osage hunting party, and the Indians took them back to camp to meet the chief, who seemed at first a trifle unfriendly. Pike therefore filled his pipe, took a couple of puffs, and handed it to the chief. When the latter accepted the pipe gravely and sucked on it in his turn, the palefaces knew that all was well.

After the men had smoked for several minutes, the chief said something to his squaw, who left the tent immediately. In a little while she was back, carrying a kettle and a couple of pots. She hung these over the fire, dropped some meat into them, and superintended the ensuing barbecue. Pike and his companions watched her progress hungrily, for game had been scarce on the prairie. When the food was ready, Pike ate ravenously, suspecting that he might not get another opportunity to stuff himself before reaching civilization. Furthermore, the meat, which he had momentarily suspected of being fox, proved to be venison and was very good. So he filled himself to bursting, sat back with a contented sigh, and had another smoke.

Just then, however, another Indian made his appearance; and the chief indicated through sign language that the stranger desired the white guests to eat in his lodge, too. "Of course," explained Pike later, "it would not do to refuse, and he had some ribs of a bear roasted, so we ate some of that and took a smoke with him."¹⁰

At the end of this second meal, Pike and his companions could scarcely move; but another Indian appeared, and then another. "The end of it was that we had to go to thirteen different places to eat and we had to eat at every place and the last mess we got was a pole cat. I got a taste of the liquid, and I did not get it out of my mouth for a week."¹¹

Leaving the overly hospitable Osage camp behind, Pike and his companions headed north again. Encountering very

10. "Autobiography," p. 14.

11. "Autobiography," p. 14.

little game, they finally found it necessary to slaughter Gillette's horse for food; and now Pike was not the only member of the party on foot. A few days later they passed through a river bottom where deer and turkeys were plentiful, and for a time feast replaced famine. But thereafter food became increasingly scarce. In desperation, Pike traded his rifle to an old Choctaw Indian for honey and bear meat; and a day or so later, when he ran out of tobacco, he was able to borrow a supply from another Indian. But he was now destitute and thoroughly tired of life in the wilderness. Furthermore, his clothing was in ruins: "I had a pair of buckskin pantaloons—and they were very handsome when I first got them," said Pike years later, recalling the trials and tribulations of life on the prairie. "But when I got east of the mountains I wanted some fir balsam, and in my efforts to get it I got the legs of my pantaloons wet. And they stretched out so that they got tangled about my feet, and I had to take them off and put them out to dry. When I got them back and dried, they drew up until they were around my knees. We had no money and no clothes."¹² So, when the party was forced to camp without shelter in a chilling autumn rain storm, Pike decided that it was high time to find a new route to fame and fortune.

His eventual decision was a novel one: he now determined to head for Louisiana, where, he had heard, there were many rich people. Once in Louisiana, he planned somehow to accumulate sufficient capital for a trip to South America. But on the morning after he had formed his plan, nature once more betrayed the tenderfoot: "We struck this road in the morning, and it was a cloudy day. We were puzzled, for we did not know which end of the road went to Fort Smith and which end went to Fort Towson. . . . It was a very cloudy day, and we took the wrong direction and travelled ten or fifteen miles on that day and camped on the road. The next morning the sun rose bright and clear, and we found that we had been going in the wrong direction."¹³ Previously, Pike had had no intention of going to Arkansas; but now, tired and

12. "Autobiography," p. 23.

13. "Autobiography," pp. 21-22.

discouraged, he decided to give up the Louisiana venture rather than retrace his steps. So it was that Albert Pike, ragged and hungry, entered Fort Smith on December 10, 1832, unaware of the distinguished career that lay before him. For, as he said in later years, "If it had been [sunshiny] when we struck that road, I should never have been in Arkansas, never."¹⁴

14. "Autobiography," p. 22.

SPANISH BELLS IN NEW MEXICO

By JANE HOWE

OF all the equipment deemed to be necessary for the continuance of missionary activities, the Spanish considered the church bell to be next to the gift of speech. For seldom did any padre Franciscan, Jesuit or Dominican seek to Christianize an Indian population in New Spain without the aid of at least a hand bell.¹ It was a practice of long standing. St. Patrick's hand-bell is a greatly venerated item in the Dublin museum as is that of St. Francis Xavier in the Goa Cathedral. Later, in California, Fray Junípero Serra swung chime bells on a tree limb² and rang them over an empty land to call forth the hiding natives. So must have the missionaries in Mexico as they accompanied the explorers from Zacatecas in the south to Taos Pueblo in the north, from the Papagos in the west to the Tejas in the east.

All Spanish exploration parties were accompanied by missionaries.³ And wherever settlements were established, a chapel had to be erected.⁴ Here bells played a part of the utmost consideration and for this purpose chime bells served admirably. Ordinarily, a chime bell⁵ measures approximately 12 inches high including the crown and may vary in circumference around the lip from 35 to 50 inches. These are small enough to be carried on a mule or donkey, and yet two or more rung together may be heard a distance of a quarter to half a mile.

The Francisco Vásquez de Coronado expedition probably carried chime bells on the explorations of 1540-1, since missionaries ministered to the spiritual needs of the explorers as well as converting the natives. Be that as it may, since it is only conjecture, there is every positive indication that Don

1. An ancient custom among missionaries of all centuries.

2. H. H. Bancroft, *California papers*, p. 176.

3. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Texas and the North Mexican States*, Vol. I, p. 116.

4. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico*, tr. by Maurice Keatinge, p. 100.

5. Not to be confused with a chime of bells. Bells may be of any size and number. Chime bells weigh under one hundred pounds and seldom number more than three.

Juan Oñate de Zacatecas brought a pair of chime bells into New Mexico in 1598. Such a pair has been unearthed along the Chama River near the site of San Gabriel, the first capital. Fred Harvey bought one bell; the other is in a private home within a few miles of its point of discovery.

Judging from the one remaining bell, it was probably cast in Mexico City. It is well proportioned, smooth inside and out and the inscription lettering may date from the fifteenth century: *MANIA IHOUHNIO†* At casting, it had a cross and crown top⁶ but the cross piece has been broken leaving only the scars where it once rested. The bell measures 5½ inch top, 15 inch length, 2 inch lip, and 2 inches thick. It is 18 inches in circumference at the shoulder, has a 26 inch waist and the lip or sound bow measures 49 inches. It is estimated to weigh about 60 pounds.

In contrast, another chime bell, from Pecos,⁷ is very crudely cast. It could well have been a ground-mold⁸ product, cast there at the mission. The shape resembles a clown's hat with a simple handle for the top. It is plain except for a diamond cross which irrevocably stamps the origin as Spanish. No other nation uses the cross composed of diamonds or squares for decorative purposes.⁹ The color indicates the lack of proper metals since it is not the customary green of Mexican and Spanish bells, nor is it bronze but rather a light beige. The combination of metals¹⁰ has raised the question as to whether bells were cast in New Mexico by the Spanish. With a scarcity of all metals except copper, it is doubtful if a bell could have been cast in the state unless metals from other objects such as jewelry were available. Recast bells are quite another idea.

Two such bells may be seen: at the Sanctuario at Chimayo

6. A sign of a royal bell. The symbol was invented by Ferdinand and Isabella as the sign of a bell cast in a royal foundry.

7. Now in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

8. A mold made by digging a hole in clay earth, the shape of the exterior of the bell. The core is cut from a tree trunk. Alternate layers of grease and clay are spread on each. The core set within the hole and in the space between the molten metal is poured. The gases are allowed to escape and then a cope of earth covers the bell and it cools.

