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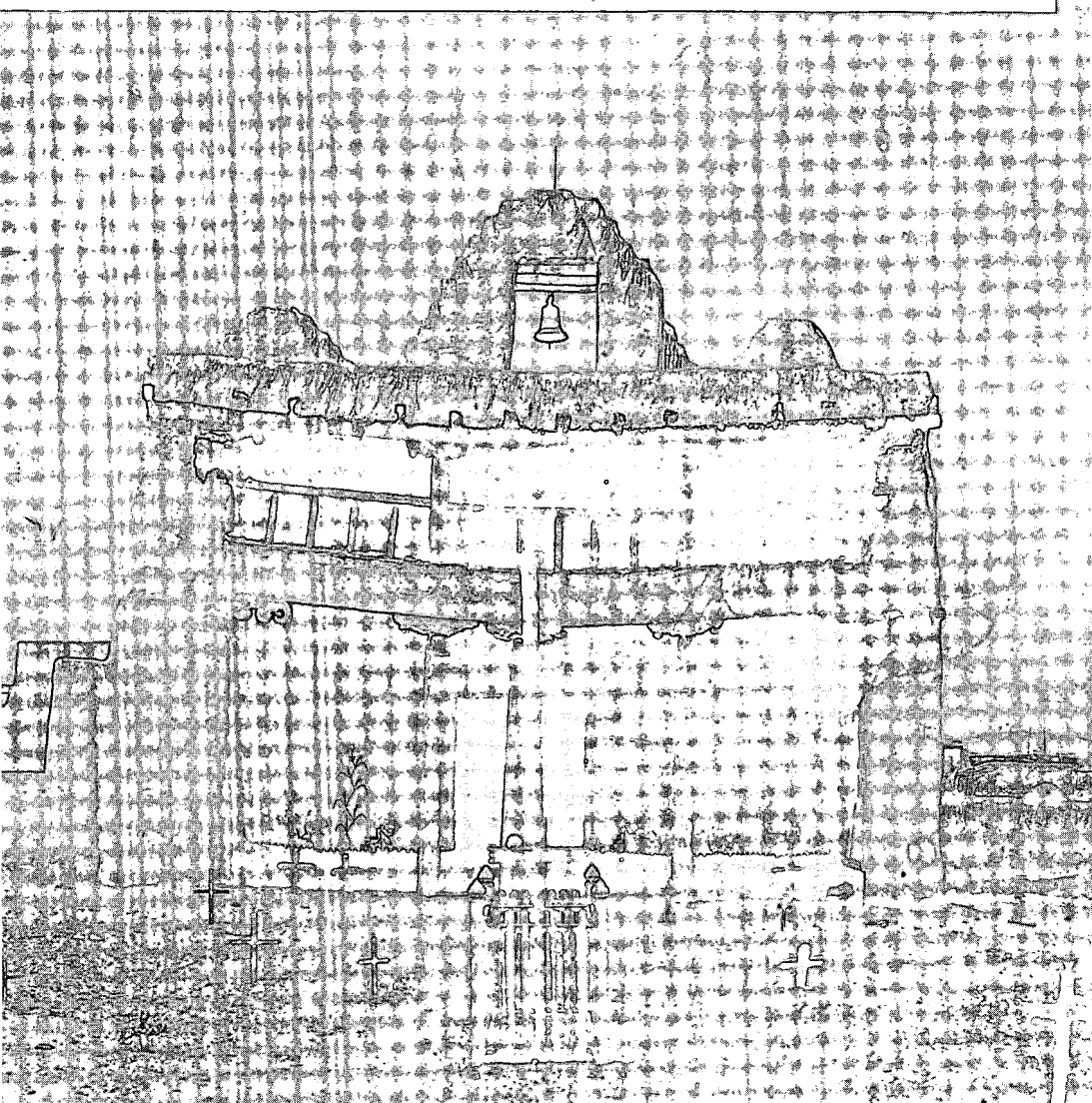
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ON THE COVER

COCHITI PUEBLO CHURCH, BY ADAM VROMAN, 1899

(Photograph courtesy National Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution)

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Death Delayed

THE SAD CASE OF THE TWO MARÍAS, 1773–1779

John L. Kessell

Word had finally reached Santa Fe. The executions should proceed. Moreover, thundered lawyer Pedro Galindo Navarro, “the cadavers should be left hanging there for an interval of several days so that those who did not attend and see the sentence carried out may have this time after the fact to see and convey the news to their pueblos, where it is likely to produce the salutary effect of terrifying and restraining wrongdoers.”¹

Violent death was commonplace in colonial New Mexico, but the spectacle of public execution was not.² This case was extraordinary. Pending for five years, at times almost forgotten, its close now became a matter of unfinished business for Juan Bautista de Anza, the colony’s famed incoming governor who evidently brought Galindo’s legal opinion with him from Chihuahua in the fall of 1778.³

* * * *

The crime scene had resembled the canvas of a twentieth-century Santa Fe or Taos artist. Nothing on that spring Friday afternoon, 16 April 1773, bespoke the brutal murder about to take place. Three Pueblo Indians, a man and two women, idled while a much larger group with tools in hand set out from Cochiti Pueblo to labor at cleaning an irrigation ditch. The solitary trio now made their way on foot up Peralta Canyon. They appeared to be in

Professor Emeritus and founding editor of the Vargas Project at the University of New Mexico, John L. Kessell is the author of *Pueblos, Spaniards, and the Kingdom of New Mexico* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).

no hurry and were gone all day. About the hour of the evening angelus prayer, the two Indian women returned to the pueblo. The man did not.

Questioned over the weekend by neighbors, the women—the missing man's wife and his mother-in-law—rehearsed the story of how he had decided to stay and camp out in the countryside. Cochiti Indian Lorenzo Chaya, knowing that the man was from Tesuque Pueblo north of Santa Fe and unfamiliar with the local terrain, went looking for him. Picking up the threesome's trail, he followed it to the foot of the mountains where on top of a hill he found the man. Chaya did not touch the body but headed back toward the pueblo. Meeting six war captains on the trail, he led them back to where the dead man lay face down. Rather than disturb the body, they simply reported the death. On Monday, 19 April, a dozen young men carried the corpse down to the pueblo for burial. It bore unmistakable signs of foul play. The man had been murdered.

Initial investigation of reported crimes in colonial New México fell to the Spanish *alcalde mayor*. In this instance, the district officer was don José Miguel de la Peña, whose ranch lay some three miles south of Cochiti Pueblo on the opposite or east bank of the Rio Grande. Notified that a Cochiti mother and daughter had killed an Indian from Tesuque, Peña set in motion the legal process. Since no government-registered notary resided in New Mexico, he summoned two neighbors to serve as the required assisting witnesses: Nerio Antonio Montoya, his lieutenant *alcalde mayor*, who spoke the Keresan language of the pueblo; and Cristóbal Manuel Montoya.

At least one Franciscan missionary serving at the time in Peña's jurisdiction had a low opinion of the *alcalde mayor*. "This man set out to skin the Indians," wrote fray Joaquín de Jesús Ruiz, "demanding sheep, pregnant cows, maize, etc., in the governor's name, laying such a burden on the six pueblos under his command that the Indians cried out. The ministers were unable to speak up, because the officials are swollen with importance and the ministers unheard, and he who interfered in such cases came out with the decrees at his haunches."⁴

The *alcalde's* party reined up at Cochiti on Thursday, 22 April, nearly a week after the alleged murder. If he followed procedure strictly, Peña displayed his silver-tipped staff of authority, symbolizing at this time and in this place the desire of a distant king that all his subjects have recourse to royal justice. Verifying reports of the murder, the *alcalde* had the two women arrested. He then opened formal proceedings. First to testify through interpreter Montoya under oath and the sign of the cross was Lorenzo Chaya,

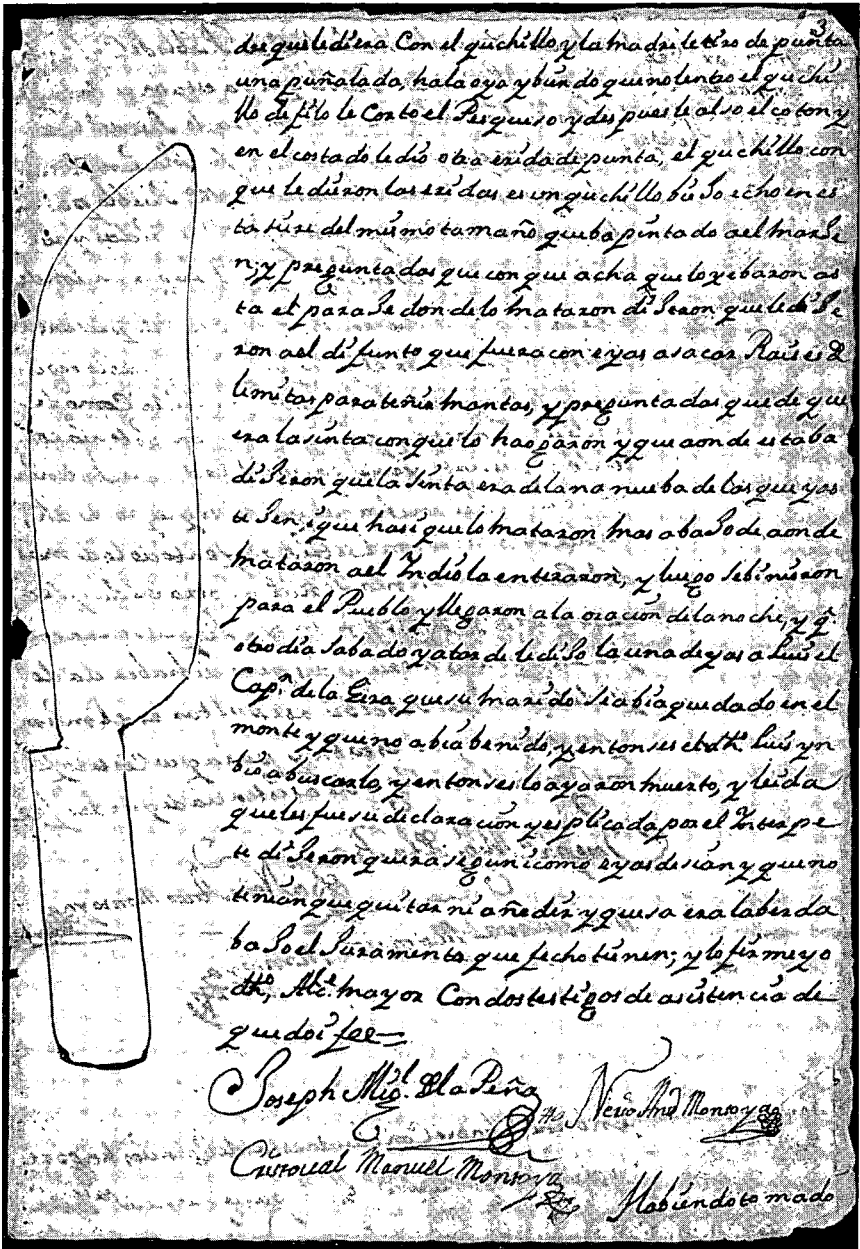
who described finding the body. Pueblo governor Manuel Romero and his assistant Ascencio declared further that the Tesuque man's name was Agustín. As soon as the young bearers had arrived in the pueblo with Agustín's corpse, they had reported to the father missionary and then buried the body.⁵

Alcalde mayor Peña next ordered the two accused women brought before him and his two assisting witnesses. Nerio Montoya continued to act as interpreter. Together, this preliminary tribunal heard the chilling initial testimony of María Josefa and María Francisca, mother and daughter. Asked straightaway if they had killed Agustín, they answered yes. Had he suddenly provoked them? The younger woman said no, admitting that the crime was premeditated, not a spontaneous act of passion or self-defense.

She tried to explain. As soon as she and Agustín had reached her mother's house at Cochiti, she had taken María Josefa aside and told her that she intended to kill her husband. At first the older woman protested. María Francisca insisted that he did not love her and, worse, if they did not kill him, he would take her away permanently to Tesuque—a genuine concern in matrilocal Cochiti. Pondering the almost certain abduction of her daughter, María Josefa had consented. The Friday of the murder, the three had hiked up to the foot of the mountains, where they climbed a hill and sat down under a pine tree. María Francisca offered to delouse Agustín, who untied the band that bound his braid and stretched out with his head on his wife's skirts.

When Agustín fell asleep, María Francisca took the band and wrapped it around her husband's neck like a noose. She held one end tightly, signaling to María Josefa to grab the other end and pull with all her might. With Agustín half choked, María Francisca pressed her mother to stab him with the knife they had brought along. When the point hit bone at the base of Agustín's neck, María Josefa slit his throat, then raised his jacket and stabbed him in the side. Somehow the old knife had turned up as evidence, and alcalde mayor Peña had it traced in the margin of the document.

Asked what pretense the two women had used to lure Agustín to his death, they testified that they asked him to go with them to dig squawbush root (*raices de lemitas*) for dying cloth. The band they had used to strangle him, what was it made of and where was it now? It was woven of typical new wool, they responded, and they had buried it down from where they killed Agustín. Last, María Francisca stated that late Saturday, the day after the murder, she had told Luis, a Cochiti war captain, that her husband had not returned to the pueblo, and Luis had sent out searchers who found the



DOCUMENT WITH ALLEGED MURDER KNIFE TRACED IN MARGIN
 Spanish Archives of New Mexico II, doc. 673, folio 3 (Courtesy the
 New Mexico State Records Center and Archives)

body. If the two confessed murderers felt any remorse, it must have been lost in the translation.⁶

Before concluding his investigation, Peña petitioned fray Estanislao Mariano de Marulanda, the Franciscan missionary assigned to Cochiti, to have Agustín's corpse dug up to verify the wounds. There were only two: one in the neck three fingers wide, which slit the victim's gullet (enough by itself to have caused death) and the other below the ribs in his side the width of the knife, from which his intestines protruded. After examination the body was reburied in the same grave.⁷

That concluded the preliminary investigation. Signing the six-page dossier with his two witnesses, Peña remitted it, along with the two Cochiti women, to Gov. Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta in Santa Fe, who acknowledged receipt the next day, 23 August. The two female defendants were "put in secure confinement" in Santa Fe. Governor Mendinueta, who administered the colony from 1767 until 1778—the lengthiest tenure of any Spanish governor of New Mexico—found himself sorely beleaguered, waging more war than peace with various divisions of the Comanche and Ute nations. Still, he took seriously the case of the two Marías.

First, Mendinueta ordered Peña to appoint and send to the capital two reliable interpreters: a Keres Indian who knew Spanish and a Spaniard who knew Keresan. By this means the governor sought to preclude "any fraud or deceit." Formal court proceedings began on 22 May 1773. Because María Francisca looked underage, Governor Mendinueta named Santa Fe citizen Pedro Tafoya to act as her guardian *ad litem* (*curador*). The court then swore in the two bilingual interpreters: Indian Gervasio Corís and lieutenant alcalde mayor Nerio Antonio Montoya. Immediately thereupon the governor summoned María Francisca.

The young widow listened as interpreter Corís explained in her language the gravity of the oath she was about to take and her obligation to tell the truth. María Francisca, who did not know how old she was, appeared to be between sixteen and eighteen. This, her second confession, in no way contradicted her earlier statement, yet it provided additional details regarding the women's motive for killing Agustín.

In the confidence of their home in Cochiti, her mother had asked María Francisca if Agustín had provided her with the customary minimum essentials: cloth for dresses, sash, and shoes (*mantas, faja, y zapatos*). She said no, and her mother pitied her, lamenting, "You poor little thing; he has given you nothing." When a Cochiti official notified María Francisca that she

must leave Cochiti with her husband the following Sunday (18 April), go back to Tesuque, and not return to her pueblo, she and her mother determined to kill Agustín. María Francisca admitted that it was she who had suggested the murder. Asked if there were other accomplices, she stated that there were not. Having nothing further to add, María Francisca ratified her confession, and interpreter Montoya signed it for her.⁸

María Josefa, sworn in under the same conditions as her daughter, declared that she was a native and resident of the pueblo of Cochiti, married, and unsure of her age. Nowhere in the record does the name or whereabouts of the older woman's husband appear. María Josefa looked to be forty. En route to the murder scene, she testified that the three of them had stopped in an orchard to eat peaches (an unlikely repast in mid-April, hinting at inaccuracies in the court translation). Asked if her son-in-law had died of the two knife wounds, María Josefa declared "that when she stabbed him he was already choked and she did it so he would not get up." Regarding her motive for conspiring with her daughter to murder her son-in-law, she said simply that Agustín wanted to take María Francisca to the pueblo of Tesuque.⁹

Hardly grounds for murder, Agustín had nevertheless spit in the face of a matrilineal society. He should have moved to her pueblo. A close reading of contemporary mission marriage registers might suggest the frequency of such mixed Pueblo unions across language boundaries; I suspect they were rare. Although not an issue in the trial proceedings, Agustín's Tewa-speaking community of Tesuque, closest pueblo to Santa Fe and long tightly linked to the Spanish capital, had become more accepting of the colonists' patrilineal and patrilocal ways.

Having heard their confessions, Governor Mendinueta formally charged María Francisca and María Josefa in the murder of Agustín. They were given six days to present any further evidence in their own defense. The younger woman already had recourse through the interpreters to her guardian. Because her mother was also deemed incompetent to prepare a defense and knew no one in the capital, the governor appointed citizen Julián de Armijo as her defense counsel (*defensor*). The interpreters did their best to make the women understand.

Six days later, Governor Mendinueta signed in receipt of guardian Tafoya's discovery of evidence for María Francisca. Tafoya had gone to the presidial jail (*cuerpo de guardia, cárcel*) with the Keresan interpreter to question her, trying to impress upon his young client the beauty of telling the truth. Given

that she had already confessed to killing Agustín, Tafoya asked her what cause or motive she had for doing so.

María Francisca made known through the interpreter that she had only agreed to marry Agustín when he promised not to take her from her pueblo, to truly love her, and to care for her affectionately, none of which he had done. Instead, he spent “most of the time mad (*amostazado*)” at her. Surely Tafoya asked her what that meant—how did Agustín show his anger; did he beat her or otherwise abuse her?—yet his client offered no such incriminating evidence. Her husband’s utter failure to provide the promised love and care had nurtured in her childish breast the inadvertent beginnings that would lead her to such an excess. She had married Agustín against her mother’s will, not considering the long-term consequences of her act. Finding herself without her husband’s protection or shelter, and living the bitter truth of her mother’s opposition, she knew not where to turn. This had set her on the path to the ill-considered murder.

Whatever form Agustín’s alleged abuse had taken—psychological or physical, or both—it ensnared María Francisca quickly. She had murdered him less than three months after their wedding. Not part of the court record, the marriage entry for the couple showed that fray Juan José de Llanos had officiated at their wedding on 26 January 1773 at the pueblo of Nambe, of which Tesuque was a visiting station.¹⁰

Armijo followed with his presentation of evidence in María Josefa’s behalf. The older woman offered only that her daughter had told her how badly things were going in her marriage and that Agustín “was punishing her (*la castigaba*).” Again, the record offers no further explanation. Irrational, childlike, and persuaded by her daughter, María Josefa had committed this absurd act with no thought to the future. She had nothing further to say, and Armijo requested in her behalf that the governor exercise justice charitably.

Since neither Tafoya nor Armijo had asked for an extension, Governor Mendinueta provided them in turn with the trial record and ordered that each prepare within four days of receipt a formal defense of his client. Handed the documents on 29 May 1773, Tafoya presented his defense of María Francisca first.

Reviewing the proceedings, her guardian concluded that María Francisca, driven by inconsistent and illogical reasoning, seemed not to recognize the hideousness of her crime. He commented on his client’s crass ignorance, citing the example of her telling war captain Luis that her husband had not

returned to the pueblo. Even though who she was did not excuse her, she made Tafoya think of a girl deserving correction and punishment. The governor, with his understanding and charity, would know how to look upon this “simple neophyte” so lacking in reason. Tafoya ended his defense with a discussion of how fear could take hold of such a person.

Armijo, entrusted with the twenty-page trial record on 2 June, had an easier time than his colleague. He considered María Josefa only an accessory to the crime. When her daughter first proposed the murder, she had said no. Only after María Francisca had pressed her further did “the mother acquiesce to the daughter’s accursed idea,” thereby proving the old adage, “one parent for a thousand children, and a thousand children for one parent,” that is to say, blood is thicker than water. “Had this evil daughter not dragged her mother along with her cunning, the ignorant mother, so lacking in speculative reason, would not have committed such a grave error.” Nowhere else did Armijo or Tafoya allude to either woman’s cunning. Armijo went on to cite God’s law that thou shalt not kill, but also that he who pardons shall be pardoned. He pleaded that whoever decided María Josefa’s fate take into account her utter lack of rationality and her obvious rusticity.

Governor Mendinueta chose not to decide the case without further legal advice. Because the defendants had no idea what a legal adviser (*asesor legal*) was or why such an opinion should be sought, the governor informed Tafoya and Armijo what he intended to do. Both men signed in assent, and on 11 June 1773, Mendinueta remitted the trial record to lawyer Juan Miguel Márquez in the city of Chihuahua or in his absence to another accredited legal expert.¹¹

Ten months passed before New Mexico’s governor had a reply. The two women, meanwhile, remained in confinement in Santa Fe. Had María Francisca been pregnant by Agustín, she would have delivered their baby by late 1773 or early 1774, yet no such baptismal entry appears in the registers of Cochiti, Nambe/Tesuque, or Santa Fe. Her mother, however, may have given birth. On 27 October 1773, fray Patricio Cuéllar of Santa Fe baptized Esteban Vicente, legitimate son of Antonio and María Josefa, both Indians of Cochiti. While there is no direct evidence that this María Josefa was María Francisca’s mother, it is notable that the child of a Cochiti couple received baptism not in that pueblo but in Santa Fe. María Josefa could have been two- or three-months pregnant at the time of her arrest—hence even more desirous that her daughter remain with her in Cochiti—coming to term and delivering during her imprisonment in Santa Fe.¹²

The legal advice Governor Mendinueta had requested reached him in April 1774. No competent counselor had been present in Chihuahua, so the packet traveled hundreds of miles farther south to Durango, where lawyer Rafael Vallarta had studied the case the previous November and rendered a three-page opinion. The crime obviously horrified him, and, whatever his personal experience with Indians, he took an extremely dim view of their capacity. As if to demonstrate his attention to detail, Vallarta noted that the women's confessions contained two different words to describe the stab wound in the victim's right side, *costado*, the more general term, and *vacío*, the hollow beneath the rib cage. This inconsistency he attributed to the defendants' simplemindedness, a translation error, or the proximity of those two parts of the body. As for the proceedings, he opined that Mendinueta must correct several irregularities that could prejudice the case. The most important point had to do with María Francisca's precise age.

Neither María knew how old she was. From appearances, as recorded in their confessions, the mother looked to be forty and her daughter between sixteen and eighteen. Pointing out to Mendinueta that all Indians were minors before the law, Vallarta instructed the governor to name legal guardians for both women, not a defense counsel, as he had for the older woman. Still, age counted. If María Francisca were not yet seventeen when she committed the crime, her sentence would have to be mitigated; if, on the other hand, she were between seventeen and twenty-five, such mitigation would be at the judge's discretion, depending on the circumstances. Therefore, Mendinueta should determine the younger woman's age, providing a copy of her baptismal entry or some other certification as part of the record.

If with these amendments, the legal adviser continued, no further questions arose, and if the governor deemed further delay detrimental to public justice, he could, because of the hideous nature of the crime, sentence the two women to death. Depending on María Francisca's age, she would either die with María Josefa or serve ten years in a women's prison, having witnessed the public hanging of her mother. Before carrying out a death sentence, however, the governor should consult the *audiencia*, or high court, for confirmation or modification of its terms.¹³

Governor Mendinueta complied meticulously during the spring of 1774. He renamed María Josefa's defense counsel her guardian; presided in person as the defendants ratified their declarations without change; and, ordering a copy of María Francisca's baptismal entry, confirmed her age at the time of the murder. The Cochiti book of baptisms revealed that María

Francisca, legitimate daughter of Pedro and María Josefa, had received the sacrament on 6 April 1751, making her just over twenty-two at the time of the murder. (So, if the baby boy born in October 1773 was indeed her mother's, he was apparently María Francisca's half-brother, since her father had been Pedro not Antonio.)¹⁴ Satisfied, the governor sent the proceedings back to Vallarta, who responded this time from Guadalajara, on 30 December 1774.¹⁵

Now the case was clear. The women's ratification of their open confessions left no doubt of their treachery in the deceitful, premeditated murder of a defenseless man. Hence, there should be no lessening of the twenty-two-year-old María Francisca's punishment. Vallarta stood by his previous opinion: Mendinueta could sentence them both to death as parricides (*con la calidad de parricidas*), killers of a close relative.¹⁶ There would be no clemency on the basis of race, class, or gender; the two women had murdered a husband and son-in-law, assailing thereby the sanctity of the patriarchal family in Hispanic tradition. Before their execution, as a lesson to others, the condemned women might also be given two hundred lashes while led on beasts of burden through the streets of Santa Fe in the customary manner. This was Vallarta's legal opinion, not a sentence, and there is no evidence that the two Marías were ever whipped.¹⁷

For another four years, they languished in jail. We do not know whether family members or friends from their pueblo were allowed to visit them or if the two women were given work to do. In October of 1775, Mendinueta had directed their case to the viceroy of New Spain, who also served as president of the high court in Mexico City.¹⁸ For unexplained reasons, no action was taken there for more than two years, and then, on the recommendation of another adviser, Viceroy Antonio María de Bucareli had the proceedings sent to Com. Gen. Teodoro de Croix in Chihuahua, who had jurisdiction over New Mexico.¹⁹ Croix, of course, turned the matter over to his legal adviser, Pedro Galindo Navarro, who did not pronounce an opinion until 6 August 1778.

Galindo agreed fully with his colleague Vallarta. So heinous was the women's crime that their punishment should be conspicuously severe. To that end, Galindo endorsed the gallows. This spectacle, he added, would be especially fitting on a thinly garrisoned frontier subject to uprisings.²⁰

By this time, the renowned Juan Bautista de Anza had assumed the governorship. Capital punishment for civilian crimes in colonial New Mexico was rare.²¹ Yet it fell to Anza in January 1779 to pronounce sentence, which

he ordered interpreted for the prisoners. The two Marías were made to understand and, as a routine sign of submission, to hold the document above their heads. The authorities would have provided that these convicted murderers receive absolution in the last rites administered by a priest, most likely fray Juan José de Llanos of the Santa Fe parish.²²

Death by public hanging, as prescribed by Galindo, was a precise business to be carried out only by a trained executioner. Since no such professional was available, the two Indian women, at 11:45 on a winter's day, 26 January 1779—five years, nine months, and ten days after their crime—were shot, almost certainly by a firing squad from the Santa Fe presidio. Only then, on a gallows nearby, the dead bodies were hung.²³

Lawyer Galindo Navarro had wanted the grisly reminders displayed for several days. Instead, at 3:00 PM, after only three hours, fray Juan José requested that the corpses be taken down and brought to the church. Obviously the ground was frozen outside, but why he gave the two women ecclesiastical burial inside the transept, normally considered a place of honor, is not recorded. Perhaps it was only a matter of convenience, or perhaps the friar remembered having married María Francisca and Agustín at Nambe some years earlier. He may not have recalled that 26 January 1779—the day of her execution for Agustín's murder—was precisely the couple's sixth wedding anniversary.²⁴

Evidently, there was no backlash among Pueblo Indians. When Governor Anza led forth his celebrated 1779 campaign against Cuerno Verde and the Comanches six months later, 259 Pueblo fighting men, more than half of them from Cochiti and other Keresan towns, rallied to his banner.²⁵

* * * *

One can only surmise what form the women's punishment might have taken if left solely to the officials of the pueblo of Cochiti.²⁶ Their fate might have been less severe, surely more rapidly decided, had their case not been referred to outside legal experts unfamiliar with New Mexico's unique Pueblo-Hispano culture. Despite a witch craze centering on the genízaro community of Abiquiu a decade earlier, there were no implications of witchcraft in the case of the two Marías.²⁷ On a broader stage, the 1770s came at the height of the Spanish enlightenment, when legally trained minions of King Carlos III sought to impose throughout the empire a uniform rule of law allowing few exceptions.

The women's crime was inexcusable, but what really drove two reticent Pueblo women to such an excess surely died with them. *Que descansen en paz las almas de Agustín y las dos Marías.*²⁸

Notes

1. Pedro Galindo Navarro, Legal opinion, Chihuahua, 6 August 1778, doc. 690, fols. 2–3, Spanish Archives of New Mexico II, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe [hereafter SANM II]. Photoprints and microfilm: r. 10, ff. 861–63, Spanish Archives of New Mexico II, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque [hereafter parenthetical citation, reel number, frame number, CSWR].
2. Charles R. Cutter, *The Legal Culture of Northern New Spain, 1700–1810* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 138; and Marc Simmons, *Spanish Government in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 178–79. See also Martina Will de Chaparro, *Death and Dying in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University, 2007).
3. The legal proceedings in the case are found on forty-five pages of docs. 673 and 690, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 752–88, 859–66, CSWR).
4. Ruiz quoted in Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A Description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez with Other Contemporary Documents* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), 313 n. 6. On alcaldes mayores in general, see Cutter, *Legal Culture*, 82–93; and Simmons, *Spanish Government*, 170–92.
5. Lorenzo Chaya, Manuel Romero and Asencio, Declarations, Cochiti, 22 April 1773, doc. 673, fols. 1–2, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 753–55, CSWR). Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991), 191, 205, misread the victim's name as Agustín de Girón, whom he took to be a Spaniard. Gutiérrez also erred in relating the gruesome details of the murder, the motive of the two Cochiti women, and their punishment. Robert J. Tórriz devoted a brief chapter to the case in *UFOs over Galisteo and Other Stories of New Mexico's History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 67–70. See also John L. Kessell, *Spain in the Southwest: A Narrative History of Colonial New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and California* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 289–92.
6. María Josefa and María Francisca, Declaration, Cochiti, 22 April 1773, doc. 673, fols. 2–3, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 755–57, CSWR). Tracing the knife used as a murder weapon in the margin of the document was apparently not an uncommon practice. Cutter, *Legal Culture*, 139, reproduces a similar document from 1803 with an outline of the knife wielded by a notorious Texas criminal.
7. José Miguel de la Peña, Proceedings of disinterment, Cochiti, n.d., doc. 673, fols. 3–3v, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 757–58, CSWR).
8. María Francisca, Confession, Santa Fe, 22 May 1773, and previous proceedings, doc. 673, fols. 4–6, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 759–63, CSWR). In colonial New Mexico, a *manta* was usually a nearly square piece of coarse cotton cloth about four feet on a side, two of which, sewn together, made a Pueblo Indian woman's dress, which was tied around the middle with a sash. Both men and women wore moccasins, re-

- ferred to alternately as *teguas* or *zapatos*, the generic term for footwear. Marc Simmons, personal communication, 17 March 1993.
9. María Josefa, Confession, Santa Fe, 22 May 1773, doc. 673, fols. 6–7, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 763–65, CSWR).
 10. Marriage of Agustín of Tesuque and María Francisca of Cochiti, Nambe, 26 January 1773, M-17, Nambe (Box 10), 1772–1862 (r. 27, f. 918), Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Santa Fe, New Mexico [hereafter AASF]. Their witnesses were Joaquín el Coyote and his wife Juana María, both natives of Tesuque, and all the rest of the people of Nambe.
 11. Proceedings, 22 May–11 June 1773, doc. 673, fols. 7–13, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 765–75, CSWR).
 12. B-64, Santa Fe (Box 55), 1777–91 (r. 15, f. 295), AASF.
 13. Vallarta to Mendinueta, Legal opinion, Durango, 19 November 1773, doc. 673, fols. 13v–14v, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 776–78, CSWR).
 14. Fray Estanislao Mariano de Marulanda, Certification, Cochiti, 18 April 1774, doc. 673, fols. 18v–19, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 784–85, CSWR). The baby's father could of course have been Pedro Antonio.
 15. Mendinueta, Transmittal, Santa Fe, 25 June 1774, doc. 673, fol. 19, SANM II (r. 10, f. 785, CSWR).
 16. A parricide is defined in Joaquín Escriche, *Diccionario razonado de legislación y jurisprudencia*, 4 vols. (Bogota: Editorial Temis, 1977), 4:257, as “one who kills a parent, grandparent or great-grandparent, child, grandchild or great-grandchild, brother or sister, aunt or uncle, nephew or niece, husband or wife, father-in-law or mother-in-law, son-in-law or daughter-in-law, stepfather, stepmother, stepchild, or patron.”
 17. Vallarta to Mendinueta, Legal opinion, Guadalajara, 30 December 1774, doc. 673, fols. 20–21, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 786–88, CSWR).
 18. Mendinueta, Transmittal, Santa Fe, 14 October 1775, doc. 673, fol. 21, SANM II (r. 10, f. 788, CSWR). This concludes doc. 673, which is entitled “*Causa criminal contra las reas M.a Fran.ca y M.a su madre sentenciadas a muerte con parecer del asesor.*” On the title page, pioneer archaeologist and ethnohistorian Adolph F. Bandelier noted, “See N.o 690. Ad. F. Bandelier.” The case continues in doc. 690, where Bandelier wrote, “See N.o 673. Ad. F. Bandelier.”
 19. Bucareli to Croix, Transmittal, Mexico City, 17 June 1778, doc. 690, fol. 2, SANM II (r. 10, f. 861, CSWR).
 20. Galindo Navarro, Legal opinion, Chihuahua, 6 August 1778, doc. 690, fols. 2–3, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 861–63, CSWR).
 21. Charles R. Cutter, *The Protector de Indios in Colonial New Mexico, 1659–1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 75, calls the execution of the two Cochiti women “a rare example of capital punishment.”
 22. Will, *Death and Dying*, 69–70. Anza, Pronouncement of sentence, Santa Fe, 22 January 1779; and José Maldonado, Notification, Santa Fe, 23 January 1779, doc. 690, fols. 3–4, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 863–65, CSWR).