9. Modern Spanish bells are so decorated.

10. 80 parts copper to 20 parts tin equals the best combination for perfect pitch.

and atop Cordova's small church. Both are devoid of inscription. The one at Cordova is fairly well formed and has a plain embossed cross. There are rope holes,¹¹ which have been plugged with iron bolts, and a sheath of copper on the inside of the lip. The bell at the Santuario is a monstrosity, topped by a hand-made riveted crown. The measurements are 5 inches at the top, 16 inches in length, 5 inch lip, 36 inch shoulder, 51 inch waist and 77 inch lip. The underside of the lip is concave admitting the thickness of a man's finger between the outer rim and the actual sound-bow. The overall picture of this bell indicates a ground-mold, as legend says, in a church plaza with every bit of metal available thrown into the pot. Otherwise, the bell could not have been produced. That leaves it an open question as to where it originated. Perhaps in one of the many villages of northern Mexico. Such a bell could easily have been exported since bells of comparable and even greater size are to be seen in the New Mexican Indian pueblos.¹²

But not all of the Spanish bells in New Mexico are either crudely cast or of unknown origin. There are nine bells cast in 1710 now hanging in church belfries which came into existence at the same foundry.¹³ Their measurements vary from two to six inches but the over-all proportion is the same. The indications of a cross over the crown top are visible on all of them. There are no rope holes, their color is light tan with tinges of green and all show a predominance of the long waist. The inscriptions are uniformly of block letters but not always perfect, an indication of several workmen. These inscriptions read:

ANODE 1710 SAN PEDRO at Acoma.
 NVESTRASEÑORA DE GVAD ADVPEAAÑOD
 17 10 at Jemez.
 SAN VIVSENTE FERRER AN DE 1710 at San Ildefonso.
 SANTIAGO D ANO DE 1 ^ 10 at Santa Clara.

11. Two holes on either side of the top for the clapper rope.

12. Isleta Pueblo.

13. Two bells at La Bahía Chapel, Goliad, Texas, were cast in the same foundry: 1748 and 1796. Spanish casters are indicated since there are rope holes.

Not always is the date correctly written as the 7 is made in four ways: 7 ^ □ △. Each carries a diamond cross. Decorations vary somewhat from squares to small tree-like ornaments but the over-all appearance is so uniform as to make it possible for positive identification from the ground.¹⁴

The bells are in various states of preservation. Irreparable harm has been done by the Indian boys chosen to ring the bells for services. They hammer the sides with granite rocks, or, as in one pueblo, with iron cannon balls, for the bell clappers have disappeared. At Cochiti,¹⁵ the rocks are worn smooth and resemble frozen fruit packages while at Picurís a wire has been wrapped around a suitable sized rock and this is swung at the bell. Under this sort of treatment the lettering is nearly obliterated. In fact, it seems to be the goal and has nearly reached accomplishment at Cochiti where the bell is smooth with only the date clearly visible.

There is no uniform pattern as to the care of the bells. At Taos Pueblo, rebellion headquarters in 1680, the "old bell" is now hanging in the new church. It has every indication of being an ancient one. The fire from the bombardment of the former church in the Mexican War and subsequent rough treatment has all but obliterated the lower half of a beautiful diamond cross. There are rope holes and the inevitable story seems, in this case, to be true. This concerns the fact that the bell was damaged when the church burned. The Pueblo Council decided it should be kept out of sight until a more peaceful time. Evidently that is now. The bell first appeared in the Community House and then fourteen men, aided by pulleys, heaved it to a newly constructed tower where it is now pointed to with pride. Close examination of the bell will doubtless bring out the date but due to cement and other obstructions, it must be a future project. It is so hoped for if it proves to be a pre-1680 bell, it may be classed with those few remaining in the state, namely at Isleta (1632), Ácoma and Laguna (both 16th C.)

14. Pueblos which own 1710 bells are: Picurís, Santa Clara, Santa Ana, San Ildefonso, Cochiti, Zia, Ácoma, Laguna and Jemez. One more is in a curio store.

15. This bell has a sheath of gold on the underside of the lip. Gold is also visible in the crown.

It would seem that at the pueblos most anti-Spanish in 1680, the bells received the best treatment.¹⁶ At Ácoma there is a 1710 bell and another purported to be cast in Spain in the 1500's. This bell is by far the most outstanding to be seen in the Southwest. The bronze is superbly blended so that a touch of the finger-nail initiates vibrations which are resonant and sweet, and so loud as to be heard over the pueblo. The rope holes are bolted. The bell is devoid of any inscription but there is a perfectly formed cross of squares reaching from the shoulders to the lip. Inside each square there is a cross of daisy petals. Another bell cast in Spain is to be seen at Laguna. Since many persons from Ácoma joined in the formation of this pueblo in 1699, Ácoma probably donated the new church one of their bells. It is there with a 1710 bell.

Mention has been made throughout this article of inscriptions. Without them, the work of the bell archeologist is immeasurably impeded. If the inscription includes the date, the age of the bell can be figured for sometimes a date may be incorrect. Witness the ever raging controversy over the "San Jose" bell in the San Miguel Church in Santa Fe. Because of the type of alphabet used, many historians maintain that this bell is a 19th C. product, while others, equally expert, hotly deny this. In the case of the 3 and the 8 in a date, file marks should be sought and are clearly visible at times, such as on the "Maria" bell at the Museum in Santa Fe.

There are several bells in New Mexico pueblo churches which must be labeled as "mavericks." They have no status because of lack of proper identification or their casting place is unknown. One of these is at Trampas. Another hangs at Isleta. This bears the date 1632 which is nearly erased by the constant striking of granite on metal. At Truchas is a bell much resembling a Spanish one to be seen at Mission Inn, California. The New Mexican one has the only Latin inscription discovered in the state: S DEI. Another bell is that which

16. Otermin and his captains reported on the state of each bell discovered on the attempted reconquest 1680-82. See C. W. Hackett, ed. *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermin's Attempted Reconquest 1680-1682*. Mention is also made by de Vargas of bells. See Jessie Bromilow Bailey, *Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico*.

was sold from the Rancho de Taos Church. Fire scarred and battered, the bell has smooth lines and may be Spanish.

Other bells in New Mexico need investigation. Some of the Pueblo Indians so jealously guard their treasures as to make it impossible to gain the necessary permission for study. While in others the bells are allowed to be beaten to death, to be sold, to be thrown out simply because they represent the old era. But no new bell can replace a Spanish one which has been treasured for centuries.

Notes and Documents

ROOSEVELT'S ROUGH RIDERS, 1953 *

First Row, seated:

Lt. Com. Spencer. Wm. C. Gibson (Billy), retired Mill man; 625 East 32nd St., Brooklyn, NY; Troop G. Robt. C. Ragland, retired; former rider with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show; 5450 Third St., Phoenix, Ariz.; Troop G. Arthur L. Tuttle, ret'd farmer and cattleman; Box 1184, Delano, Calif.; Troop A. Frank C. Brito, ret'd; Interpreter for Gen. Pershing in his punitive expedition for Villa, Box 374, Las Cruces, New Mex.; Troop I. Robt. W. Denny, Secretary and Treasurer, RRR; former peace officer and at one time (1909) Territorial Deputy Game Warden, enlisted at Santa Fe, N. M.; came to N. M. 1884; 418½ So. Milton Ave., Whittier, Calif. Arthur J. Stockbridge, ret'd. miner and cattleman, 1012 East Fairmen St., Phoenix, Ariz.; Troop F. Billy McGinty, ret'd. President RRR, one of the last of the Old Trail Drivers, and cattleman with Buffalo Bill in Europe and the U. S.; Troop K. Ed Mullen, Troop L. Theodore Folk, ret'd. rancher; Troop L & K. John Shaw, ret'd.** Farier, Troop H. George A. Murrat, ret'd. miner, and Lumber** Troop H.