23. Anza, Certification of execution, Santa Fe, 26 January 1779, doc. 690, fols. 4–4v, SANM II (r. 10, ff. 865–66, CSWR). Most historians have concluded that the women were hanged not shot.
24. Bur-48, Santa Fe (Box 26), 1726–80 (r. 40, f. 264), AASF.
25. Alfred Barnaby Thomas, ed. and trans., *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777–1787: From the Original Documents in the Archives of Spain, Mexico and New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), 122.
26. Ethnographer Charles H. Lange, *Cochiti: A New Mexico Pueblo, Past and Present* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959), 220, opting to omit legal affairs in which Spanish civil or ecclesiastical authorities were involved, reports no memory of this case in the pueblo. In 2007 Joseph H. Suina, former governor of Cochiti, inquired of knowledgeable members of the pueblo and found no one who remembered hearing of the two Marías' execution 228 years earlier.
27. Malcolm Ebright and Rick Hendricks, *The Witches of Abiquiu: The Governor, the Priest, the Genízaro Indians, and the Devil* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).
28. May the souls of Agustín and the two Marías rest in peace.

Delicate Diplomacy on a Restless Frontier

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SOBAÍPURI-O'ODHAM SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN NORTHWESTERN NEW SPAIN, PART 2

Deni J. Seymour

Part 1 of this article focused on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documentary record and linguistic sources to establish a basis for a revised understanding of the role and nature of the Sobaípuris-O'odhams in historic times. The Sobaípuris were widely connected with their mobile neighbors and had alternately congenial and adversarial relations with them. Interaction between O'odhams and mobile groups probably led to the distinctive nature of the Sobaípuris or Soba Jípuris relative to other O'odham groups. Part 2 discusses the ethnographic and archaeological evidence relevant to Sobaípuris social and economic relations.

Archaeologist Deni J. Seymour, PhD is an Adjunct Researcher with the University of Colorado Museum, Boulder. She has been investigating the late prehistoric and historic periods since the 1980s, focusing specifically on the less-studied groups in the southern Southwest. Her field studies focus specifically on the Sobaípuris, the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches, and the various contemporaneous non-Athapaskan mobile groups. Seymour draws on data and insights from a variety of sources including archaeological excavations and survey and documentary, ethnographic, and linguistic history to understand this period. This research has been part of a focused research plan designed to define the basic material culture attributes and landscape use patterns associated with these groups. Her research highlights the interconnectedness of groups during this period while she traces their transformation from the pre-colonial period through the late 1700s.

Merging: Ethnographic and Historic Evidence

The relatively early ethnographies of the O'odhams and Tohono O'odhams, written by anthropologists Frank Russell and Ruth M. Underhill, provide numerous statements suggestive of a high degree of borrowing and intermixing with various groups. Both authors note the incongruence among certain rituals, practices, and beliefs consistent with a group that has been influenced by and perhaps incorporated members from many different groups. Scholars, for example, widely accept the *Wiikita* ceremony as indicative of Puebloan influence. Skull deformation among some of the Ventana Cave burials indicates a presence of a non-O'odham people. Likewise, the migration myths of thirty-one Hopi clans may suggest origins in southern Arizona for a contingent of that population.¹

Little serious consideration, however, has been given to this type of melding between the O'odhams and ancestral Apachean and non-Athapaskan mobile groups. The widespread study of Puebloan cultures combined with the survival of Pueblo descendants who practice traditions rooted in the past have allowed similarities to be traced through time; perhaps the inverse explains the lack of scholarly attention to this type of fusion with non-Puebloan societies. In comparison descendants of the contemporaneous Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan mobile groups became O'odhams, Apaches, or Tiguas. Consequently, the traditions introduced by these diverse mobile groups have become enmeshed in the customs maintained by these surviving tribes and are, therefore, generally considered characteristic of these remaining tribes, rather than being seen as originating from earlier distinct groups. Moreover, parallels between surviving groups are often overlooked because Apaches have come to be seen as traditional enemies of the O'odhams, rather than biological and cultural donors.

To her credit, Underhill commented on this very topic and noted potential connections between the Apaches and O'odhams. She alluded to the warlike nature of the Sobaipuris compared to O'odham groups farther west. The Sobaipuris demonstrated their skillful fighting ability at the battle at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea in 1698, where they were victorious over the attacking mobile groups. Additionally, numerous passages in the documentary literature mention the Sobaipuris leading the Spanish to the enemy in battle and accompanying them in war.²

Many scholars attribute the Sobaipuris' aptitude in warfare to their spatial proximity to the Apache frontier and their pivotal role in resisting at-

tacks against Europeans. Underhill, however, insightfully uses evidence of this bellicose nature to question “[whether] this warlike people could have had an Apache mixture.”³ Her reference to the Apaches, instead of other mobile groups, largely reflects the fact that the Apaches were recognized as warriors and are known ethnographically. The character of contemporaneous mobile groups (many of whom were later transformed into Apaches) was not as well known. Therefore, Underhill’s suggestion of “Apache” can be taken here as a more general referent to Natives known to be hostile, warlike, and anticolonial.

Underhill further comments on how uncharacteristic aggressive behavior was for the O’odhams, who have been viewed as peaceful and docile in modern times (which my analysis indicates is likely a response to colonialism). In this example, Underhill references O’odham origin stories:

Its march of conquest is completely out of keeping with the peaceful and sedentary nature of the Pimans [O’odhams] and, particularly the Papago [Tohono O’odhams], who abhor war and lack any pattern for boasting over its exploits. It is true that the myth speaks of the houses as crumbling by magic rather than in battle but even the idea of leaving their homes to appropriate the lands of others is contrary to Piman [O’odhams] thought, and one wonders if it has not been borrowed from the annals of a more nomadic race.⁴

Here, she keenly questions whether the story has been “borrowed from . . . a more nomadic race.”

Similarly, Russell argued that the O’odhams were in the process of developing a war cult when historic events prematurely curtailed it:

The Pimas [O’odhams] were compelled to fight their own battles. In doing so they learned the advantage of concentrating their fields. They perfected a system of attack, appointed runners for bringing in assistance, and organized a fairly satisfactory method of defense. . . . They kept themselves constantly in fit condition by their campaigns, and even engaged in sham battles for the practice. . . . Their daily duties were ordered with reference to the possibility of attack. Their arts were modified by the perpetual menace. Their myths were developed and their religion tinged by the same stress. In short, the Pimas [O’odhams] were building up a war cult.⁵

Russell did not consider that the O'odhams might have been involved in an extant war cult that was more widespread and shared by a large variety of groups outside Spanish control. Traditions surrounding this war cult were seemingly waning when Russell observed them; its weak remaining representations account for Russell's interpretation that such a cult had not yet developed, whereas in fact its importance had probably already diminished. Many groups in Sonora were versed in the art of war and shared many of the same tactics and practices. In fact O'odham and non-O'odham groups in Sonora frequently used fighting practices and tactics long before the U.S.-Apache wars that have often been attributed to the Apaches.⁶ These observations lend to the argument that substantial changes had occurred through the centuries that neutralized the war cult among some groups and intensified it among others. Although they aptly defended themselves, those O'odhams who chose the European way perhaps became more docile while this cult fell from use. The O'odhams who evaded European control, however, participated in warfare as a resistance mechanism and ultimately became Apaches. Over time these groups presented their adopted battle tactics as distinctly Apachean traits.

O'odhams' espousal of Apache characteristics seems apparent when O'odham bands sported "Apache" war caps near Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi in 1754.⁷ Additionally, traditional O'odham stories convey that the human creator known as Elder Brother (Pitoy) taught the scalp ceremony during the march of conquest from the Benson area in present-day Arizona.⁸ The battle at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea in 1698 was initiated by a duel of champions, which is a formal challenge and fight by selected champions and a more widespread practice found on the Plains and in Mexico.⁹

More direct evidence of the processes behind and results of ethnic and identity transformation are provided by data from the realms of kinship and social organization. The origin story of the Flat Topped People clan of the Western Apaches implies that ancestral O'odham or Tohono O'odham blood exists among the tribe.¹⁰ Perhaps this blood mixture resulted from raiding or recruitment practices of other forms. Moreover, Apache clans exist among the Pueblos, Pueblo traits survive among the Tohono O'odhams, and Apache blood exists among the O'odhams.¹¹

Pueblo-like traits are also apparent among the Tohono O'odhams as exemplified by the presence of moieties. These moieties have largely lost their function but convey important information about the past. Moieties characterize a society divided into two parts determined by descent or other

organizational features. As early as the 1930s, when ethnographers recorded these remnant systems, the Tohono O'odhams no longer needed this social and functional mechanism. Early on when various groups merged with the O'odhams, these moieties would have provided a cohesive mechanism for community living, especially important if people of different backgrounds lived together. The term *Sobaipuri*, or Soba and Jípurí according to interpretation of historical documents, represents the merging of two groups. Alternatively, if these moieties were exogamous, they may have facilitated the symmetrical exchange of marriage partners between kin and affines. This system would have offered a structure for ancestral Apaches and other mobile groups to intermarry and live with the O'odhams as they became relatives. Later these moieties fell from use because no real differences among people were remembered—integration was complete or identity transformation had sufficiently progressed. Miscellaneous aspects of this two-section system, however, remained embedded in the O'odhams' traditional organizational structure.

Even Russell, who wrote an early ethnography of the O'odhams in the early 1900s, commented on this moiety system:

The Red [or Vulture] People are said to have been in possession of the country when Elder Brother brought the White [Coyote] People from the nether world and conquered them as described. . . . There were more than two gentes of the White People, but Coyote laughed too soon at them and the earth closed before the others got through. The author suspects that this division signifies that the tribe was formed by the junction of two peoples, the only trace of the original groups being the names and the maintenance of laws of vengeance.¹²

The ethnographer's statement "the tribe was formed by the junction of two peoples" is suggestive given that Underhill arrived at a similar conclusion. Referencing the Legend of the Emergents, Underhill noted, "It seems obvious that two myths have been joined to produce the narrative," which occurs when oral traditions of two or more groups merge into one history.¹³

Deférence to two early ethnographers leads to the inference that the O'odhams incorporated many organizational features, traits, and stories from other groups. Thus, many of the traits and organizational features that are considered "traditional" for the O'odhams represent the culmination of a series of transformations that, both ethnographers believe, involved the

merging of groups in some cases and the simple borrowing of concepts and traits in others. Several lines of evidence converge to suggest more than casual contact through trade alone. This notion is consistent with the archaeological and historical records, which suggest people intermixed as part of O'odham ethnogenesis on a local scale.

Archaeological Evidence of Changing Alliances

The historic, ethnographic, linguistic, and oral-historic evidence presented in the preceding pages, including part 1 of this essay, suggest some degree of collaboration between mobile groups (and Puebloan groups) and the O'odhams; the degree of interaction and intermixing likely accounts for what made the Sobaipuris distinct from other O'odhams. This perspective sharply diverges from current notions in the archaeological profession. This departure derives from the incorporation of ethnographical, historical, and archaeological data from a deeper temporal, broader social, and wider geographic context than that found in previous studies of the Sobaipuris.

The archaeological record allows an evaluation of the frequency and nature of this interaction with mobile groups. The following sections will consider the issue of mobility and interaction with mobile groups from an archaeological perspective, the nature of the material culture associated with each of these groups, and some of the archaeological correlates of intermittent visitation versus cohabitation. In the discussion of relevant archaeological data and ensuing interpretations, it will be useful in each case to mention the state of existing knowledge because the perspective of this current work differs from existing notions.

Questions of Mobility

The earliest seventeenth-century references to the Sobaipuris mention that some raided with mobile groups, lived with them in large settlements while participating in raids, joined in battles with them against the Spanish, and resided peacefully with mobile groups on river margins. Europeans gathered knowledge of these relations shortly after the Pueblo Revolt. The temporal correspondence of these European observations, with events occurring in this larger theater, is perhaps relevant. Alternatively, the record of Sobaipuri mobility and raiding may simply highlight "atypical" behavior. The historical record does not comment on whether this practice was new for the

Sobaipuris, although documentary sources from Franciscan friar Marcos de Niza suggest that the San Pedro Sobaipuris were sedentary agriculturalists in the mid-sixteenth century. Other seventeenth- and eighteenth-century references indicate that the Sobaipuris produced sufficient corn and surplus to trade with their western neighbors and New Mexico colonists. When Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino and Juan Mateo Manje visited the friendly Sobaipuris, floodplain fields and irrigation canals existed. Likewise, many of these settled Native farmers joined the Spanish in battle against the mobile groups and sometimes ventured out on their own.

These contradictory observations regarding the Sobaipuris' way of life support the notion, as discussed in part 1, that factionalism prevailed among the Sobaipuris with respect to alliance choices. Moreover, lifeway changes likely occurred through time. The decision to affiliate with a mobile group translated into choosing a mobile lifestyle over a sedentary one. Some Sobaipuris may have chosen mobility, thereby eventually being subsumed into the Apache lifeway. Still, in many instances, the choice of one option did not likely preclude later practice of the other. Throughout the historic period when reduced O'odham groups became fearful, heard rumors of danger, or wanted to carry out traditional ceremonies, they fled to the hills, sometimes moving between ranges, only to be gathered up again by persuasive missionaries. This record reflects situation-specific transitory patterns of temporary mobility and sedentariness. Ample reference is made to entire villages shifting back and forth between riverside mission sites and mountain safety zones in times of stress.

When viewed from a more local perspective, it is perhaps reasonable to suggest that the reports of raiding versus agriculture reflect seasonal differentiation in settlement patterns and subsistence activities. Luís Xavier Velarde noted, "They live in one community together in the winter, and in the summer each one in his hut."¹⁴ His statement may explain the numerous small sites along the San Pedro River.¹⁵ Underhill later described the Tohono O'odhams' seasonal practice of shifting between field and well sites.¹⁶ This strategy involved the practice of agriculture during the rainy season and use of wild resources in the foothills during the dry. Some of the Sobaipuris and certain other O'odham groups may have chosen a combination of farming and raiding to fulfill seasonal variations in resource availability.

The question of mobility is important because the Sobaipuris' material culture assemblage is an inexplicable mix of what would be expected for mobile and settled groups. Given that the documentary record mentions

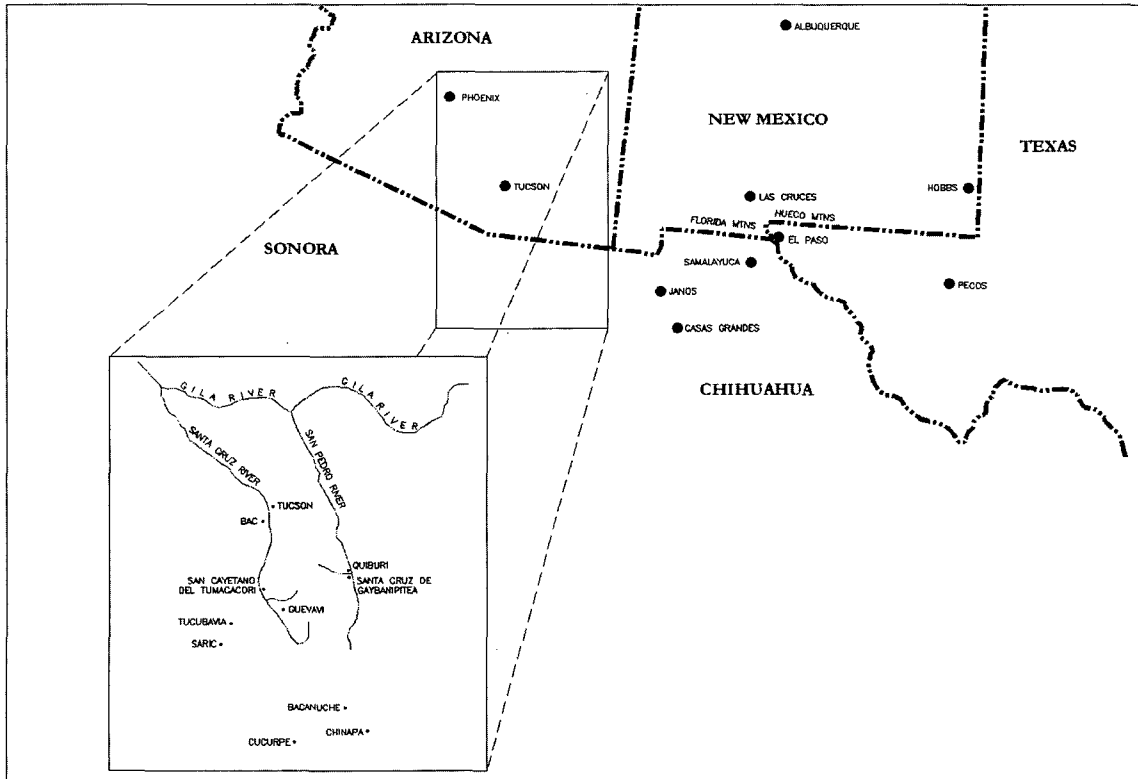


FIG. 1. MAP OF SOBAÍPURIS IN THE SOUTHWEST
 (Map courtesy Deni J. Seymour, draft by Erick Querubin)

use of irrigation agriculture, most archaeologists regard the Sobaipuris as largely sedentary agriculturalists. In contrast historians tend to think of the Sobaipuris as hunter-gatherers, perhaps following Herbert Eugene Bolton's inference that they were the "poor Indians" encountered along the southern portion of the San Pedro River in 1540.¹⁷ The limited number of archaeological sites, the low density of material culture and paucity of trash middens, the lack of deep stratification, and the insubstantial nature of some of the architecture on some sites have indicated some degree of residential movement as an indigenous trait.¹⁸ A portion of the flaked-stone technology is typical of highly mobile groups as well. These archaeological data, coupled with the ethnographic and historical information regarding Sobaipuri behavior in the 1680s and 1690s support the idea that the Sobaipuris, or likely a subset of them, may have been seasonally mobile during the late seventeenth century and enjoyed the same widely ranging lifestyle as their neighbors. A point to be reiterated here is that these combined sources indicate that the Sobaipuris were not united regarding alliances or lifestyle, and some of them seem to have remained stationary while others became fully mobile.