Back Row—standing:

J. D. Langdon, President Langdon-Story Ind. No. 1 John Street, East Rockaway, L. I., N. Y.; Troop K. Harmon Wyncoop, ret'd. (His nephew is next, but is an Honorary Member), Box 1234, Santa Fe, N. M.; Troop E. James G. Yost, ret'd. (Blacksmith) P. O. Box 96, Burbank, Calif.; Troop C. James E. McGuire, ret'd., (Sgt. 1898), 2513 Parish Place, Burbank, Calif.; Troop L. Wm. H. Brumley, ret'd., hotelman, horse raiser, just a few months over 16 at enlistment, but a real man and fine hombre, No Foolin'; Troop G. George W. Wilkens, ret'd.**; Troop L. Col. Martin L. Crimmons, USA ret'd.**; splendid gentleman, one we miss very greatly; Troop B. Hon. Frank S. Roberts, still at work and going strong, a real man to ride the river with, Taylor Building, Breckinridge, Texas; Troop B. Chas. O. Hopping (Chaplain), also for all of his veteran organizations our Bugler as well, 1029 Termine Ave., Long Beach, Calif.; Troop F. Guy Lisk, ret'd., Alva Oklahoma; Troop F. Royal A. Prentice, Chairman Resolution Com., Quarter Master Sgt., 1898 (Attorney), 521 South Third St., Tucumcari, New Mex.; Troop E. O. W. McGinty, Honorary Member. James Y. Brown, ret'd., insurance

* Veterans present at the Reunion, James W. Arrott's ranch, Sapello, N. M., August 5, 1953.

** Dead.

For a group photograph see *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 30, No. 3 (July, 1955).

List submitted for publication by Robert W. Denny. Approved as correct by Chris Emmett, Historian for Rough Riders.

official (looking between the shoulders of McGinty and James W. Arrott, another Honorary member); Troop D. Starr M. Wetmore, ret'd. Trumper in 1898, served as Secretary many service Clubs in his home city of Arkansas City, 215 Central Ave., Kansas; severely wounded San Juan Hill, 1898; Troop D. Dic. Shanafelt, Ret'd., 1024 Penn Street, Lawrence, Kansas; Troop D. Paul Hunter, Fortuna ex-postmaster, 1107 Home Ave., Fortuna, Calif.; Troop D. Hamner. The man on the right is to my mind Ed. Culver, Claremore, Okla., instead of Love, so please change; he too is dead now **; Troop L.

THE SCOTTISH LOAN COMPANY

The Scottish Loan Company, as the name implies, was a Loan Company of Scotland financiers. Their representative, and manager in New Mexico, was a Scotsman, Thomas Carson.

At the time that the Fort Sumner Cattle Company began to close out their stock — about 1894 — Carson bought the Peter Maxwell cattle at Fort Sumner; the cattle of Manuel Brazil, whose home stood a quarter mile west of the present town of Taiban, and the cattle of Judge Magill, who lived on the site of the present La Lande.

Brazil and Magill had bought an interest in the cattle owned by Lucien Maxwell's widow, and all these cattle were under the U (Horseshoe) brand — the U on the left side.

(My brother, Carl J. Gerhardt, believed that the U had been the brand used by Lucien Maxwell on his Cimarron ranch.)

Carson acquired the brand, with the cattle; and from the brand came the name, the "Horseshoe Outfit." Only occasionally was the name Scottish Loan Cattle Company used.

To this newly acquired herd, Carson added a large bunch of cattle from Cabra (Goat) Springs, north of Cuervo (Crow). These cattle were branded EAG. I believe they were owned by Stoneroad of Las Vegas.

Yet another herd was added — the Henry McBroom cattle of the Coniva Ranch. The ranch was acquired with the cattle and became the Headquarters for the Horseshoe Outfit. Coniva is about thirty-five miles southwest of Tucumcari.

Henry McBroom had been a Government land surveyor in New Mexico through the 1870's, with his home in Santa Fe. About 1880, he bought a large herd of cattle and some nice horses and settled at the Coniva. His brand was an H on each hip.

The Horseshoe cattle roamed from the Coniva south to the Taiban Creek, east to the Texas State line, and west off the caprock into Gerhardt Valley.

The Horseshoes had about six wells with windmills scattered over the Plains, a good spring with a large dirt tank on the Agua Caballo (water for horses) Creek, just east of the present village of House, and good springs at Pete's Canyon and Bull Camp, a few miles northeast of

the present town of Taiban. Pete's Canyon was named for Peter Maxwell, who had a cattle camp there while running the Maxwell cattle of Fort Sumner.

Mr. Carson traveled about the big ranch in a buggy; and often drove to Las Vegas to transact business. Here all the ranch supplies were bought, as it was the nearest railroad town.

After the Rock Island, and Southern Pacific, Railroads arrived in 1901 and created the towns of Santa Rosa and Tucumcari, the Horseshoes began to sell out their stock.

By 1902, Mr. Carson had retired, and was living in Amarillo, Texas. The late Richard Augustus Morris had taken over the management of the closing out process of the Horseshoe Outfit, which required about five years for completion.

Mr. Morris lived on the Alamo Mocho (cropped, or short cottonwood) Creek, about twelve miles north of Jolar, where a new home had been built for the Horseshoe Headquarters after the Pecos Valley Railroad had been extended from Roswell through Portales to Texas in 1898-99, making Portales a much nearer trading center than Las Vegas.

The last of the Horseshoe cattle were finally gathered and sold in the fall of 1906; and so ended an interesting phase in the development of New Mexico — the end of free grazing range for large cattle outfits.

Tucumcari, New Mexico
March 24 — 1955

Editor Frank D. Reeve
NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW
University of New Mexico
Dear Editor

My article is based on information from my brother, Carl J. Gerhardt, taken down in notes many years ago; with additional information from my husband, who worked for the Scottish Loan Cattle Company in the early 1900's, and my own childish memories, and later recollections.

Should you find my work worthy of publication; and should you know the origin, meaning, and correct spelling of *Coniva*,* I should be very grateful if you would add this information in an editor's footnote to my story.

The early settlers spelled Coniva with an "i" as I have spelled it, while later residents spell it with an "e."

Sincerely yours
Lillie Gerhardt Anderson
(signed)

413 S. 1st Street
Tucumcari, N. Mex.

* I do not know the correct spelling. Ed.

THE CHARLES BENT PAPERS

(Continued)

Taos April 8th 1846

Mr. M. Alvaraze

Sir

I have heard from a good sorse today, that the Priest Martinis, and his brother the justice ware taking declarations to criminate me, for having traded with the Youtaws, but for fear that the Govenor, and Comidante, should receive this information and give credence to the information of the Priest, I wish you to request theas funcanaries to suspend thare oppinion in this case untill the[y] se or heare from me. The Priest expectes to impress it on the mindes of theas authoritiys, that I have controll over the Publo or fort Spalding at the mouth of the *fontane que Bouille*. And hard scrable, at the *Piedra Amarrillio*¹²² at neather of theas places have we any person employed or any ways connected with uss, farther than some of them owe uss money, which they got several yeares passed when in our service, I have heard from the Taos Indians that the Priest had said that theas Indians and we ware friendly with the Youtaws, and ware the persons that ware exiting the Youtaws to steal from the Mexicans.