An alternative perspective suggests that the Sobaipuris were relative newcomers to the San Pedro and Santa Cruz valleys, accounting for the lack of material-culture buildup. Yet absolute dates from a Sobaipuri site near the mouth of Sonoita Creek near the Santa Cruz River place the Sobaipuris in the Santa Cruz Valley at least as early as the 1500s, possibly even in the 1400s. Archaeologist Charles C. Di Peso's Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam has also since produced dates in the 1500s along the San Pedro.¹⁹ Elsewhere, I have suggested that shifts in settlement locations through time might account for this pattern of numerous small sites with low levels of trash accumulation. While long-distance settlement shifts would have been incompatible with irrigation farming, short movements along the river margin would have allowed occupants to maintain a connection to their fields. Both Underhill and archaeologist Paul H. Ezell, and more recently Seymour, as well as other scholars, have described the migration and splintering of Tohono O'odham and Akimel O'odham settlements. This village drift would account for an archaeological pattern that appears, from survey data, to be in many cases low-intensity and short-duration use combined with episodic reoccupation of certain sites.²⁰

Yet, this low-intensity and short-duration use pattern is not apparent across the board. Not all sites are small, lack accumulations of material culture, or consist of widely scattered houses. Specifically, some sites show evidence of

repeated episodic use. The excavations that I have conducted on historically referenced sites along the Santa Cruz River indicate inhabitants commonly rebuilt structures in the same location within a settlement, superimposing one on another and recycling building materials. The creation of formal work areas in and adjacent to the structures maximized space use to the degree that some houses are formally partitioned and work areas are highly predictable with respect to location and contents.²¹ Artifact densities are low in habitation areas seemingly because the Sobaipuris—living on steep-sided terraces and hills—tossed their trash over the side, producing an effect like a high-rise trash chute. Survey data from the San Pedro Valley confirm this pattern as well, including perhaps in the prehistoric period.

This archaeological work also shows that the elongated, rock-ringed huts were not as flimsy as archaeologists initially thought. Some of the structures at the Sonoita Creek Site that date from AD 1424 to 1524 and others from the late 1600s and 1700s are relatively deep and rectangular and were apparently covered with adobe but still outlined with rocks.²² These houses were not surface structures as previously inferred. Evidence for several successive floors (or intramural occupation surfaces) suggests repeated use of some of these locations over time. Superimposed structures, reuse of fire-pit rocks for walls, interior partition walls, and regularized arrangements in the use of intramural space on some sites indicate intensive use and relatively long-term occupation or episodic reoccupation. These substantial structures are not what one would expect with a highly mobile population.

When combined these data indicate differences among the Sobaipuris regarding lifestyle choice and how to relate to other groups.²³ It seems that when noted by the seventeenth-century Spanish, the Sobaipuris participated to differing degrees in divergent lifeways. Soon after sustained contact, Sobaipuris, both as communities and households, had to decide with whom they would ally. Shortly thereafter it seems that those who retained or chose a settled village life based on farming remained or became Sobaipuris (or O'odhams). Situated along the open banks of the river in their settled villages, these groups were especially vulnerable to the Spanish and mobile groups alike. Apparently, sedentariness meant some degree of submission and skilled diplomacy. Those who adopted or maintained a mobile and raiding lifeway, outside European infringement, eventually stayed or became Apaches, who remained largely in opposition to the Spanish.

Some Aspects of Material Culture and Site Structure

Many scholars believe that the nature of Sobaípurí material culture has been known for some years as a result of the important work undertaken by Di Peso and subsequent work by archaeologists David E. Doyel, W. Bruce Masse, Bruce B. Huckell, Hayward H. Franklin, and Deni J. Seymour.²⁴ Yet, archaeologists John C. Ravesloot and Stephanie M. Whittlesey changed the milieu in which studies of this group are undertaken. Although they provided no guidance or approach, Ravesloot and Whittlesey questioned acceptance of conventional knowledge regarding the archaeological signature of the Sobaípuris and raised the important point that definition of Sobaípurí material culture must occur in the context of understanding the material culture of contemporaneous groups.²⁵

Even so most discussions of Sobaípurí flaked stone are reduced to a dialogue about projectile points because many, including Masse, consider these to be the most diagnostic Sobaípurí artifact.²⁶ Yet, these points represent but a small fraction of the flaked-lithic artifacts. One reason for this focus on projectile points is that many of the earliest excavated sites attributed to the O'odhams (including the Sobaípuris) revealed an expedient flaked-stone assemblage plus projectile points.²⁷ This restricted perspective led scholars to focus on the projectile points as the singularly most diagnostic tool because the expedient elements of the assemblage were not too dissimilar from those found on earlier Hohokam sites and agricultural sites occupied throughout the Southwest. The flaked stone was therefore considered relatively unremarkable and not especially distinctive except for the projectile points.

Compared to the rest of the flaked-stone assemblage and earlier forms, the projectile points seemed unique. These arrow points occur with a grouping of other traits conventionally inferred to be diagnostic of the Sobaípurí or Cayetano complex (e.g., elongated rock-ring structures and Whetstone Plain). My investigations, however, indicate remarkably similar, small, triangular, basally indented or notched points throughout a broad geographic area stretching from the Tohono O'odham Reservation near Tucson, Arizona, to Big Bend, Texas, and south into northern Mexico.²⁸ The points throughout this area represent a relatively smooth series punctuated by point forms archetypal of specific geographic areas. Based on documentation and measurement of approximately three thousand points and observation of thousands more in museum and private collections, the variant largely

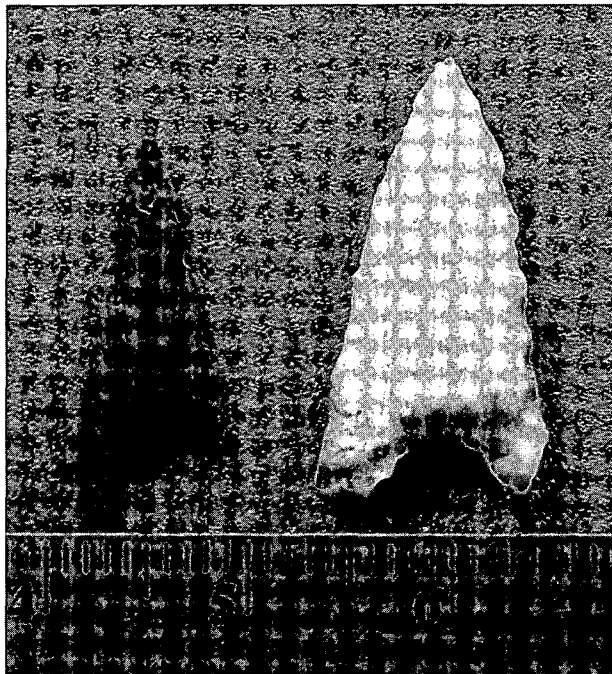


FIG. 2. HUACHUCA PROJECTILE POINTS
(*Photograph courtesy Deni J. Seymour*)

restricted to areas inhabited and traversed by the Sobaipuris seems to be somewhat distinctive.²⁹ Its straight, lateral margins and tangs seemingly make this Huachuca point unique (fig. 2), but it otherwise shares the characteristics of many other forms in distant locales. All these forms were likely produced as lethal weapons intended for use in warfare as suggested by the documentary record.³⁰

Geographic clusters can be defined because of the distinctive attributes of other small, triangular, basally indented points that may generally correspond to the heartlands of other historically referenced and unreferenced groups. These distributions occur far outside the Sobaipuris' territory and raiding sphere and are not attributable to the Cayetano complex. A one-to-one correlation of ethnic groups and material culture is not expected, but scholars cannot ignore that no fewer than twelve ethnic groups—including the disenfranchised Nixoras or slave class, Yaquis, and others—are mentioned in southern Arizona historical documents during the 1700s, contributing to a mixing of material culture in specific geographic areas. Just as these ethnohistorical and ethnographical distributions can be mapped, so

too can the archaeological distributions be documented. The inferences drawn from these are a more complex matter.

A second and distinct archaeological complex containing flaked-stone tool forms, such as projectile points similar to those found on Sobaípurí sites, further complicates the problem because this complex is distributed throughout northern Chihuahua, southern New Mexico and Arizona, and West Texas.³¹ The flaked-stone tool kit represents the most diagnostic characteristic of the artifact assemblage, which I have referred to in the Southwest as the Canutillo complex. This artifact assemblage is associated with distinctive types of small, circular, rock-ringed surface structures and, occasionally, brownwares.³² Among the stone items in this complex are the Plains-style or steep-edge-end scraper; a stylized, formal graver or perforator; various thin, finely retouched, side scrapers; a variety of distinctive, symmetrical, bifacial knives known variously in other regions as the Plains or Harahey knife or Covington blade; and small, triangular, basally notched or indented projectile points. I describe this assemblage in detail elsewhere.³³ This Canutillo complex is inferred to relate to one or more of the many non-Athapaskan, resident, mobile groups that occupied these areas at contact and in the centuries preceding European presence. Some chronometric dates fall in the AD 1400s, but the distinctness of this complex does persist beyond the 1700s.

These tool forms sometimes occur at Cayetano-complex Sobaípurí sites, but I have also found them on sites clearly not attributed to the Sobaípuris and ones located far beyond the Sobaípuris' territory. Moreover, other tool forms not attributable to the Sobaípuris but occasionally found at the Cayetano-complex Sobaípurí sites resemble those documented on ancestral Chiricahua Apache sites in the Dragoon, Peloncillo, Whitlock, and Chiricahua mountains and at ancestral Mescalero sites near present-day El Paso, Texas, and Las Cruces, New Mexico. These forms include side- and tri-notched projectile points and distinctive styles of scrapers, knives, and perforators. The Cerro Rojo complex, described in other forums, seems to represent the early Athapaskan assemblage manufactured before Athapaskan-speaking groups differentiated as a result of divergent adaptations.³⁴

The early O'odhams' Cayetano complex, the early Canutillo complex, and the early Athapaskan Cerro Rojo complex establish a baseline expectation for the nature of flaked-stone assemblages on late prehistoric and early historic sites in the area. Which of these three complexes is present depends on the degree of mobility of the particular group and corresponding

need, or lack thereof, for durable stone tools, as well as the extent and nature of interaction with other groups. The associations of flaked-stone artifacts from each of these distinctive complexes with unique house forms (and occasionally pottery), on sites that occupy dissimilar topographic settings, together provide a basis for distinguishing each complex as an identifiable archaeological culture group. The geographic distributions of these complexes relative to documented historical placements for various groups establish a foundation for inferring identities at some general level. Importantly, many other criteria that cannot be discussed here have been applied to build these inferences regarding the associations and origins of these complexes. Still, a direct correspondence between historically referenced groups and archaeological complexes is not expected or implied.³⁵

Clearly, however, the Canutillo complex occurs throughout a broad geographic area outside Sobaípuri territory and is also found on Sobaípuri sites. Thus, Cayetano-complex Sobaípuri sites routinely contain evidence of two distinct technological traditions—an expedient assemblage expected for settled agriculturalists is based on a core-flake technology, and another, associated with the Canutillo complex, is consistent with technologies that characterize mobile groups in the Southwest before the advent of ceramic-period sedentism and in other regions where mobility prevailed as a way of life. These technological traditions represent two entirely different approaches to flaked-stone tool manufacture.

Recognition of the co-occurrence of these two different technological traditions is relevant because Masse, Huckell, and Seymour have noted that the presence of fine-grained materials including chert, silicified limestone, and basalt; well-crafted unifaces; and distinctive projectile points characterize the assemblages on many Sobaípuri sites.³⁶ The large, leaf-shaped “projectile points” reported by Franklin at Second Canyon Ruin in the San Pedro Valley—a site long considered to have a Sobaípuri component—are actually bifacially prepared knives identical to those of the Canutillo complex.³⁷ These bifaces at Second Canyon came from surface contexts. Franklin, therefore, considered them of uncertain association and, at the time, not representative of a protohistoric occupation. Not until later did archaeologists consider that the finely flaked unifaces and Huachuca-like points at this site were indicative of a Sobaípuri presence.

Susan A. Brew’s and Huckell’s description of a burial assemblage further fueled the discussion centered on the association of formally prepared tools with the Sobaípuris.³⁸ This burial assemblage contained a single, small, finely

crafted biface; unifacially prepared tools; and small triangular points with indented bases, as well as other items.³⁹ Brew and Huckell, perhaps incorrectly, inferred that this burial and its artifacts were characteristic of the Sobaipuris because the artifacts resembled archaeological material previously considered to be Sobaipuri.⁴⁰

More important the Canutillo complex had yet to be defined as a distinct and more widespread development.⁴¹ Within this conventional wisdom, researchers reasonably assumed that artifacts of this finely worked, formally prepared technology indicated a Sobaipuri presence. Contrary to this interpretation, however, the commonly cited historical records revealed a sedentary lifestyle for the Sobaipuris centered on irrigation agriculture whereas the flaked-stone assemblage suggested a highly mobile adaptation, thus establishing incongruence between archaeological theory and the inferences drawn.

The combination of data from my examination of museum-curated assemblages; the evidence from sites I recorded on the San Pedro, Santa Cruz, and Babocomari rivers and Cienega and Sonoita creeks; and the data from excavations on Sobaipuri sites at the upper Santa Cruz have confirmed a correspondence between fine-grained materials and formally worked tools in many Sobaipuri, but not all O'odham, contexts.⁴² This work has also pointed out the association of these formal bifacial knives with other items that together constitute the Canutillo complex as opposed to the Cayetano complex of the Sobaipuris. It also makes apparent that while Canutillo-complex tool forms routinely occur on sites conventionally attributed to the Sobaipuris, the Canutillo complex also has a much wider distribution coterminous with the territories of the wide-ranging mobile groups. Canutillo-complex tool forms appear on sites clearly related to mobile-group occupation and far beyond the distribution, territory, or raiding sphere of the Sobaipuris.

Broad-based archaeological studies indicate that technologies similar to this Canutillo complex in Arizona arise at about the same time among mobile groups that occupied northern Mexico, the southern Texas Plains and Hill Country, and the area known as the Gran Chichimeca, which includes the northern portions of the Chihuahuan and Sonoran deserts. Accordingly, the widespread nature of this technological change might be considered a horizon style. Yet, attributing this change to a horizon style does not explain its distribution but rather simply acknowledges that it is added to existing traditions.⁴³ The horizon style is "a specialized cultural continuum represented

by the wide distribution of a recognizable art style. . . . The horizon styles are the horizontal stringers by which the upright columns of specialized regional development are tied together in the time chart." They indicate a rapid spread of new ideas over a wide geographic space, usually indicative of an intrusion or trade. Horizon styles, however, only describe rather than explain a distribution.⁴⁴

Fundamentally, this point raises the following question: Does this distribution fit the definition of a horizon style and represent an expansion of technology that overlies or replaces an existing tradition among the indigenous populations or does it signify a movement of people? My data suggest that both processes seem to have been in effect. First, mobile groups were present at historic contact. The Canutillo complex appeared throughout the area where these mobile groups were mentioned. Artifacts and features indicative of this complex occur on single- and multiple-component sites dated at least as early as the AD 1400s. This suite of material culture traits is not present in preceding periods. On these sites, Canutillo-complex material does not seem to intermix with an existing tradition but rather overlies much earlier ones. Thus, evidence from these sites seems to imply a movement of people into the area with their distinctive technology.

Second, portable elements of the Canutillo complex occur on sites that contain Sobaípurí houses, pottery, and distinctly Sobaípurí site structure in predictable Sobaípurí site settings. These incidences require a different explanation than that of the first case. In these instances, the presence of Canutillo-complex material seems to represent an admixture with an existing O'odham tradition. This fact deserves additional consideration using other types of archaeological data.

This co-occurrence of implements and debris from two technological organizations on Sobaípurí sites will lead scholars to question whether all these Sobaípurí contexts are simply multiple component, Sobaípurí and Canutillo complex, or if they represent something other than Sobaípuris, such as a variant of the Canutillo complex mistakenly attributed to the Sobaípuris. The correspondence of "Sobaípurí" locales to historically documented settings addresses this latter issue. Association of documentary records with on-the-ground data, along with other evidence, suggest that most of the traits traditionally attributed to the Sobaípurí manifestation do in fact represent the Sobaípuris. However, some of the tools alleged to be diagnostic of the Sobaípuris are in fact diagnostic of the Canutillo complex. They are sometimes found on Sobaípurí sites for a number of different reasons.

Certainly on some Sobaípurí sites, Canutillo-complex items are present because of reoccupation by a different, later group, namely the mobile bearers of the Canutillo complex. On the Sharples Site (AZ DD:8:44, ASM), for example, a separate occupation by a Canutillo-complex mobile group has been documented as overlying the prehistoric component, and at Di Peso's site (Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam) on the San Pedro River, the Sobaípurí component overlies and underlies occupations by other groups.⁴⁵ At the Sharples Site as well as others, the Canutillo-complex-mobile-group occupation does spatially overlap, but is not entirely coterminous with the earlier contexts. These Canutillo-complex materials can be stratigraphically separated from the earlier occupation (if mere fractions of centimeters count as stratigraphy). Likewise, artifacts are found in association with distinctive Canutillo-complex features including structure rings, hide-working stones, and so forth. Thus, Canutillo-complex materials are known from Sobaípurí sites, from Sobaípurí and prehistoric sites reoccupied by mobile groups, and from single component Canutillo-complex sites.

Canutillo-complex materials are also sometimes situated in clear Sobaípurí contexts on sites that indicate a Sobaípurí occupation because they contain the distinctive Sobaípurí elongated or rectangular, rock-ringed structures and Whetstone Plain. Tools—complete, reworked, and damaged from use—and their debris are found in Sobaípurí houses, storage areas against walls, and extramural work areas directly associated with and in patterned relation to Sobaípurí structures. Stratigraphic data and several dates obtained from multiple contexts within these structures signify their use in Sobaípurí contexts and a relative contemporaneity of contexts from which these artifacts derive. Canutillo-complex tools were mostly made of local materials found within a several-hundred-mile radius and not brought-in from other, more distant areas, such as the Texas Plains and Hill Country. Mobile groups that resided in areas adjacent to Sobaípurí settlements or with the Sobaípurís possibly crafted the tools, or perhaps the Sobaípurís made these themselves. This raises the question as to whether individuals who had been mobile (and who made these tools) coresided in these Sobaípurí settlements, gradually altering their way of life. A decrease in the manufactured quality of these same tool forms on Sobaípurí sites through time indicates that perhaps their use within the Sobaípurí lifestyle waned, and, therefore, less effort was invested in tool production and transfer of knowledge regarding their manufacture as the mobile way of life was forgotten.

Until recently archaeologists did not know the characteristics of the material culture associated with these mobile groups. Consequently, they could not discern which sites mobile groups occupied or whether other groups occupied distinctive sectors of Sobaípuri sites as the documentary record implies. Likewise, researchers could not confirm with archaeological evidence the presence of mobile groups. Today, however, mobile-group presence can be identified archaeologically and is found in a wide range of contexts. Still, the presence of Canutillo-complex tools on Sobaípuri sites alone does not comprise sufficient evidence of cohabitation or even mobile-group occupancy. The presence of portable Canutillo-complex tools on Sobaípuri sites may indicate either that these mobile groups resided in the farming communities or traded these tools, along with hides and skins, in exchange for agricultural products. The historical record provides for each of these possibilities, both with respect to the specific area in question and with regard to mobile-group behavior in general as it relates to settled agricultural societies.

Consequently, the question remains: Is archaeological evidence of other types of amiable interaction available that would indicate the habitation of mobile groups at Sobaípuri sites either for a short-term visit during a trading expedition or over a longer term, during which they would have cohabited and intermixed with their hosts? The challenge becomes distinguishing between these possibilities on specific sites.

Parsing Reoccupation, Cohabitation, and Visitation

Sites produce evidence indicative of three possibilities: reoccupation after Sobaípuri abandonment, visitation on a short-term basis while a host group occupied a settlement, and cohabitation with the resident Sobaípuri population. Consequently, the record reflects a complex range of behaviors. Fortunately, reoccupation looks different archaeologically and spatially from cohabitation and visitation.⁴⁶ The nature of features present provides one line of evidence to address each of these possibilities while site structure and the spatial relations among nearby sites render another.

Evidence of a discrete mobile-group occupation is provided by their houses in association with diagnostic artifacts. The distinctive, small, circular, rock-ringed surface structures and structural clearings associated with the Canutillo complex are more diminutive and expedient than any associated with the Sobaípuris. Other unique feature types, particularly hide-working stones, also

indicate the actual presence of a different group. The occurrence and placement of these mobile-group features relative to Sobaípurí ones provide the needed evidence to discern if mobile groups have integrated in the community, overlaid their occupation over it, or set up residence nearby. One pattern that seems apparent is that when fully integrated, once-mobile groups adopt the house style of their hosts, whereas visitors and later occupants retain their distinctive house styles.

Supplemental evidence of a later occupation by bearers of the Canutillo complex is provided by the integrity of the distribution of features and artifacts that holds them together as a component (as at the Sharples Site, AZ DD:8:44, ASM). Structures are clustered together in many instances, as are work areas containing groundstone, hide-working stones, anvil stones, and artifacts. Overlap with distributions from earlier inhabitants occurs, but the dispersal of features and artifacts is not entirely coterminous with the prior occupation; each component adheres to a different organizational layout. In some clear cases, the artifacts and features overlie earlier ones; for example, post-occupational fill of prehistoric features contain Canutillo-complex tools and debris. Also, prehistoric walls are overlain with Canutillo artifacts. Sometimes, the walls of earlier structures and compounds have been modified to incorporate walls of these distinctive rock-ringed surface structures. Features and artifacts also occur at the fringe and outside the earlier occupation. Occasionally, these later groups used foundation stones from abandoned prehistoric structures as cores.

In comparison potentially contemporaneous occupations by mobile groups visiting the host Sobaípurí may be visible near Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (AZ EE:8:283, ASM) and at the Tinaja Canyon Site (AZ DD:8:128, ASM).⁴⁷ Round rock-ring structures and artifacts representing the Canutillo complex at the Tinaja Canyon Site, for example, are situated hundreds of meters from the elongated structures that define the O'odham locus. This site is also situated across the Santa Cruz River from a key historical site, San Cayetano del Tumacácori (AZ DD:8:19, ASM), suggesting that perhaps Canutillo-complex-using mobile groups and O'odham visitors to this important settlement temporarily occupied these distinct loci.⁴⁸ Mobile-group structures located near Sobaípurí sites on the San Pedro River are similarly positioned at a distance from the host village often at a lower elevation, below the terrace. In the Salinas Pueblo area, at Pecos Pueblo, in the Galisteo Basin, and at Paa-ko Pueblo in New Mexico, visiting traders' structures have been identified adjacent to host pueblos but situated at a

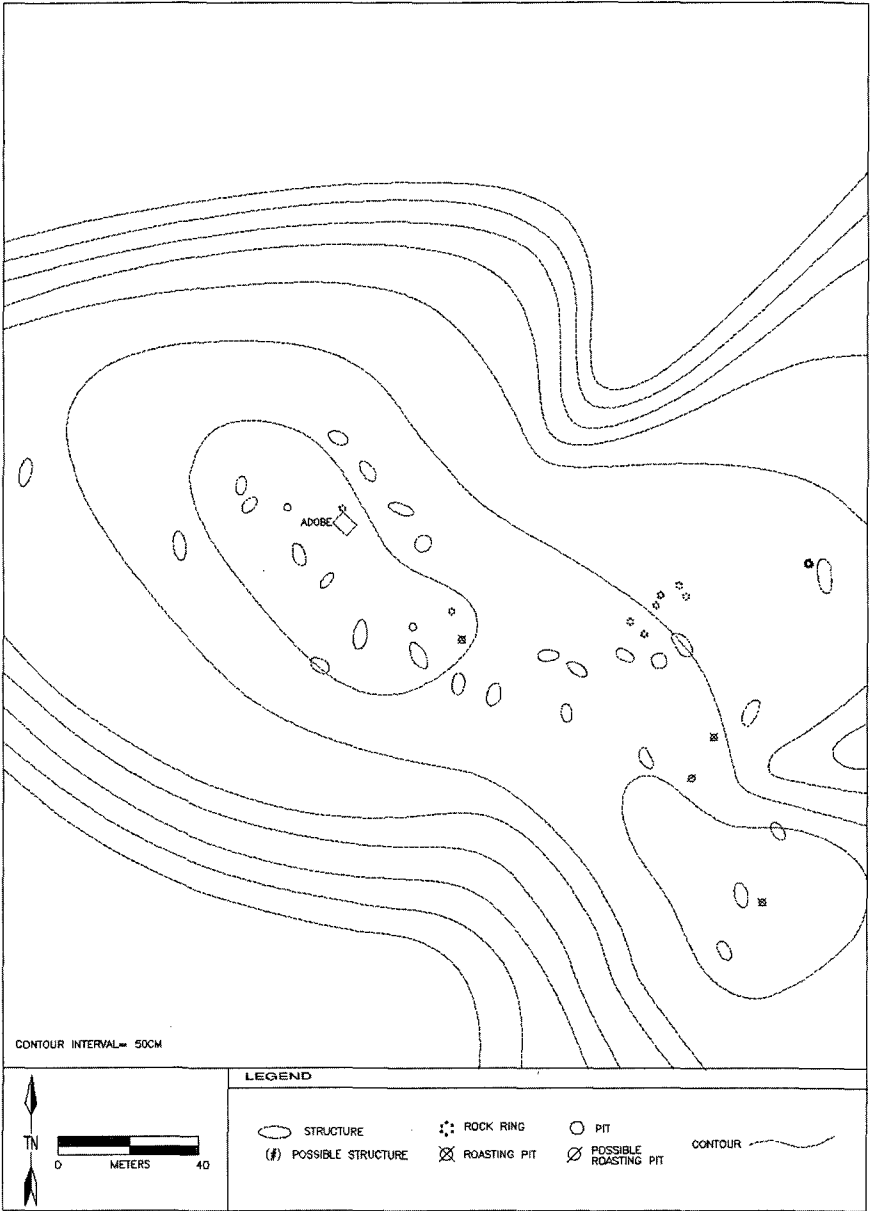


FIG. 3. LINEAR ROWS OF STRUCTURES AT SANTA CRUZ DE GAYBANIPITEA
(Map courtesy Deni J. Seymour, draft by Erick Querubin)

safe and respectable distance. This placement suggests that mobile visitors throughout the Southwest observed a widely practiced visiting protocol rather than camping in or next to the host village as would more familiar guests.⁴⁹ An example of the third process—that of cohabitation of O’odhams and mobile groups—is indicated by differences, and perhaps changes through time, in the layout of structures on Sobaípurí sites.

Excavations and intensive mapping indicate that Sobaípurí sites through time consist of an elongated or rectangular structure paired with a second functionally distinct structure.⁵⁰ During the AD 1424 to 1524 period on the Santa Cruz River, paired structures may have occurred in single linear arrangements, end-to-end, as at the Sonoita Creek Site (on a tributary of the Santa Cruz) and as was noted by Doyel for England Ranch Ruin (AZ DD:8:129, ASM); also on the Santa Cruz.⁵¹ Paired structures are spaced five to ten meters apart and approximately ten to twenty meters from the next closest pairing.

In comparison archaeological data from Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea (AZ EE:8:283, ASM) in the 1690s show that this larger site contains several structure pairings that are formally arranged with considerable distance (ten to thirty meters) between each set (fig. 3).⁵² Structures are linearly aligned and arranged in two parallel rows; they are not situated end-to-end but are mostly arranged side-by-side so that doorways presumably faced each other. Di Peso’s site of Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam (AZ EE:8:15, ASM) and a site I consider a likely candidate for Quiburi (AZ EE:4:25, ASM) also contain paired structures that are arranged end-to-end in multiples of two parallel rows, similar to those at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea.⁵³

The arrangement visible at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea and other villages is a settlement pattern that would be expected where a village-wide organizational system existed that was perhaps divided into two parts. As noted a remnant moiety system survives among the O’odhams; so it is reasonable to suggest this social organization might be expressed in this two-part site layout, consistent with the historical mention of “a settlement of Jocomes and Pimas intermingled.”⁵⁴ Thus, the archaeological record may provide evidence of this remnant kinship-system feature. Similar to the artifactual data, this spatial evidence suggests that some Canutillo-complex mobile groups (and perhaps Puebloans) resided among the O’odham groups, forming the Sobaípuris. Other O’odhams in this area, however, likely remained apart, inhabited the surrounding areas, and ultimately became Apaches.

The unique Canutillo-complex tool kit and site structure on Sobaípurí sites provide probable evidence of mobile- and settled-group interaction, potential Plains-Southwest dealings, and perhaps involvement in the hide trade between cultivators and hunters. These relationships were likely solidified through a variety of means, including cohabitation and marriage. Contrary to Manje's and Kino's pleas concerning the group's lack of interaction with hostile mobile groups, the Sobaípuris interacted with the groups around them and likely emerged as a distinctive group from the consolidation of O'odham and non-O'odham groups, some of which were initially mobile. The historically recorded incident in which the Spanish found the Jocomes or Janos at Quiburi possibly reflects the closeness of this relationship, which persisted until the Spanish presence made it untenable. Those mobile groups that intermarried with the O'odhams became Sobaípuris, and by extension O'odhams. Data from a variety of sources, including the archaeological record, hint strongly at this relationship.

Conclusion

The archaeological record pertaining to the Sobaípuris provides a basis for emphasizing and accepting certain aspects of the documentary record over others. Archaeology also contributes data, filling in gaps on lifeways and relationships that existed outside the knowledge of Europeans. The Sobaípuris, so far, have played a minor role in researchers' interpretation of events effecting Spanish control of northern New Spain given that sustained contact with the group occurred relatively late. Yet, combining the archaeological and ethnohistorical records allows scholars to see interrelationships among groups prior to and shortly after the entrance of Europeans and Apaches.

Numerous small, localized groups or *naciones* (nations) inhabited the southern reaches of the United States and northern portions of Mexico. The Spanish influenced the ultimate disposition of these *naciones*, but during and seemingly prior to the early portion of this revolutionary contact, indigenous groups often had amiable relations. The advent of sustained European intrusion may have contributed to interdependence among these groups, or this incursion may have truncated intergroup interaction; this is a topic for future research. Nonetheless, a shared point-style tradition and the widespread occurrence of the Canutillo-complex tool kit reflect interdependence among many of the localized groups. These mobile groups (and prob-

ably the ancestral Apaches) were instrumental in transmitting this technology throughout a broad geographic area. Their extensive territories encompassed the area from the Texas Plains and Hill Country to the lush river valleys and rugged mountains of southern Arizona. These mobile groups shifted the focus of the Southwest farther east and south than was the case prehistorically and ultimately broadened interaction in an east–west direction.

By engaging the Sobaipuris in a trade network similar to that enjoyed by the eastern Pueblos, Jumanos, and Plains Apaches, the mobile groups sustained a mutually beneficial relationship that helped stay the effects of famine and provided a substitute for raiding. Inter-marriage between O'odhams and mobile groups solidified this economic relationship. One such alliance led to the formation of the Sobaipuris or Soba Jipuris. Ultimately, the Spanish intrusion and the Sobaipuris' conscious choice to ally with the Europeans halted new relationships between these settled farmers and mobile raiders. That decision wrote one of the first chapters in the final volume on the existence of all these "indigenous" groups except for the Apaches and O'odhams, who were transformed by this series of events and therefore continue into the modern era. The combined archaeological, ethnohistorical, linguistic, and ethnographic records offer a new understanding of the Sobaipuris' important role during these tumultuous times. Not so isolated from the events in New Mexico that resulted in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Sobaipuris were late participants in this theater of conquest, cultural dissolution, and ethnogenesis.

Notes

1. Ruth M. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians* (1939; repr., Brooklyn, N.Y.: AMS Press, 1969), 11; Norman E. Gabel, "The Skeletal Remains of Ventana Cave" in *The Stratigraphy and Archaeology of Ventana Cave, Arizona*, ed. Emil W. Haury (Tucson: University of Arizona Press; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950), 500; and Roger Anyon and Micah Lomaomvaya, *Migrations in the South: Hopi Reconnaissance in the Barry M. Goldwater Range* (Kykotsmovi, Arizona: Hopi Cultural Preservation Office, 1999), 32.
2. Charles Polzer, trans., and Ernest J. Burrus, ed., *Kino's Biography of Francisco Javier Saeta, S.J.*, Sources and Studies for the History of the Americas, vol. 9 (St. Louis, Mo.: St. Louis University; Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971), 151, 313.
3. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, 16–17.
4. *Ibid.*, 11.
5. Frank Russell, *The Pima Indians*, rev. ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975), 204.