The Priest will spair no meanes to injure me, but if he will attack me fairly publicly and above board, I am certain he will not accomplish his end, but underhandidly as he is no[w] doing, wishing to make Cats Paws of the Superior authoritys, to doe his dirty work, if he can succed in this thare is no telling what he may accomplish.

The Priest will make use of every meanes to injure uss, and his strong hold is falshood this he will use to its extent, as he is in the habbit of doing. Some time passed when his cattle ware stollen he said publicly that it was not the Youtaws, that had done it, but the Shyeans and our people, he has sinse bean convinced to the contrary. I started Eastes express to the forte to have your goodes brought in. Charles Town met him on the head of Red River he expected to be at the forte on the 6th inst I supose your goodes have left the forte by this. If you have an opportunity I wish you would communicate to Armijo and Archuleta the contentes of this letter as early as posible.

Youres Respectfully
Chas Bent

122. About seventy-five miles above Bent's Fort on the Arkansas river:

"These people are living in two separate establishments near each other; one is called Pueblo, and the other 'Hardscrabble'; both villages are fortified by a wall 12 feet high, composed of adobe." Quoted in Percy Stanley Fritz, *Colorado: The Centennial States*, p. 95. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941. A small settlement one day's march from Pueblo, Colorado: McGehee in *Journal of Mississippi History*, 14:93 (April, 1952). For a detailed description see Janet S. Lecompte, "The Hardscrabble Settlement, 1844-1848," *The Colorado Magazine*, 31:81-98 (April, 1954).

P S I have not ascertained who are the Priestes Witnesses, but let them be who they may, I should like to have them called to Santafe for examination, if he makes his accusation in form,¹²³ hea[r]e the Priest can prove anything. he directes his brother the justice, and he dair not go contrary to his orders, a greate many think they are bound to say as the priest directes them.

C B

Mr Manuel Alvaraze

Taos Aprill 14th 1846

Sir

George and Blaire arrived yesterday, the[y] have brought all the nuse that was going, when in Santafe, but I am in hopes you will get something more, on the arrivle of Armijo If so pleas let uss have it. I shall not go down to Santafe untill I heare of the Waggon, reaching the Pauniel. We have no nuse heare, the Priest having left yesterday for Santafe, I am told he takes with him the labors of several months, in the way of propisittions, which he expects to make to the assembly¹²⁴ this no doubt will be found, to be a wonderful budget, when brought to light. I think he is likely on his returne, to have some difficulty with his old friendes the Publo Indians, in consiquence of his having directed his brother to have a ditch opened from the river Lucero above, where theas Indians take thare watter, the object of this ditch is to watter land now oppening, on the high prairie on the west side of this town about 2 miles directly west of Pedro Martins residence, this land is being oppened by him and famely, the Indians are determined to resist the oppening of this ditch, if it can not be done otherwise, they will resorte to armes the watter belongs to them and always has belonged to them they say, go a head Matteao, there is a greadeal of talk about him, I think he lowses ground. Wright by the bearer.

Youres Chas Bent

Mr. M. Alvaraze

Taos Aprill 18th 1846

Sir

The troopes Stationed heare received an order from Armijo, to proceade imeadiately to Santafe as stated in the order, to treat on important military affairs, they leave in the morning, I take this opportunity of adressing you this. I have heard nothing as yet from the Waggon, I have bean expecting Estes back since the 15th, I presume he is travling with the waggon until they reach Red River, he should at all eventes be heare in a day or two.

Day before yesterday the Priest Martines Sister told a good joke of the priestes, which caused him a greadeal of uneasiness during the Passion week, some one had told him, or he imagined it, that I had had a hole dug from my house to the Church in which I had deposited

123. The word *formerly* is scratched out; so I judge that Bent changed from *formerly* to *in form*.

124. The second departmental assembly, elected January 1, 1846. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, p. 231 note.

three Kegs Powder, for the purpos of blowing them up on Good friday, he was so well persuaded of this, that he called on the justice his brother to come and examin my house to ascertain the fact, which he himself did not doubt, but his brother fool as he is, told the Priest he could not doe so, it was too rediculous to believe that such a thing was posible. I must be a good Sapper and Miner, in his estimation. Antoine Ledoux¹²⁵ and all other forigners are heare from Lo de Morra called to the Perfects, to exhibit thare letters of Security, this must be interesting to theas men after having bean ordered out on *Cortado*,¹²⁶ three or four time this Spring, the Perfect has had uss all before him he has taken our names, and I supose will reporte them to Armijo, and probably this will be the end of this greate hubbub.

Be on the look oute I think the Priest will endeavor to doe something againste our possessions, If you can get an order from Armijo (which he promised me) to the authoritys not to interfere or imbarris the Setling of our grantes¹²⁷ doe so, and send it up. M Lefever¹²⁸ should shortely be at the forte, if not alredy thare,

Aprill 19th

Estes and Fisher¹²⁹ arrived from the waggons today, they left them on the Pigatory¹³⁰ on the 16th, they got allong verry slow the Oxen are quite poore it will be 10 or 12 dayes before they reach the Pauniell, and at least 20 dayes before they reach Santafe. Your letter of the 16th reached heare about 12 oclock I shall leave for Santafe on tuesday 21st, and shall take your adviz, I have no desire to imbark in the enterprise you speake of, in fact I shall avoid the Gentlemen you mention, My respectes to all friendes and the Govenor.

Youres Respectfully
Chas Bent

Mr M Alvaraze
Sir

Taos May 1st 1846

Our Waggons left the Ryalle on the morning of the 29th of last. You may expect them in Santafe between the 8th & 10 of this. They are going on tolerable well.

125. Antoine Leroux: an early resident of Taos, trapper and guide. Well-known in his day and frequently mentioned in the literature of the West. See note 21.

126. *Cortado*: probably means ordered out on short term military service.

127. Bent had interests in the land grant better known as the Maxwell grant; and in the Las Animas grant and the Sangre de Cristo grant. *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 8:117. Cason, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

128. Manuel Le Fevre was a resident of Taos. Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah . . .*, p. 124 *passim*.

129. A prominent trader connected with Bent's Fort. His name may be attached to Fisher's Peak in the Raton mountains. Carroll, *Guadal P'A . . .*, p. 36 and note, citing Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, 15:56f. A Robert Fisher is listed as foreman of a trial jury at Taos in 1847. *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 1:30.

130. Purgatoire: see note 35.

St Vrain and Folger¹³¹ arrived a fue dayes passed. they leave in the morning for the U States, in consiquence of St Vrains having heard of the death of his mother, we have no nuse of consiquence heare, except that our Priest is rather put to an onplush in consiquence of the Perfect having sent the sute between Ortibeaze and Lucero back to be determined by Jose Marie Valdess he had asked in his representation to the Govenor that it should be sent to the justice of arojo Sake,¹³² this was not granted him, I think Ortibise will gane the sute, and posibly the Priest will go to jail, if he is insolent

Youres etc
C Bent

P S I shall be in Santafe shortly after St Vrain leaves.

CB

Mr M Alvaraze
Sir

Taos May 3rd 1846

Blair & George ware attacked by a mob in the squair of this place Blair was in Liquor, and George was trying to take him home, when theas fellowes made an attack on them. Roffial Salasar, Santiago Gabaldon, Callario Montallio, Juan Torris, & Jose Cordova allias Chuffean, and others.¹³³ I wish if Posible that the Govenor would have theas and those others not named, that have participated in this taken to Santafe for trial. it is imposible to get justice heare several of theas ar serventes of the big famely and they will protect them all they can. You will pleas make this Knone to the Govenor. I would like this done, to prevent any greater auterage. There has bean threatres made and if anything farther is done heare I would not like to answer for the consiquences. excuse this as I am much exited at this moment.

Youres etc
C Bent

P S doe all you can to have theas fellowes taken to Santafe as soone as posible.

CB

Mr. Alvarase
Sir

May 3rd 8 oclock night [1846]

I have just bean called over to George Bentes, this same mob that attacked him and Blair today have just left his Window whare they have bean insulting him. I have aprised the authority most neare to have it stoped wether it will be done I cannot say. Since dark I have

131. "Mr. Folger" . . . "has accompanied Mr. St. Vrain for several years, in pure love of adventure." Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah* . . . , p. 7.

132. Arroyo Seco (or a *dry wash* in English) is about three miles due north of Taos Pueblo.

133. I have no special information on these several men, apparently all residents of Taos.

bean told that the justice has told theas men to doe what they pleased he would not doe uss justice. I doe not vouch for the truth of this. but appearences are against him, he not having taken up the persons engaged in this affair, they are going about tawn drunk and singing, and rejoicing. in consiquence of thare victory, thare ware about thirty men attacked George & Blair I have not as yet faund aute the names of all conserved. The justice would take no stepes in the affair to day because it was sunday, this shawes that he conives at theas outrages, If this mob is not punished I would not answer for the pease of this place. Some of the ring leade[r]s are the Priestes & brothers serventes, who I have no doubt will sustain them. I hope you will prevail on the Govenor to interest himself in this affair for his honor as supream authority heare is at stake, some of theas ingaged in this affair, are the murderers of Francisco Lacampt, who hollowed lustely to kill them as they had done with the *Sordo*,¹³⁴ some person not yet knone is at the bottom of this affair

C Bent

Mr. Alvaraze
Sir

9 o'clock 3 May

I have just bean informed from a good sorse that Pasqual Martinis told Santago Golvadone to raise a party and go and attack Blair & George.

My informant did not heare P Martinis tell the above, but he was told this by bystanders who I will secure if thare testimony is wanted. I have suxceeded in getting the *juies de vario*¹³⁵ to place centennells to ceape of[f] the mob from Georges house, I have more confidence in him than the justice. Jose M Valdess saw the whole transaction but never interposed his authority to put a stop to it. I am told that theas are the most of them that ware ingaged in the attack on Beaubens house in 1843 Blair has three verry large Cutes in his head wether the Scule is affected or not we have not bean able to assertrain George is verry much beaten. Blair was left dead in a hole of Watter & mud in front of Lees house. I unfortunately was Absent at the [time] in the Rancho. St Vrain & Folger ware asleap, Pasqual Martinis sean the whole affair, he was standing neare Lees store If he had not of authorised the affair, why did he not interpose his authority to stop the mob, he himself told me he had sean the whole affair If the Govenor is disposed to have this affair inquired into, and weashes to get the truth, it must be done, intirely out of the reach of the influence of theas men who are in power heare. I have bean looking for some thing of this kind for some time, and if I recolect right I wrote you on this

134. The *Sordo*: the word means a deaf, or quiet, person; probably in this case one who was close-mouthed and a resident of Taos.

135. *Juez de vario*—or juez de barrio, meaning the judge of the district, although the term is not a title in itself in New Mexico so far as I know.

subject some time passed. If we are no longer protected by the authorities, we had better leave as soon as possible, we are so fair removed from any assistance [?] which we rely on from elsewhere that it amounts almost to none at all.

The justice has taken no notice up to this time of this affair, and I believe will take none. Please write me by the bearer, what is likely to be done also if the Governor acts let it be done quickly.

Yours etc
C Bent

Whilst this family is in authority foreigners are not secure, moreover they will be the cause of bringing their superiors into difficulty.

C B

Mr. M. Alvaraze
Sir

Taos May 10th 1846

I received your letter on the 7th inst enclosing the Governor's order to the effect I delivered it the same morning. At the same time made objections to Jose Marie Martines hearing the case, he told me he would pass it to the Substitute Valdés, this one having given me for reason, why he did not interfere in the affair on Sunday 3rd, that the justice proper, was present and saw the whole difficulty. I admitted him and so far he appears disposed to do justice, the witnesses that have been examined almost all say that the justice and brother the Capt saw the whole affair, and some go so far as to say that Pasqual rather incouraged the mob, or some of them. The justice and Pasquale being present and taking no steps to put a stop to the affair, to say the least of it, was an encouragement to the mob, to do as they pleased, in fact it amounted to permission to do even more than was done, the justice could not have failed to hear the expressions the mob made use of at the time *to kill the . . . as they had done . . . with . . .* they were beating Blair & George, as some of the witnesses state that they heard them, who were in the immediate vicinity of the justice. I think we shall be able to close the affair on Tuesday next, 11th this morning the justice Valdés, has heard that the Priest has told the culprits that are in jail, to raise and leave the their prison if he the justice does not discharge them, but the information comes from such a source (Wimen) that he cannot take hold on the Good Priest, he goes this morning to notify the Perfect. We shall be prepared to give the justice all the assistance in our power. In haste, the Priest and brothers are getting quite uneasy there is no doubt but they were the prime movers in the affair, as yet we have not been able to fix it on them clearly, but it may be let out if the delinquents are punished severely.

Yours in haste
C Bent

Mr. Alvaraze

Taos May 30th 1846

Sir

When I left Santafe you neglected to give me the \$4 for Louis Jones, I will pay him the money, and charge it to you. We have no nuse heare, except the threates suppose, to have bean caused to be made by the Priest and brothers. My dearborn [?] could not get farther than Rio ariba,¹³⁶ the mules ware so poor they ware unable to hall it. The bearer of this will deliver to you, the harnis that McNeas loned me, and on the deliverry, you will pay him four Dollars and fifty centes in Merchandise and charge to me, I shall leave on tusday next, St Vrain an George have returned from the other side of the mountain, they have secllected the cimerone¹³⁷ as the most elagable place to build and farme, they call the place Montazuma. Sageness got in yesterday from the forte, our waggons have bean gon 19 dayes, so we shall overtake them neare the settlements, the Waggons from Santafe reached the Pauniel yesterday I have heard none of the particulars of thare trip, Thare has three prisoners goten in from the Youtaws, they reporte that thare was but Six indians returned and some of theas wonded, how much credit can be attached to this reporte I am unable to say. I give the barrer an order for the Harnis at D Julian Luceros so he can have no excuse.

Youres etc
C Bent

D. Manuel Alvaraze

Taos May 31st 1846

Sir

In my last letter I neglected, to request you to informe the Govenor that I had told D. Juan B. Vigil,¹³⁸ that it was the Governors wish, that he should wright, to the justice Valdess, to get from Abreau Romero a mule, belonging to the Government, and send it to Santafe, this is one of the mules stollen last yeare from the Shyeen Indians which I paid the Indians for at General Martineze¹³⁹ request. Theas theaves should be made to pay (if posible) the expences the Government has bean at to satisfy the indians, D Juan Vigil I presume doubted, wether it was Armijos, order that he should wright to the justice on this subject as I delivered it verbally.