6. Ignaz Pferfferkorn, *Sonora: A Description of the Province*, ed. and trans. Theodore E. Treutlein (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1949), 207–12; and Deni J. Seymour, “Sexually Based War Crimes or Structured Conflict Strategies: An Archaeological Example from the American Southwest,” in *Texas and Points West: Papers in Honor of John A. Hedrick and Carrol P. Hedrick*, ed. Regge N. Wiseman, Thomas C. O’Laughlin, and Cordelia T. Snow (Albuquerque: Archaeological Society of New Mexico, 2007), 117–33.
7. John L. Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows: Jesuit Guevavi and the Pimas, 1691–1767* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 122, 132.
8. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, 11.
9. *Ibid.*, 251.
10. Grenville Goodwin, *The Social Organization of the Western Apache* (1942; repr., Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969), 611.
11. Russell, *The Pima Indians*, 186.
12. *Ibid.*, 197.
13. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, 12.
14. Rufus Kay Wyllys, ed., “Padre Luis Velarde’s *Relación* of Pimería Alta, 1716,” by Luis Xavier Velarde, *New Mexico Historical Review* 6 (April 1931): 134.
15. Deni J. Seymour, “Sobaipuri-Pima Settlement along the Upper San Pedro River: A Thematic Survey between Fairbank and Aravaipa Canyon” (report, Bureau of Land Management, Sierra Vista, Ariz., 1990); Deni J. Seymour, “The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta,” *Journal of the Southwest* 31 (summer 1989): 214–18; and Deni J. Seymour, “Sobaipuri-Pima Occupation in the Upper San Pedro Valley: San Pablo de Quiburi,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 78 (spring 2003): 148–50, 155–58.
16. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indian*, 57–58.
17. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Coronado: Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (1949; repr., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 100. This divergence between archaeologists’ and historians’ perceptions of Sobaipuri mobility is an example of how a single assumption derived from emphasis of a particular textual passage can influence perceptions, focus investigations, and lead interpretations down narrow paths for decades. My research indicates that these “poor Indians” were likely Canutillo-complex mobile groups rather than Sobaipuris. Kessell, *Mission of Sorrows*, 12; and Mark R. Barnes, “Mission Los Santos Angeles de Guevavi Site: National Register of Historic Places Registration Form” (Tucson, Ariz.: Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, National Park Service), 5.
18. Seymour, “The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta,” 220.
19. Charles C. Di Peso excavated AZ EE:8:15 (ASM) and referred to it as Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, even though it was situated north rather than south of the Babocomari River. Since then Seymour (1989, 1990) identified a site in the correct geographic location that matches Fr. Eusebio Francisco Kino’s maps and is of the right size that fits descriptions provided in Kino’s and Juan Mateo Manje’s journals. This site (AZ EE:8:283) is now referred to as Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea.

20. Underhill, *Social Organization of the Papago Indians*, 58; Paul H. Ezell, *The Hispanic Acculturation of the Gila River Pimas*, Memoir of the American Anthropological Association, no. 90 (Menasha, Wisc.: American Anthropological Association, 1961), 110; Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta," 214–20; Deni J. Seymour, "Finding History in the Archaeological Record: The Upper Piman Settlement of Guevavi," *Kiva: The Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History* 62, no. 3 (1997): 249–52; Deni J. Seymour, *Piman Settlement Survey in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Santa Cruz County, Arizona* (Phoenix: Arizona State Parks, 1993), 47–50; Seymour, "Sobaipuri-Pima Occupation in the Upper San Pedro Valley," 163; and J. Andrew Darling, John C. Ravesloot, and Michael R. Waters, "Village Drift and Riverine Settlement: Modeling Akimel O'odham Land Use," *American Anthropologist* 106 (June 2004): 282–95.
21. Deni J. Seymour, "A Syndetic Approach to Identification of the Historic Mission Site of San Cayetano del Tumacácori," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11, no. 3 (2007): 269–96.
22. W. Bruce Masse and I have previously considered Sobaipuri structures as constructed on the surface using branches and brush and occasionally mud-covered mats. W. Bruce Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona," in *The Protohistoric Period in the North American Southwest, AD 1450–1700*, ed. David R. Wilcox and W. Bruce Masse, Arizona State Anthropological Research Papers, no. 24 (Tempe: Arizona State University Press, 1981), 32–37; and Deni J. Seymour, "In Search of the Sobaipuri Pima: Archaeology of the Plain and Subtle," *Archaeology in Tucson: Newsletter of the Center for Desert Archaeology* 7 (winter 1993): 1–4.
23. Differences also seem apparent in the lifeways and degree of sedentism between O'odham groups who resided along rivers and those nonriverine O'odham groups who did not heavily rely on agriculture.
24. Charles C. Di Peso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Southwestern Arizona*, Amerind Foundation Publication, no. 6 (Dragoon, Ariz.: Amerind Foundation, 1953); David E. Doyel, *Excavations in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley, Southwestern Arizona*, Contributions to Highway Salvage Archaeology in Arizona, no. 44 (Tucson: Arizona State Museum, 1977); Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona"; Deni J. Seymour, "Sobaipuri Settlement along the Upper San Pedro River Valley, Arizona" (paper presented at the fifty-third annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology, Phoenix, Ariz., 1988); Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta"; Hayward H. Franklin, *Excavations at Second Canyon Ruin, San Pedro Valley, Arizona*, Contributions to Highway Salvage Archaeology in Arizona, no. 60 (Tucson: Arizona State Museum, 1980); and Bruce B. Huckell, "Sobaipuri Sites in the Rosemont Area," in *Miscellaneous Archaeological Studies in the Anamax-Rosemont Land Exchange Area*, ed. M. D. Tagg, R. G. Ervin, and Bruce B. Huckell, Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series, vol. 147, no. 4 (Tucson: Arizona State Museum, 1984), 107–30.

25. John C. Ravesloot and Stephanie M. Whittlesey, "Inferring the Protohistoric Period in Southern Arizona," in pt. 2 of *The Archaeology of the San Xavier Bridge Site (AZ BB:13:14) Tucson Basin, Southern Arizona*, ed. John C. Ravesloot, Arizona State Museum Archaeological Series, no. 171 (Tucson: Cultural Resource Management Division, Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, 1987), 81–98.
26. Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona," 39.
27. Di Peso, *The Sobaipuri Indians of the Upper San Pedro River Valley*; Doyel, *Excavations in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*; W. Bruce Masse, "The Peppersauce Wash Project: Excavations at Three Multicomponent Sites in the Lower San Pedro Valley, Arizona," ed. Gayle Harrison Hartmann, 1980, manuscript on file, accession 2610, Arizona State Museum Archives, Tucson; and Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona."
28. Deni J. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment: After the El Paso Phase on Fort Bliss: An Archaeological Study of the Manso, Suma, and Early Apache* (Fort Bliss, Tex.: Lone Mountain Archaeological Services, 2002), 266–73, 358–59. Also Gordon L. Fritz and Masse had previously suggested their similarity to Soto points which are also a subset of this kind of point. Gordon L. Fritz, "The Ecological Significance of Early Piman Immigration to Southern Arizona," *The Artifact* 27, no. 1 (1989): 51–109; and Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona," 40.
29. Deni J. Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería: Evidence of Intercultural Interaction at the Cerro Rojo Site," *Plains Anthropologist* 49, no. 190 (2004): 153–92.
30. Theodore E. Trettlein, trans. "The Relationship of Philip Segesser," *Mid America: An Historical Review* 27, no. 3 (1945): 202–3.
31. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 276–83; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería"; and Deni J. Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex: Evidence of Protohistoric Mobile Occupants in the Southern Southwest," *Kiva: The Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History* 72 (forthcoming).
32. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Deni J. Seymour, "The Sobaipuri-Pima Settlement Pattern On the Upper San Pedro: A Thematic Survey" (report, Bureau of Land Management, Sierra Vista, Ariz., 1990), 147–66; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería"; and Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
33. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 276–83; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería"; Deni J. Seymour, "Before the Spanish Chronicles: Early Apache in the Southern Southwest," in *Ancient and Historic Lifeways in North America's Rocky Mountains: Proceedings of the 2003 Rocky Mountain Anthropological Conference, Estes Park, Colorado*, ed. Robert H. Brunswig and William B. Butler (Estes Park, Colo.: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 2004), 120–42; and Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
34. Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 276–83; and Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería," 170–76.
35. Extensive work has been conducted over the past several years to define these complexes. I have pursued several lines of inquiry in an effort to address the cultural

- affiliation of these Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan assemblages. For definitions of these assemblages and a discussion on how I inferred cultural affiliation, see Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería," 176–81; and Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
36. Masse, "A Reappraisal of the Protohistoric Sobaipuri Indians of Southeastern Arizona," 40; Huckell, "Sobaipuri Sites in the Rosemont Area," 125, 127; Seymour, *Piman Settlement Survey in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*, 53; Seymour, "In Search of the Sobaipuri Pima," 3; Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*, 290–91; and Susan A. Brew and Bruce B. Huckell, "A Protohistoric Piman Burial and a Consideration of Piman Burial Practices," *Kiva: The Journal of Southwestern Anthropology and History* 52 (spring 1987): 171.
 37. Franklin, *Excavations at Second Canyon Ruin*, 162; and Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*.
 38. Brew and Huckell, "A Protohistoric Piman Burial and a Consideration of Piman Burial Practices," 163–91.
 39. These are referred to as Huachuca points in an effort to separate the material culture description from the ethnic identifier. This point's name is based on a local geographic feature consistent with convention. This name distinction is important because the Sobaipuris did not make some of the points that occur on Sobaipuri sites. Likewise, points of a widespread, small, triangular, indented-base tradition that encompass Huachuca points occur on sites affiliated with other culture groups.
 40. Although Brew and Huckell documented the presence of a single bifacial knife, this tool form was not considered one of the hallmarks of Sobaipuri material culture. I initially made this connection of formally prepared bifaces (and other tool forms that are also sometimes attributed to the Sobaipuris) to the Canutillo complex when the latter was being defined in southern New Mexico and southwest (Trans Pecos) Texas. This led to inspection of museum-curated collections from sites previously attributed to the Sobaipuris where additional examples of this tool form were encountered along with other contemporaneous tools and debitage. Still, the protohistoric association of these knives has not been widely recognized.
 41. For a description of the Canutillo complex, see Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Deni J. Seymour, "Archaeological Evidence of the Protohistoric Manso, Suma, Jano, Jocomo, and Apache" (paper presented at the seventy-fifth annual Pecos Conference, Pecos Pueblo, N.Mex., 2002); Deni J. Seymour, "Advances in the Study of Protohistoric and Early Historic Groups of the Southern Deserts" (paper presented at the 2002 Society for American Archaeology Meetings, Denver, Colo., 2002); Deni J. Seymour, "Recent Archaeological Findings on the Protohistoric and Early Historic Manso, Suma, and Apache" (paper presented at the El Paso Archaeological Society, El Paso, Tex., 2003); Seymour, "Before the Spanish Chronicles"; Seymour, "A Ranchería in the Gran Apachería"; Deni J. Seymour, "New Perspectives on the Protohistoric and Late Prehistoric Periods in the Southern Southwest" (paper presented at Center for Desert Archaeology and Arizona Archaeological Council Conference, Tucson, Ariz., 2004); Deni J. Seymour, "The Myth about the Hohokam-Piman Continuum" (paper presented to the Arizona

- Archaeological Society, Sierra Vista Chapter, Sierra Vista, Ariz., 2005); Deni J. Seymour, "The Hohokam-Pima Transition and Other Matters Relating to the Protohistoric" (paper presented for Mary Estes, Site Steward Program, Ajo, Ariz., 2005); Deni J. Seymour, "Material Culture Consequences of Kinship and Residence Patterns in the Protohistoric Southwest" (paper presented at the Society for American Archaeology Conference, Salt Lake City, Utah, 2005); Deni J. Seymour, "Beyond Married, Buried, and Baptized: Exposing Historical Discontinuities in an Engendered Sobaipuri-O'odham Household," in "Engendering Households in the Prehistoric Southwest," ed. Barbara Roth (forthcoming); and Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
42. I have documented over thirty Sobaipuri sites in these various drainages (most have been assigned Arizona State Museum [ASM] numbers) and more than one hundred sites related to the Athapaskan and non-Athapaskan mobile groups throughout the southern Southwest. For documentation of some of these sites, see Seymour, *Conquest and Concealment*; Seymour, "In Search of the Sobaipuri Pima"; Seymour, "Sobaipuri-Pima Settlement along the Upper San Pedro River"; Seymour, *Piman Settlement Survey in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*; Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta"; and Seymour, "Sobaipuri-Pima Occupation in the Upper San Pedro Valley."
 43. Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
 44. Gordon R. Willey and Philip Phillips, *Method and Theory in American Archaeology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1958), 32.
 45. Seymour, "The Canutillo Complex."
 46. Deni J. Seymour, "Stranger Sojourners: Spatial Indications of Mobile Group Visiting Protocol" (working paper, in author's possession); Deni J. Seymour, "Apache Presence in the Pre-Spanish Era on the Eastern Pueblo Frontier" (working paper, in author's possession); Deni J. Seymour, "Degrees of Intimacy and Involvement: Modeling Inter-Group Interaction in the Protohistoric and Early Historic Southwest" (working paper, in author's possession); and Deni J. Seymour, "Pliant Communities: Seasonal Mobile Group Visitation at the Eastern Frontier Pueblos" (paper presented at the 2008 conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Albuquerque, N.Mex., 2008).
 47. Doyel, *Excavations in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*, 62–94. Doyel recorded the Tinaja Canyon Site initially but not this locus, which may be considered a distinct site.
 48. Seymour, "A Syndetic Approach to Identification of the Historic Mission Site of San Cayetano del Tumacácori," 275.
 49. Seymour, "Stranger Sojourners"; and Seymour, "Pliant Communities."
 50. Seymour, "The Dynamics of Sobaipuri Settlement in the Eastern Pimería Alta," 214–18; Seymour, *Piman Settlement Survey in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*, 44–46; and Seymour, "The Sobaipuri Settlement Pattern on the Upper San Pedro."
 51. Doyel, *Excavations in the Middle Santa Cruz River Valley*, 130.
 52. AZ EE:8:283, ASM represents one of many sites that I have recorded along the upper San Pedro River as part of a thematic, research-oriented survey conducted in

the 1980s designed specifically to locate Sobaípurí sites and correlate their locations to historically documented settlements. Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea was the first site at which the author noticed this layout after carefully mapping the site with Charles Sternburg in the 1980s with the aid of an Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society grant. This pattern was not initially visible at Di Peso's site of Santa Cruz del Pitaitutgam (AZ EE:8:15, ASM) because of mapping errors.

53. I have previously argued, based upon survey data, that only one site (AZ EE:4:23, ASM) was large enough to be the historically referenced Quiburi, perhaps with others positioned to the south. Since then excavations along the Santa Cruz River have shown that, despite their shallow-looking character, Sobaípurí sites have significantly more houses than the few visible on the surface. Re-inspection of AZ EE:4:25, ASM after nearly two decades of erosion has revealed additional houses at this site. The larger Sobaípurí sites, including this one, possess the unique layout discussed in the text, making them distinctive from the smaller ones. Because AZ EE:4:25, ASM exhibits this layout, has at least one hundred houses, and is in the correct position with respect to league distance from Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea, I now believe that this is the best candidate for Quiburi.
54. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1960), 247 n. 3.

In Praise of Santa Fe, Its Past, Present, and Future

A SPANISH DIPLOMAT VISITS NEW MEXICO TERRITORY

Donald C. Cutter

It was dawn on 18 July 1883 when the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe westbound passenger train entered New Mexico, having passed the night hours and most of the previous day crossing the seemingly endless waving tall grasslands of Kansas. Entry was made via Ratón Pass, a narrow and winding gorge in the first spur of the Rocky Mountains, which with its sharp peaks and great crags presented the most complete contrast with the previous day's landscape. The grade was so abrupt that only with great difficulty could two locomotives carry the train up such steep hills, and a man on foot could easily have kept up with its progress. Aboard were the normal load of passengers, plus two young men of special interest. They were foreigners, but ones who would not be very far out of their element in their destination of Santa Fe. One was a twenty-eight-year-old Spanish diplomat, Juan Bustamante y Campuzano, junior member of the Spanish diplomatic mission in Washington, D.C. The other was his close friend Paco Chacón y Silva, who had joined Bustamante for part of his seven-thousand-mile, fifty-four-day round trip across the United States.

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Young Bustamante wrote a detailed account of his experiences, publishing it in Spain two years later upon his return to Europe. The result was a 439-page book, a substantial and interesting account titled *Del Atlántico al Pacífico: Apuntes é impresiones de un viaje a través de los Estados Unidos*, about fifty pages of which concerned New Mexico.¹ I am focusing on the pages in Bustamante's book that deal with his observations on New Mexico. The majority of the recollection is my translation. Bustamante's notes garner occasional help from me, his translator-editor, to ensure ease of reading. Frequently I allow him to express things as he saw them. Also, the epilogue is formulated from material extracted from his diplomatic files in the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores in Madrid, Spain.