I shall leave on tusday next; Our settlement on the Pauniell, I think will go a head, this season, as thare are several persons, that

136. Rio Arriba means literally *up the river*, and was customarily applied to the region northward from Santa Fe. This reference implies a specific locale.

137. The Cimarron flows eastward and southward from the present-day Eagle Nest dam into the Canadian river.

138. Probably Juan Bautista Vigil y Alaric who was acting governor after the flight of Armijo to Chihuahua. He replied to General Kearny's address at Santa Fe on the occasion of the military occupation of New Mexico.

139. General Mariano Martínez de Lejanza served as governor of New Mexico from April, 1844, until May, 1845.

have meanes disposed to joine uss, The prisoners, those confined for the mob on the 3rd, have today opposed the Orders of the justice Valdess, it is suposed heare, that the Priest is working the wires,

My best respects to Armijo, Haughton, and D, A, Vigil.

Yours obt Svt
C Bent

P S the Priest Vigil will take this in the morning june 1st

Mr Alvaraze

Taos June 1st 1846

Sir

Since I wrote you last evening, we have had quite a stir heare, by the mob, the fellow that broke jail and went to Santafe returned last evening, the justice had orders from the Perfect to put him in Irons so soone as he returned, the justice, ordered to be put in close confinmet, but the ballence of those that are in jail opposed the order, the justice then ordered the ring leader of the prisoners to be put in Irons, this they have opposed with threates, saying they will obey no authority, Mentioning the Perfect, and justice; there is no doubt but theas rascals have bean exited to doe this, to bring the justice Valdess into disrepute, this justice called on the justice Martines for assistance, I have not heard wether he will, or will not grant it. If the Govenor doze not take some energetic steps to stop this, and have the delinguentes severaly punished, there will greate disorder grow out of this. You should if convenient sea the Govenor, before he despachs the barrer of this and an officio to him on this subject, and urge him to doe something to saporte Valdess and his authority, and give the Priest, and brothers thare quieatas,¹⁴⁰ I think they are the moovers in this cause, as the prisoners frequently say, that the justice Valdess, is doing all he can against the *Bendeto Padre*¹⁴¹ Such expressions go to prove that he has something to doe with them.

My Packs left this morning, and I shall leave tomorrow morning with the settlers of the Paunille, give the justice Valdess aid with the ankle if you can

Yours Respectfully
Chas Bent

P S Since I wrote the above the prisnrs have left the jail, and have presented themselves to the justice Martineze, he instead of having them taken up and put in jail told them he had nothing to doe with them, he has in this shone his desposition to favor disorders, and I assure you if theas rascals are not puneshed there will be no safety hear, they have thretoned the life of the justice.

C Bent.

140. *Quieta*: probably from *quietar*, meaning to quiet. In other words, the brothers were to be punished in a quick decisive way and disabled for future trouble-making.

141. *Bendito Padre*: the Blessed Father. Probably refers to Padre Martínez, with a sneering or mildly vindictive meaning.

Book Reviews

The Big Bend Country of Texas. By Virginia Madison. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1955. Pp. xiv, 263. \$4.50.

The Big Bend of the Rio Grande encloses a region which is still frontier. It is a sparsely settled area of flaming deserts and lofty mountains, difficult of access and hostile to all but the hardiest plants, animals and men. Across the river in Mexico lies a still wilder wasteland. Virginia Madison, a Texas girl transplanted to New York State, calls the country a *tierra desconocida*—an unknown land—and tries to analyze the spell which this wilderness casts over the imaginations of natives and visitors alike. The essence of it, she thinks, is the fact that the realities of the Big Bend live up to the “staggering lies” which have been told about it.

Its history begins with the Indians. A subdivision of the Mescalero Apache tribe made it their home and held it against all comers until fairly recent times. Mexican settlers maintained a precarious existence in small communities along the river after the early years of the nineteenth century, but their lot was a hard one. A few tough Americans like trader Ben Leaton and cattleman Milton Faver took root there before the Civil War, assisted by the military when Fort Davis was established in 1854.

The railroad came in 1882, bringing more settlers—cattlemen, sheepmen, and miners—but life was not made any easier. Early-day outlaws were succeeded by *contrabandistas* and *Villistas*, and when wicked human beings ceased from troubling, there were always panthers, golden eagles, and long dry spells to put the ranchmen out of business.

The best thing about such a country, where heroism and endurance had to be the rule rather than the exception, was its legendry. Mrs. Madison has gathered all the stories and delights in telling them, from the tale of the Lost Nigger Mine to the steer branded MURDER. At the same time she has dug into all the available source material, has an impressive bibliography, and quotes from all manner of letters, documents, and interviews.

She tells the story of the great mercury mines at Terlingua, tries to analyze the peculiar relations between Mexicans and Anglos, goes thoroughly into the characteristics of cattlemen and sheepmen, studies the flora and fauna of the region, and concludes with an account of the birth and development of the Big Bend National Park. If she has missed anything, this reviewer has not noticed it.

Mrs. Madison is a competent historian and she writes well, though her Spanish needs occasional correction and though she is perhaps a little lengthy in her transcription of letters, documents, and newspaper accounts. Her book would be better if she had a little poetry in her—if she sometimes could find language to match the ruggedness and vastness of her subject. As a ground breaker, however, she has done very well; and perhaps it is too early for West Texas to produce its Homer.

Texas Western College—El Paso, Texas C. L. SONNICHSEN

Anselm Weber, O. F. M.: Missionary to the Navaho 1898-1921. By Robert L. Wilken, O. F. M. Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955. Pp. xiv, 255, illustrations, index.

Father Robert L. Wilken has written a book for many readers. He who loves the Southwest will find great interest in this biography of a twentieth century Franciscan missionary to the Indians, for it deals with a man who lived close to the people and the soil of this region. Historians concerned with the westward movement, the Indian, religious activities, and social history can discover here grist for their various mills. For anthropologists, too, this study contains material on the Navaho and Zuni tribes and a case study of an attempt at acculturation.

Father Anselm Weber, born 1862 in Michigan, was at heart a student and teacher. He left his scholarly pursuits among the Cincinnati Franciscans to recover from illness induced by an excessive academic load. So in 1898 he was one of the three friars who initiated the Navaho mission for

which Mother Katharine Drexel had long worked and which she largely financed.

St. Michaels Mission in Arizona is some sixty miles west of Gallup, New Mexico, in the southeastern corner of the Navaho reservation. As the author indicates in his early chapters, Mother Katharine was reviving the Roman Church's sporadic and unsuccessful attempts over more than two centuries to christianize this proud tribe. The stubborn devotion, inspiring optimism, and discouraging rebuffs of this modern effort and the remarkable character of the man who chiefly led it are clearly and carefully presented by Father Robert.

No treatment of such a subject is adequate without some understanding of the cultural problems involved. Father Robert has taken pains to present enough of this material to show his readers not only how difficult was the missionary's task but also how intelligently the friars under Father Anselm's leadership dealt with it.

Mission policy grew slowly and painfully, beginning with a determination to master the complicated Navaho language. So successfully was this accomplished that from the St. Michaels press has come an impressive stream of linguistic and anthropological works, which are basic to a study of the Navaho today. Father Anselm's efforts to uplift the tribe economically and to guide the people to a more settled existence in which "they may have an opportunity themselves to live the Christian life" never proved as successful. Essentially Father Anselm's greatest achievement was in winning the affection and trust of these Indians who had suffered so severely at the hands of the whites. This he did by devoting his life to their problems, fighting their battles even in the government buildings at Washington, and serving as spokesman, peacemaker, and guardian.

The biographer has done a scholarly job of research and synthesis, using secondary works in history and anthropology where necessary but relying most on such primary sources as diaries and the rich collections of Franciscan materials from Arizona to Washington. Nor were interviews and newspapers neglected. Footnotes, thank goodness, cluster

like barnacles on the *bottom* of each page. It is almost ungrateful, therefore, to point out shortcomings of this work. The necessary map at the beginning might have been fuller, and its type variations made no sense to this reviewer. Occasional misprints and a lengthy index that still lacked some obvious entries marred an otherwise fine job of book-making. But the pictures are useful and enlightening, while the chiefly chronological organization proved awkward only in Chapter VIII. These are minor matters, however, that cannot hide the thoughtful, intelligent whole.

Lincoln, Massachusetts

IRVING TELLING

Trailing the Cowboy. By Clifford P. Westermeier. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1955. Pp. 398. \$5.00.

This work is an attempt pretty thoroughly to dissect, analyze and characterize the picturesque cow herdsman of the Western plains. This effort results in such chapter headings as: The Man On Horseback; All In The Day's Work; Law and Disorder; Foes on the Frontier; and so on to a total of eleven, each with an editorial introduction. The compiler-editor successfully carries out his undertaking.

This "trailing" of the cowpuncher is not the telling of a story as such. The reader will not find a thrilling love narrative or a gripping suspense in the usual romantic sense. And yet, this volume is chock full of interesting and pertinent material for anyone who cares to attain a better understanding of the cowboy.

The theme of the book is, of course, the American cowboy. What was his origin, who was he, what was he like, what did he do and how did he do it? By and large, Mr. Westermeier has done an excellent job in weaving together the significant material and in answering the foregoing and other appropriate questions. Was the cowpuncher wedded to his horse? Certainly, because without a horse you were not really a cowboy. Did he often sing his herd of cattle to sleep? Well, almost, for he gave them a feeling of security, conducive to sleep by singing as he rode slowly around the

outer circle of them at night. Was he brutal? No! Did he play poker? Yes. Was he a good shot? Well, yes and no. Did he drink plenty of "bug juice" or "Texas lightning"? You bet! And so on.

The hey-day of the cowboy was during approximately the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and this is the era covered by the material presented in this book. The editor's sources are chiefly Western newspapers; nevertheless, he has included enough books, documents, and magazines to give it a well-balanced effect. The quoted characterizations and descriptions of the cowboy are vivid and authentic, as they should be, because they were written, not by Gene Autry, but by those frontier neighbors and newspaper men who knew the cowpuncher best. True, some of the accounts differ as to detail, and perhaps certain facts vary, but not significantly when it comes to fundamentals.

The editor's sub-chapter and chapter introductions are unusually well written and useful in pointing up the material included. The quotations cover a wide range of interests involving the cowboy and his environment. The average reader, as well as the expert, will find few or no questions that go unanswered. This reviewer found only one, and that one was of no great significance. There is an eight page description of a cowboy strike in the Texas Panhandle. Did the strikers succeed or fail? One could infer that they failed, but perhaps the editor could have been more accurate by specifically saying so.

At the end of each chapter, there is accurate and full footnoting, and there is a separate bibliography at the end of the book.

Mr. Westermeier and his publishers must regret the typographical error on page 17: ". . . in the middle eighties, the cattlemen's frontier embraced an area of some 13,500,000 square miles and totaled almost 44% of the United States!" The total area of the United States is about 3,000,000 square miles. This is, of course, a very slight mar on a book that is otherwise apparently quite accurate.

"The legend of the American Cowboy is the greatest symbol of America," said Will Rogers, Jr., at the dedication of

the projected Cowball Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City in November, 1955. Surely Mr. Westermeier's work as a useful and lasting contribution to the history of the West deserves a place in that hall.

University of California, Santa Barbara College;
and Arizona State College

H. EDWARD NETTLES

Six Gun and Silver Star. By Glenn Shirley. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1955. Pp. vii, 235. Bibliography, map, and index. \$4.50.

The rather solid character of this book distinguishes it from the title—*Six Gun and Silver Star*. To be sure this is another of many volumes on bad men of the Southwest. But the author, Glenn Shirley, has given distinction to his work by making a conscientious effort to tell an accurate, un glossed, and unromanticized story. Moreover, he has documented his account. At times he goes to considerable length to give reasons for some of his statements and conclusions. One therefore reads with considerable assurance that the exploits narrated in this book come within the realm of history rather than fiction.

He begins with a graphic account of the opening of part of Indian Territory to white settlers on April 22, 1889. In the midst of the great mass of land hungry "Boomers" and "Sooners" on hand for the land grab was the lawless element which was soon to terrorize and cast a frightful blight upon, not only Oklahoma Territory, but the entire Southwest. Beginning with the Dalton brothers, there was a succession of not unrelated gangs which have here been subjected to the scrutiny of a person who combines authorship with the profession of law enforcement.

Mr. Shirley has a penchant for details which to some readers may be wearisome. So when, for example, he describes the Dalton's ill-fated simultaneous hold-up of two Coffeyville, Kansas, banks, it is possible to visualize the intricate series of bloody events which occurred in this small frontier town.

It is not surprising that Mr. Shirley, a police captain at Stillwater, Oklahoma, looks with considerable admiration and sympathy upon such frontier marshals as John Hixon, Jim Masterson, Bill Tilghman and the Dane, Chris Madsen. And appropriately enough, the author views with contempt and scorn the Dalton, Doolin, and other outlaw gangs. In the extensive and repeated gunplay between the forces of law and of outlaw, one cannot but observe that on both sides the record exhibits an amazing disparity between rounds fired and shots which found their mark. But in almost Hollywood fashion, it is comforting to learn that even in those days crime did not pay. The final chapter of the book tells the story of how the last of the Oklahoma Territorial outlaws "bit the dust."

Indiana University

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

Snow of Kansas: The Life of Francis Huntington Snow with Extracts from his Journals and Letters. By Clyde Kenneth Hyder. Foreword by Deane W. Malott. Pp. xi, 296. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1953. Appendices A and B. Index. Illustrations. \$5.00.

The career of Francis Huntington Snow was long and varied. From a New England family steeped in the reform movements of the 1840's, Frank went to Williams College and studied under Mark Hopkins. During the Civil War he served on the Christian Commission, and in 1866 he was named one of the three original professors at the University of Kansas. From 1890 to 1901 Snow served as chancellor of the University, and lived for seven years after his retirement.

Snow's great service to learning was in science. A botanist and entomologist, he was, like most of the scientists of his day, a collector and classifier more than a laboratory scholar. The subjects of his many books and periodicals range widely, and deal with problems of applied science rather than pure.

The eleven years of Snow's service as chancellor saw considerable physical growth of the University of Kansas and the doubling of the enrollment. Stout Republican that he was,

Snow succeeded in holding the line, during that stormy decade, against the efforts of the Populists to make over the University to their own designs. He was successful in preventing his institution from coming under the sway of radicals to the extent that Kansas State College at Manhattan did.