"At 1 PM we arrived at Las Vegas [New Mexico] where many leaflets distributed to us in the station informed us that a grand establishment of thermal baths existed there, a thing which since fortunately we did not need, it cannot be said that it interested us a great deal to know about it. The route had become less irregular, and at great intervals some miserable adobe houses replaced those of wood normally seen in the countryside in the rest of America. At last we managed to see some Indians, although in European dress, thereby lacking local color. At sunset we arrived in Santa Fe amidst groups of rabbits that seemed to spring forth from the ground as we passed."

Bustamante often showed much interest in American Indians, but he was not a visiting anthropologist; rather he had come to New Mexico in response to an invitation issued by the organizing committee of the Santa Fe Tercio-Millennial Celebration and Grand Mining and Industrial Exposition commemorating the 333d anniversary since the founding of the ancient capital.² He was there officially as an accredited representative and personally because he had long wanted to make a visit throughout the United States, especially to the areas where the footprints of Spain were still visible. He started his New Mexico description by writing, "In Santa Fe we could have very well thought we were in Spain and in some town of Castilla. The appearance that American cities generally have had disappeared there. The wooden houses so common in them are completely replaced by those of adobe, a type of sun-hardened brick, the great majority having only a single story which is adorned with the traditional balconies of our country. Its narrow streets are a great contrast to the very wide ones of any other town of the United States, even those of the least sort, and—a strange thing in America—many instead of stretching out indefinitely, that is, ending out in the countryside and thereby leaving for coming generations more than ample room

to go on building in straight and parallel lines without ever coming to an end (unless there should occur the improbable case that they might cross the entire continent), they end up at other streets which they hit at various angles, but at any rate preventing continuation of their progress. Ever since I had been in the United States this was the first time I had seen such a thing.

“It was also the first time that around me everywhere I heard Spanish spoken, although with a definite Mexican accent. In the faces and in the extreme volubility of the speakers and in the animated and expressive gestures that accompanied their conversations, I recognized the vestiges of our Latin race, the ardent character of which has so few things in common with the cold and calculating character that predominates in the various states of the union.”

The visitor was pleased that three-quarters of Santa Fe’s population was composed of Spanish, Mexican, and Indian descendants. The American element was unable to erase the stamp that the colonizing talent of his ancestors had imprinted on New Mexico. “Up until the most recent period with construction of the railroad that joins it to the rest of America, and owing in great measure to the status of isolation that because of its geographical location this territory existed, the advances of civilization have only very slowly penetrated it. This in itself has been the principal cause why the ancient customs and manners of its inhabitants are preserved in the same form as they had in remote times, without being identified inseparably from those of their modern fellow-countrymen. In Santa Fe one would look in vain for one of those steam engines which even the most insignificant place possesses in any other part of the United States. A person setting out to locate a single factory would find it no small problem. And I do not even mention at all the person who might want to ride a streetcar or use the simplest of the many inventions so common in the land of Washington. All these things and many more are as yet unknown here. What is certain is that today, because of having stood still, the oldest city in the United States is one which finds itself the most backward of all.”

But for Bustamante this was exactly what produced the greatest interest in visiting Santa Fe because he could get a rough idea of what these regions were like two hundred years earlier. Since the telegraph and the railroad were invading the country and making the characteristic features of the people disappear, the attractiveness of travel was considerably diminished. A pleasant impression existed in areas where these great elements of progress

had not yet had time to exercise their decisive influence. He predicted that within a few years Santa Fe, by following the new course the town had just entered, would doubtlessly progress and would show greater similarity to the other American cities. But on the other hand, Santa Fe would lose a great deal of its uniqueness. Since the town could not rival the principal American cities, it would pass inevitably to the category of the most insignificant; while, as it was at that time certainly not the least one that a traveler who had had the chance to cross the continent preserves in his memory.

Among the population, composed of approximately eight thousand or ten thousand souls, Bustamante saw many Indians, legitimate descendants of those who may have seen Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions about 350 years earlier. “Their indifferent attitude, while walking with the greatest indolence along the streets of the capital, did not change in the least on seeing the curiosity inspired in visitors by their native costumes and paint-daubed faces. Despite visitors approaching them in the most impertinent manner possible—examining them from head to foot, looking at them in front, from behind, and in profile, the same as they might do with a mannequin in some museum of wax figures—their impassive faces did not betray the least surprise nor astonishment. Visitors might have believed the Indians were not even aware of our presence.”

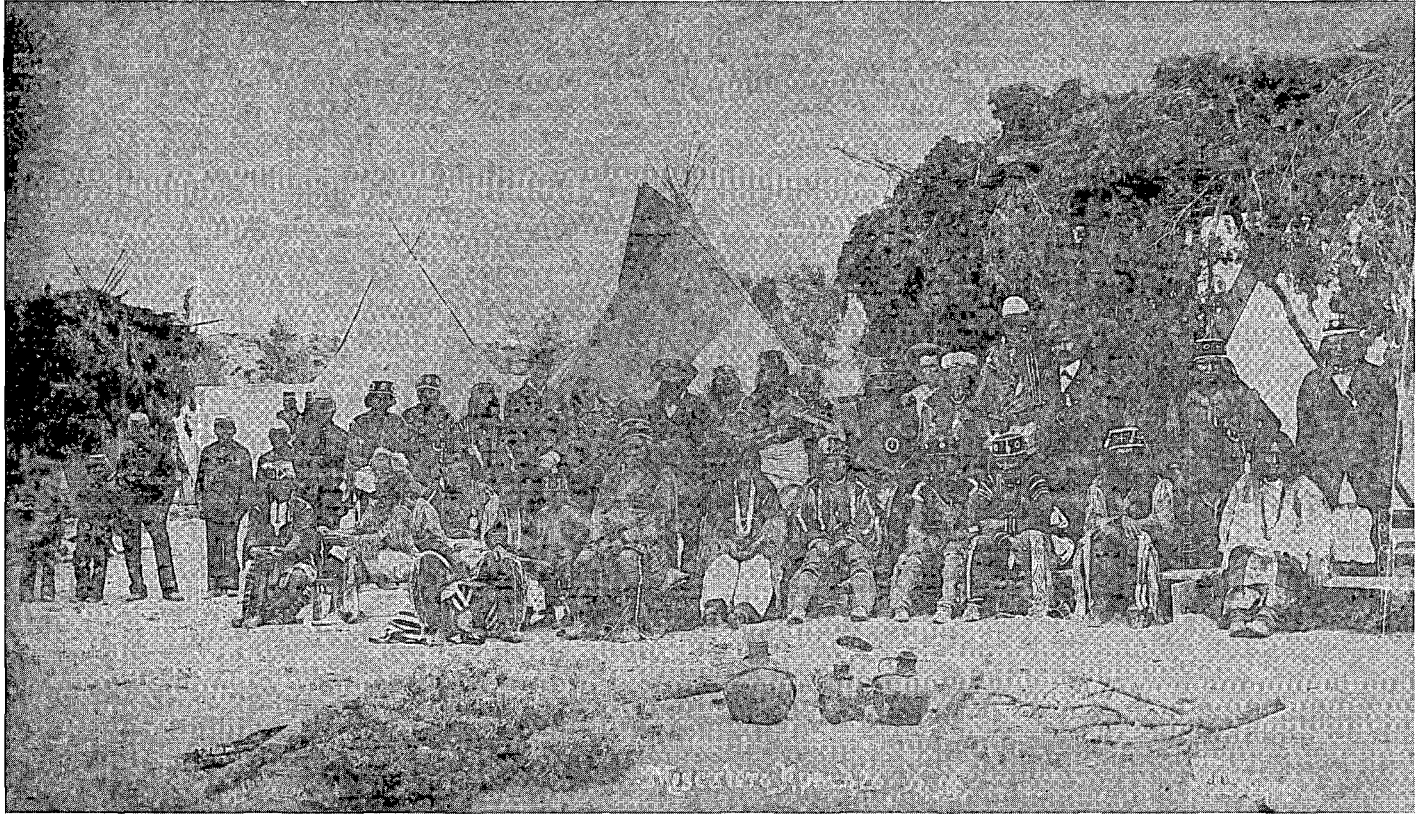
Bustamante commented: “In addition to those habitually resident in Santa Fe, many others had come from the different tribes to which they belong to take an active part in the festivals that were then being celebrated; [since] certainly neither their dances nor their games are what least attract the attention of strangers, who, like us, find themselves for the first time face to face with a race which up to then we knew only by name. Previously we had seen them only in drawings, in photographs, and in the theatre, attacking trains, taking scalps and committing as many kinds of misdeeds as the author of the work on his own account wanted to stage; or else represented by the examples of one or another poor Indian of those who often travel around Europe, and even around America, under management of certain circus impresarios, and whose authenticity more than once gives rise to well-founded doubts.

“But such was not the case here. The Indians we accidentally met were not bogus Indians. They were real Indians, legitimate redskins, much more authentic than the famous *rosquillas* of Aunt Javiera in the traditional *romerías* of San Isidro or the Moorish vendors of slippers in our *Villa del Oso* [Madrid].³ If they adorned their heads with feathers, displaying showy rings

and adornments on their necks and ears: if all the colors of the rainbow were insufficient for the complicated painting and designs drawn on their faces, making them seem uglier and more horrible than they are in reality (and they truly are); if their fantastic clothing of bright showy colors and of the most diverse cut had something theatrical and even laughable about it, not leaving unexposed, when viewed from behind, only that which anyone else would have taken greater effort to keep hidden; if the bows, arrows, lances, and other instruments of war they carried with them greatly attracted our attention, in it there was neither farce nor pretense. We saw them without any kind of artifice, just as they were, like they lived in their towns maintaining a certain sort of independence, but at the same time doing homage to and respecting the 'Great Father,' as they call the president of the United States.

"During the six days we stayed in Santa Fe we did not fail even once to go to the place where the mineral-industrial exhibit was set up, located in the middle of a great esplanade. Camped amidst the tents and wooden houses constructed for the occasion, were to be found some hundreds of Indians, the majority belonging to the Zuñi tribe or to that of the Apaches, who had come at the call made to them by the organizing committee of the festivals, inviting them to stay in the city as long as these feasts may last. The former, like good Pueblo Indians, are of peaceful and inoffensive character, who agree easily to everything, for controlling them is the simplest thing. The latter are not so, being used to an errant life, they are of fierce and ungovernable temperament, and extreme lovers of their independence, and it can be said that they are subjugated but not subdued. The federal troops find themselves frequently obliged to carry out hard fighting with them, and even not many months ago an entire detachment of three hundred men sent to pursue them ran great risk of being captured and the entire force taken prisoner along with the leader who commanded it. At present (July 1883) war with the Apaches has ended and all seems to be in the greatest harmony, although nobody can foresee how long this will last."

On one of his visits to the fairgrounds Bustamante and his companion, Chacón, found themselves in the main hall of the exposition, where they were seated up front in a semicircle with a group of notables as reported by the local press. The group included Judge William T. Thornton who later became territorial governor; L. Bradford Prince, territorial judge, eventual territorial governor, and then president of the New Mexico Historical Society; Rev. Samuel Gorman of Sparta, Wisconsin; Maj. Albert Jennings



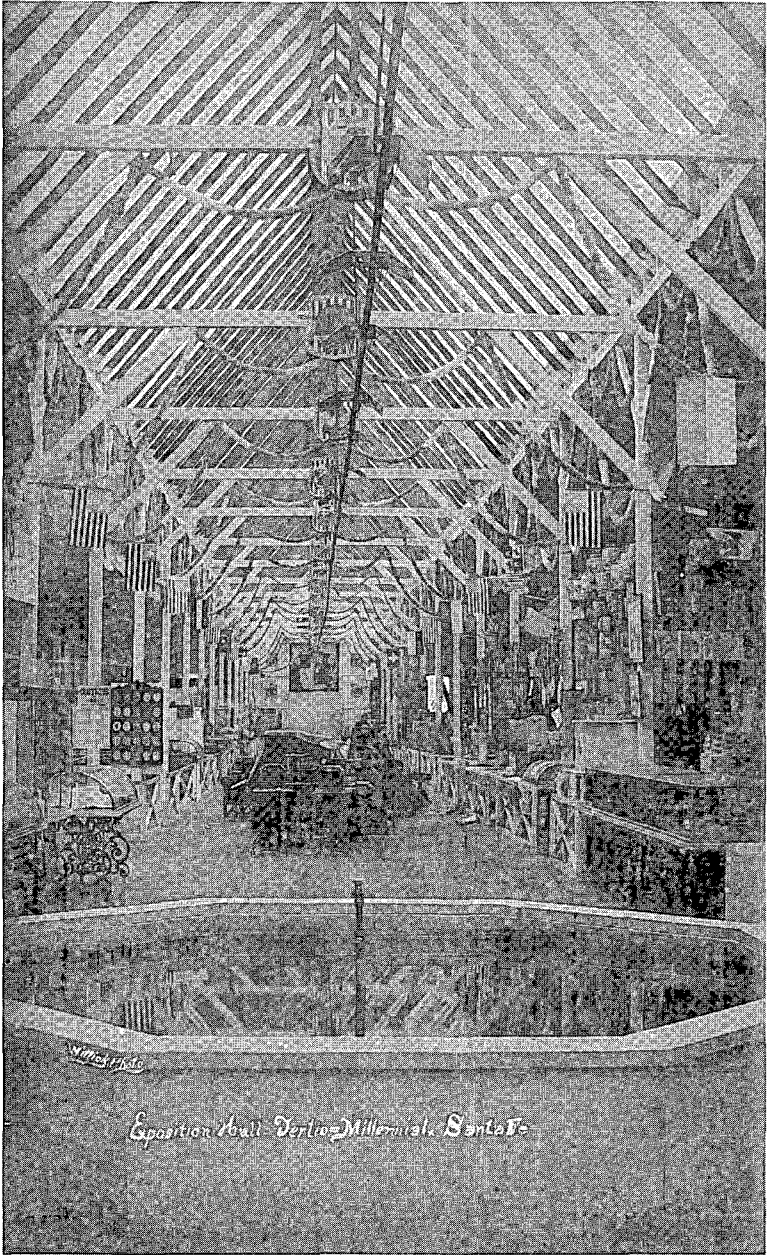
MESCALERO APACHE INDIANS AT THE TERTIO-MILLENIAL CELEBRATION, SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO
(*Photograph by Ben Wittick, courtesy Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, neg. no. 016371*)

Fountain; Mescalero Apache chief San Juan and his son, a student at the Indian School; and Chiefs José, Patricio, and Domingo. Bustamante captured the event as follows: "Meanwhile the one who was their leader here [Chief San Juan], before a group of people gathered to hear his words in the principal gallery of the exposition, made a speech or something like one, in his native language, declaring in his name and in that of his companions what were their friendly feelings toward the government of the United States. As proof of this, he, on his part, had put his children in school, hoping that in their time they would be more civilized and more worthy than their father—a thing that none of us among his listeners even thought of doubting. To this peroration the commander of the militia encamped at that time in Santa Fe [Major Fountain] answered with another in English saying that he knew Chief San Juan perfectly because both had met face to face on the battlefield; that he had had opportunity to appreciate his bravery, and that he hoped in the future, joined all together in identical and friendly feelings, that such conflict would never again be repeated."

It next became evident that Bustamante was not there merely for decoration and a brief introduction. He expressed his sudden surprise: "And now lo and behold, when I least expected it, at the request of the President of the Committee, I also found myself obliged to take part, giving on short notice a 'speech' in Spanish in praise of Santa Fe, of its exhibition, of its past, present and future, and of everything praiseworthy and unpraiseworthy that I had found there.

"What was there to say? To me everything seemed perfect. The truth is, nevertheless, that although exaggerating somewhat in form, basically I believed and continue to believe firmly what I then said. It is certain that the exposition had failed from the point of view of not having attracted to Santa Fe all the people that were expected. The historic processions and other inducements with which they had wanted to attract them had not even produced anything like the desired result, because to do these things much money needs to be spent and the capital of New Mexico still does not have sufficient resource for it; and this omitting various other special reasons. Thus, for example, even though not many people had come, for lack of rooms in the only two hotels in the city, we have had to go about seeking lodging within the walls of a large school [St. Michael's College] directed by clergymen who were then on vacation."

Notwithstanding what he already had said, Bustamante saw Santa Fe as a city of the future. New Mexico's mineral wealth was immense, and



INTERIOR OF THE TERTIO-MILLENIAL EXPOSITION HALL, SANTA FE,
NEW MEXICO
(Photograph by Ben Wittick, courtesy Palace of the Governors,
Santa Fe, neg. no. 011005)

when the day came that there would be enough workers to exploit the numerous deposits, the country would prosper greatly, and its importance would suddenly increase as had happened to so many other makeshift cities of the *far west*.