Professor Hyder's eulogistic biography has value. It contains a useful list of Snow's many writings, and the chancellor's strong character is well drawn. The biographer had access to his subject's lengthy and self-analytical journals, and used Snow's other manuscripts as well. It would have been more useful if the author had familiarized himself more with the nature of those activities that touched Snow's life. The account of the chancellor's encounters with the Populist group, for instance, would have been enriched had the biographer stated more clearly what that party was really working for. Although his history of Kansas University in the late nineteenth century is thorough, he considers it too much apart from contemporary developments in higher education generally.

Such careless errors as Hyder's reference to "the diary of Richard Byrd of Westover" (p. 11) are rare. The notes are useful even though they are at the rear of the book. The index appears to be well done.

University of New Mexico

WILLIAM M. DABNEY

Comanche Bondage: Dr. John Charles Beale's settlement of La Villa de Dolores on Las Moras Creek in Southern Texas of the 1830's [by Carl Coke Rister] with an annotated reprint of Sarah Ann Horn's Narrative of her captivity among the Comanches her ransom by traders in New Mexico and return via the Santa Fe Trail. Edited by Carl Coke Rister. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1955. Pp. 210. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.

This title indicates the comprehensive character of the book. The late Dr. Rister planned the "Introduction" to merge smoothly into the story of Indian captivity, not merely

as a background but as portentous of the horrors of the captivity.

The story begins with Dr. John Charles Beale, an English physician in Mexico, who married a Mexican woman, widow of another Englishman, who had obtained an interest in a grant of 45,000,000 acres in the *Llano Estacado*. Beale took this interest along with the widow. He sent Major A. Le-Grand of Santa Fe to explore the area. Dr. Rister points out that this was nearly twenty years before Captain R. B. Marcy, "who has worn the honor of first explorer." Beale finally had the grant confirmed for only a few million acres, along the upper Nueces and south to the Rio Grande. He then organized the Rio Grande and Texas Land Company in New York to finance colonization. He did not appreciate the difficulties of the undertaking: soil and climate, remoteness from markets, hostility of the Mexicans, which soon broke out in war, and the ferocity of the Comanches, whose war trail ran through his grant.

The colonists numbered fifty-nine persons, mostly men, but including John Horn, his wife Sarah Ann, with two young sons, and a Mr. and Mrs. Harris and "a babe." The party landed in December, 1833, on Copango Beach, near Bayside, Texas, in a drenching rain. A hard trip overland brought it, three months later, to the site of the colony on Las Moras Creek. The short history of the colony was full of privations and turmoil; rough weather, crop failures, extortionate prices for supplies charged by the company store and by Mexicans, and raids by the Comanches. Dr. Beale left for New York and soon the colony broke up. The leaders took their movable equipment and sought refuge in San Fernando where their property was seized and they were arrested as rebels. A group of men started down the Rio Grande to Matamoros where passage might be found on a boat bound for civilization. Another group went to join Houston's army, fighting Santa Anna. The Horn and Harris families with others started overland to Copango. The Comanches soon attacked them and killed all except Mrs. Horn and her two sons, and Mrs. Harris and her "babe."

With the other colonists in limbo, Mrs. Horn takes up the

story of the remaining five. Privations and dread were succeeded by horrors inflicted upon the captives. Long fast rides on wild ponies, often days without food, hard work in camps, and many indignities were their lot. The "babe" was soon murdered and Mrs. Harris, weak and sick, remained a slave until finally sold to Mexican traders. The Comanches would not sell Mrs. Horn until 1838. Her portrait reveals a handsome and strong woman who could work. Her sons were separated from her but she saw them occasionally until they finally disappeared. She was taken far into New Mexico where the tribe made its home. On a trip to Texas, she was finally purchased by some Americans who sent her to Missouri, where she was cared for while writing this book in order to obtain money with which to pay her passage to her home in England.

Radical differences in the style of Dr. Rister's presentation from that of Mrs. Horn broadens the interest. Mrs. Horn writes clearly and simply, without emotional adjectives, except in matters of religion. She relates her experiences sincerely and objectively which reveals the horrors of the captivity more vividly than could a lurid recital. Dr. Rister's "Introduction" is illuminated by use of all available documents. His narrative is concise and details are presented effectively. In no other writings does he show himself more a master of his subject.

The seven illustrations are good and not otherwise easily available. The book is printed on fine paper and well bound.

Montana State University

PAUL C. PHILLIPS

The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez with other contemporary documents. Edited by Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1956. Pp. xxi, 387. Illustrations, glossary and index. \$15.00.

The name of Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez has long been a byword in the history of New Mexico due to his

participation in an expedition that traveled from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Utah and across the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in 1776. The journal of that exploration has been published more than once. This book presents for the first time, and in translation, the remarkable report on the missions of New Mexico in 1776. They are described in great detail, both buildings and furnishings, with bits of information on the work done by missionaries in building, maintaining and remodeling the structures, including both church and convent. Fray Francisco's inventory is so thorough that I am sure he would not have missed even the proverbial poor church mouse if there had been one.

The author also discussed briefly the way of life of the settlers, thereby strengthening his account as a source of information for the general history of eighteenth century New Mexico. To one familiar with the scene and area through other writings, much can be read between the lines.

The Editors have prepared a separate list of the names of settlers mentioned in the text with biographical data drawn from other sources, principally from Fray Angelico Chavez' *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period*. This should be of especial value to readers interested in genealogy. They have also listed separately the names of ninety-five missionaries (eighteenth century workers with rare exception), with dates and places of assignments. Some of the biographical data in these respects remains yet to be assembled by additional research.

A number of supplementary documents have been incorporated which add to the story of New Mexico, both ecclesiastical and civil.

The frontispiece is a reproduction of the Reredos of Our Lady of Light now in the church of Cristo Rey, Santa Fe. Working from a photograph provided by Laura Gilpin, the Reredos is restored in the picture as of 1776 and printed in color.

The twenty-six mission churches with convents as originally built are illustrated by Horace T. Pierce in line drawings in perspective. They add very much to the attractiveness of the book. Three eighteenth century maps are

reproduced, two for the province in general and a ground plan of Santa Fe. The Miera y Pacheco map of 1779, prepared by order of Governor Anza, is divided and enlarged for distribution throughout the volume. The details are thereby magnified and become more alluring to a reader who is not inclined to squint his eyes in order to study a map.

The inclusion of a glossary was an excellent idea. For instance, the meaning of such words as *maese* (or *maestre*) *de campo*, *genízaro*, *Fray*, and *convento* is clarified for many who otherwise might have trouble with them in documents or printed works. English-speaking Franciscans today, the Editors point out, tend to favor the old English term of *Friary* for *Convent* in order to avoid confusion with the latter term which is popularly associated with the dwellings of female religious.

The Editors did not use the accent on *Abiquiu*. This is in step with the growing practice to drop the accent on *Santa Fe*. *Fray Angelico's* name is here printed without accents (*Angélico Chávez*) which I believe is in keeping with his own wishes and should be followed by other writers when the occasion permits. A brief historical introduction and an index round out the volume.

One more comment, and by far not the least, is the scholarly annotation that accompanies the report and supplementary documents. The *Missions of New Mexico* will not be a popular book for light reading, but it will serve the interests of a variety of readers, and not necessarily those whose range is limited to the Southwest. For serious students especially, text and annotations can be read with profit.

The Press did an excellent job. For a moment I found one typographical error in the spelling of *Cojnina*, but on second glance it was not so.

F. D. R.