“When at nighttime to the light of three large bonfires we saw the Indians dance their terrifying war dances amidst savage cries which must have made tremble with horror the victims whom at an earlier time they forced to witness this infernal clamor during the moments that preceded their death, or when, on the contrary, there being no other object except as a mere pastime, naked and with all their body painted, with a great headdress of grass and two enormous antlers on their head, they walk supported by two short sticks imitating in their movements those of the animals, following the cadence of a primitive drum made from the trunk of a hollow tree and to the sound of a monotonous chant whose few notes never vary, they execute dances that could serve as a theme for a master composer to produce in any theatre of great productions; when we witnessed these scenes, vestiges of barbarity which the government has wanted to prohibit, although in vain, on diverse occasions because of believing they still influence greatly the morals of the tribes and are one of the causes that most delay their civilization, we could hardly not think of the enormous difference that exists between the past and the present in the great efforts that have been needed by the conquering race before arriving at complete domination in New Mexico, and that Santa Fe having come to be what it is today, isolated as it has been from the rest of the world, constitutes merit that makes it worthy of just recompense.

“Six days in Santa Fe are really six times more time than needed to visit the town. Whoever arrives there having already met Indians in other places in America and not feeling any interest whatsoever for the historical memories that seeing this city might inspire in him, it is certain that he would not have allowed twenty-four hours to pass without missing the railroad which would take him elsewhere, and even more so since the resources for killing time offered to him by the old capital of New Mexico could not be many nor greatly varied. For myself I must say that it did not seem long to me.

“Aside from the pleasant moments spent in the company of these people, in our conversations with the Indians we found a special charm, it being possible for us to study in them the ways and customs of this special race whose origin is found enveloped in the deepest mystery. More or less mangling it, all speak the beautiful language of Cervantes; and what is truly

curious, since the different tribes can not understand each other because no similarity exists between their different dialects, they have to resort to it [Castilian] when for any reason they want to communicate their ideas to each other.

“But neither New Mexican hospitality, no matter how much it was appreciated, nor the unexpected acquaintance with my feathered friends, no matter how much their behavior interested me, nor the cool temperature that I was enjoying, finding myself at an elevation of seven thousand feet above sea level, even though I might have known beforehand how much I would miss it while crossing the burning plains of Arizona and of California—none of these were sufficiently powerful reasons to prolong my stay there. I still had a long way to travel on my trip. I had limited time, and a single day of delay caused disruption in my plans.” Then saying good-bye to his companion Chacón, who had to return to New York on the afternoon of 24 July, Bustamante set out alone in the direction of the setting sun, certainly not expecting to overtake it in its course, but rather to cross in twenty-four hours the five hundred miles separating him from Tucson.

“In the stations near Santa Fe, numerous Indians, girls for the most part, offered for sale a lot of trifles made by them, among which there stood out most conspicuously a great amount of earthenware pottery of the kind that does not resist half an hour on the train without becoming broken into fifty thousand pieces, and various other objects that were as ugly as they were of little use. Truly the skill of these poor people leaves considerable to be desired and there is no way of buying anything from them that can later be kept as a souvenir. The best thing that I saw as a product of their hands is a sort of tapestry so similar to the mantas of Jerez that it almost makes one think it was the Spaniards who had showed them how to make them. Besides this crockery, many sell pieces of turquoise, a precious stone apparently found in considerable abundance amid these mountains.”

On the morning of the twenty-fifth the train arrived at Rincón station, from which the rail line left via El Paso for the ancient city of Mexico. Construction was not yet completed, but it was hoped that within a few months this new communication route would be open to the public. Two hours later Bustamante was in Deming, New Mexico, where the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe ended. From Deming his trip to San Francisco continued on the Southern Pacific, a line inaugurated less than two years previously.

“A little later we entered the desolate plains of Arizona, one of the least populated and most backward areas of the United States.”

Epilogue

Don Juan Bustamante y Campuzano's final farewell to New Mexico, coupled with his cordially written appreciation for the land of his ancestors, provides a pleasant travel memoir, but what evidence is there to establish him as one of the most distinguished visitors in the territorial history of New Mexico?

Bustamante was born on 27 January 1855 into a prominent extended family in the northern Spanish province of Cantabria. His father was Domingo Díaz de Bustamante of Herrera de Ibió. His mother was Feliza Campuzano y Rodríguez of Corrales de Buelna, also in Cantabria. Even at the young age of twenty-eight, when he visited the Tertio-Millennial Fair in Santa Fe, Bustamante was already a man of promise. He had obtained his degree of *licenciado* in civil and canon law (1878) and had become a member of the Spanish diplomatic corps. In that latter capacity he had already served eight years, with successive assignments in Rome, London, and St. Petersburg. His early service earned him the decoration of Knight of the Order of San Gregorio just prior to his departure from Rome. Shortly thereafter the young diplomat received the Great Cross of King Leopold of Belgium while serving as part of the Spanish delegation attending the silver anniversary of the monarchs of that country.

In September of 1882, Bustamante was assigned to assume the secretariat of the Spanish legation in the United States and therefore resided in Washington, D.C. It was during his seventeen-month tenure at that post that Bustamante carried out his long-dreamed-of plan to make a trip that involved seven thousand miles and fifty-four days beginning in June 1883. During this trip he took extensive notes, which became the basis for a unique book that included his observations on New Mexico. This well-written and now-rare firsthand account of an early transcontinental trip is entertaining and establishes Bustamante as an early authoritative New Mexican writer.

When Bustamante left New Mexico he was obviously pleased with his introduction to the Tertio-Millennial Celebration even though it had hardly been the great success that most organizers and participants had anticipated. He had clearly seen the footprints of Spain that had been firmly planted in New Mexican soil. Some of his predictions concerning the area's future came true and even some of his misgivings seemed to make him clairvoyant. In addition the notes for his book brought forth mental images of the Great West and of the Land of Enchantment. Unfortunately, modern inquiry among his family indicates that none of his keepsakes, mementos, or

souvenirs have survived to this day, but a bright personal future was seemingly enhanced by his book concerning his view of America.

Very soon after his great transcontinental trip was over, Bustamante's diplomatic tour of duty in America was also complete. "On his return from the United States as Secretary Third Class which was in Washington, he has published a book on travels and customs concerning that country."⁴ Some time later he became the Marqués de Herrera, the title that he used instead of his baptismal name as he increased in importance. In official correspondence he normally shortened it to simply Herrera. Gradually, important diplomatic assignments, both abroad and at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ensued. Notes encountered in his vita file consulted at the Spanish ministry amply attest to his long and distinguished service.

During the next decade after his American experience, he served several times in London, at the Vatican, at Bern, and as Secretary First Class at Constantinople, with a final temporary sojourn in London. In April 1897 Herrera (as he was now called) was chosen to become chief of the personnel section of the Ministry of State. In 1901 he became president of the Spanish delegation to the boundary adjustment with France, the Mixed International Commission of the Pyrenees. Later, in 1906, came a similar appointment to the Commission of Boundaries between Spain and Portugal in which he served as president. Subsequently, years later he was appointed ambassador to Vienna. In 1905 he was made resident minister to the Central American Republics, thereby revisiting the Americas until 1907, when he was returned to Madrid to serve as subsecretary of state. Herrera spent two years in that position until named ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Austria, a post that he held until retirement in 1914. During his long years of diplomatic service, he was frequently decorated. In addition to those given previous to his time spent in the United States, he received the following honors: the Great Cross of Isabel la Católica; the Great Cross of St. Michael of Bavaria; the Great Cross of the Lion and the Sun of Persia; the Great Cross of the Italian Crown; Lord of the Bedchamber of His Majesty (the King of Spain); and the Great Cross of the Order of Carlos III. In retirement Herrera spent the last twenty years as an advisor and consultant to Spain's Ministry of Foreign Relations. In 1933 he died in Madrid's Chamberi district at the age of eighty.

As of his 1883 visit, Juan Bustamante y Campuzano, the Marqués de Herrera, may not have been Territorial New Mexico's most important visitor, but there is little room for doubt that he turned out to be the most distinguished foreign one of the period.

Notes

1. Juan Bustamante y Campuzano, *Del Atlántico al Pacífico: Apuntes é impresiones de un viaje a través de los Estados Unidos* (Madrid, Spain: Imprenta Central, 1885), 154–58, 178–80, 182–89, 194–95.
2. The title Tertio-Millennial is misleading because a third of a thousand years had not passed since the founding of Santa Fe, rather 333 years had gone by since Coronado's entry into New Mexico in 1540. Yet, the actual celebration should have taken place in 1873, but this date was not feasible since the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad did not arrive in Albuquerque until 1880. Therefore, the Tertio-Millennial Celebration occurred in the summer of 1883.
3. The *romería* is a long-standing tradition of religious procession and picnic. The Romería de San Isidro is held in Madrid on 15 May. An image of San Isidro is carried from the San Isidro Church to the Hermitage of San Isidro, about four kilometers north along the Río Manzanares. The associated *rosquillas* are circular pastries, and those of Tía Javiera, the prototype, originate at Villarejo de Salvanés, southeast of Madrid. Now baked many places, the name is still preserved for two types of *rosquillas* de Tía Javiera, *las tontas* (the foolish) and *las listas* (the smart), the latter being sweeter. Moorish vendors still sell these typical sharply-pointed slippers in Madrid. Bustamante, as well as thousands of other Madrileños, have by constant usage changed the bear on Madrid's shield from the original female (*osa*) to a male (*oso*).
4. Archivo General del Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Madrid, Spain.

Book Reviews

New Mexico Past and Future. By Thomas E. Chávez. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. xv + 208 pp. 41 halftones, maps, bibliography, index. \$17.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-3444-2.)

According to Thomas E. Chávez, “this history is an attempt to provide the general public with an updated, handy, and functional narrative of New Mexico’s past” (p. 2). The author admits that the work does not employ a novel approach. But the book is necessary, Chávez indicates, because many new sources have become available since Marc Simmons’s classic narrative of the state’s history was published in 1976. Also, the very passing of time since Simmons’s work appeared has left a historical gap needing a bridge.

The author’s main argument is that an area once inhabited only by Native Americans became one of the most culturally diverse regions of the United States through a centuries-old layering process. Each successive layer of settlers or invaders mustered strategies to adapt to geographical challenges and unreceptive inhabitants who previously lived in the region. Much space in the book is devoted to indigenous groups: precontact civilizations; inhabitants found by the Europeans such as the Pueblos; and relative newcomers like the Apaches, Navajos, and Comanches. The arrival of Spaniards and Mexicans resulted in the greatest clashes with Native groups. Then in a similar process, Anglo Americans came to dominate the area politically and economically. Featured groups are more exotic or nuanced, such as *genízaros* (captive Hispanicized Indians), European Jews, and the bohemian crowd of 215 the early twentieth century.

The author avoids frontal engagements with the often contentious issues of race and class tensions in New Mexican history. He does address sensitive topics that usually ignite polemical denunciation of Spanish or Anglo American conquerors but writes without the acrimonious accusations or cavalier dismissals that characterize either side of these debates. Chávez reveals Juan de Oñate's sins, for example, but rejects the notion that the founder of New Mexico tortured rebellious Indians by cutting off their right foot, stating "there is no evidence of this happening and that, at most, the prisoners lost some toes" (p. 54). Similarly, in what some critics might view as an apologist assessment, Chávez has political leaders in Washington stalling New Mexico's statehood because of the region's reputation for violence, political corruption — attributed mainly to Anglo merchants and politicians — and to internal territorial bickering. He finally adds to this mix the "too many Mexicans" argument, a favored primary cause in recent historiography. He cites what Indiana senator Albert Beveridge considered the greatest impediment, "a race speaking an alien language' who did not represent 'the best blood on the American continent'" (p. 134).

The book also contains numerous sidebars that illuminate cultural side-lights emphasizing New Mexico's uniqueness. Examples include icons ranging from the *sopaipilla* (also known as Indian fry bread) to Norman Petty, the music impresario who recorded Buddy Holly's early records. Impressively, the author manages to squeeze the rich repertoire of subjects into a few pages. At the end of the story, Chávez states: "New Mexico's history is a case study of a landlocked land where . . . various peoples settled. . . . [N]o group ever overwhelmed its predecessors. All the peoples who have settled in New Mexico have survived in New Mexico" (p. 180). Perhaps this conclusion is overstated but the author makes a good case for such a characterization.

F. Arturo Rosales

Arizona State University

Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. By Samuel Truett. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006. xii + 259 pp. 27 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-3001-1091-3.)

Economic interdependence has shaped the evolution of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands since the establishment of the boundary in 1848 and 1853, the

years of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Treaty, respectively. Early on merchants, traders, investors, and workers from both countries capitalized on new opportunities created by a border that divided a wealthy country from an underdeveloped economy. Along the Texas/New Mexico-Mexico border, most of the cross-border economic activity revolved around the exchange of agricultural products and the buying and selling of consumer goods that originated in far away places. At the Arizona-Sonora border, however, mining came to dominate the relationship between European Americans and Mexicans after the Gadsden Purchase. Farther west along the California/Baja California border, persistent isolation and the sparseness of population delayed the emergence of significant cross-boundary economic interaction for decades.

Fugitive Landscapes concentrates on the transnational links that developed in the mining industries of Arizona and Sonora between the 1850s and 1910s. After surveying exploration and colonization initiatives in the region during the Spanish period and the early Mexican republic, Samuel Truett launches into his major theme—European American cross-border capitalistic ventures, primarily in copper mining. Once southern Arizona passed into U.S. hands in 1854, newcomers from the East flocked to the area to revive old silver, gold, and copper mines and to found new ones. Sonora, a natural extension of the mining terrain of Arizona, proved a powerful attraction for prospectors and investors inspired by legends of bountiful natural riches south of the border. Wealthy and well-connected European Americans and powerful U.S. corporations penetrated the Sonoran Borderlands and, in partnership with Mexican entrepreneurs, investors, and cooperative officials, built impressive transnational enterprises. Truett does an excellent job of identifying and analyzing the cross-border links built by such companies as the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company and Phelps Dodge; the web of relationships cultivated and nurtured by individuals like William Greene; and the economic and social dynamics that played out in Cananea, Nacozari, Bisbee, and other Borderlands mining districts.

The book's title refers to the ephemeral nature of many of the enterprises founded in Sonora, with particular attention given to transnational initiatives in the vicinity of the border. Nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colonizers and entrepreneurs with grandiose visions of creating lasting economic empires encountered numerous obstacles in a frontier environment that frustrated their best efforts, evoking memories of the difficult experiences faced by Spanish pioneers in earlier eras. Before the arrival of the

railroads, isolation, aridity, harsh terrain, and hostile indigenous people constituted the major challenges. At the turn of the century, some of the effects of these disadvantages had been eliminated and others mitigated, but new problems emerged, including new forms of lawlessness, a rise in nationalism, labor unrest, and disorder and confrontations associated with the Mexican Revolution. In the end, the transnational links dissolved, and U.S. enterprises in Sonora passed into Mexican hands.

Many previous studies have addressed the major themes covered in this book. Truett, however, adds much new information and, most important, provides a new conceptual framework for understanding Arizona-Sonora history. The commendable innovation in *Fugitive Landscapes* is the author's unique transnational approach, one that required building sufficient knowledge about the history of two countries, mastering a second language, developing research skills to work effectively in the archives of both Mexico and the United States, and coming up with a practicable structure for the book. That is not to say that other scholars, including myself, have not engaged in transnational studies; rather, Truett has done it differently and has done it well. Hopefully, other scholars will examine cross-border relationships in the vast Borderlands beyond Arizona-Sonora. There is plenty of work to do since transnational interdependence based on trade, commercial transactions, and labor migration has expanded significantly since the mid-nineteenth century. The current North American Free Trade Agreement era represents only the latest chapter in a long historical process.

Oscar J. Martínez
University of Arizona

Passions in Print: Private Press Artistry in New Mexico, 1834–Present. By Pamela S. Smith with Richard Polese. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2006. 224 pp. 92 duotones, 40 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89013-479-5.)

In a series of chronologically arranged biographical sketches, *Passions in Print* provides a near definitive account of the development of the private press. The authors cover works from Padre Antonio José Martínez and the Laguna Mission Press of Presbyterian missionary John Menaul in the nineteenth century to the more recent creative efforts of John Bandi's Tooth of Time Books, Paula Hocks's Running Women Press, and Linnea Gentry's

Amaranth Press. The Press of the Palace of the Governors developed under author Pamela S. Smith's guidance also receives attention.

For Smith and Polese, the golden era of the private press in New Mexico was the period between 1920 and 1940. In that period, the artists and writers, including Gustave Baumann, Willard Clark, Walter Willard "Spud" Johnson (The Laughing Horse Press), Walter Goodwin (The Rydal Press), and Ernest Thompson Seton, gave shape and direction to a regional tradition of book arts. Following the Depression and World War II, book designer Merle Armitage, bookbinder Hazel Dreis, publisher Alan Swallow, and the colorful and creative Dorothy Stewart added elements of promotion and playfulness. Between 1960 and 1975, there was a revival of the small press with Jack Rittenhouse's Stagecoach Press, Jene and Jetta Lyon's The Lightning Tree, Andy Gregg's Vinegar Tom Press, and several other short-lived efforts. The period from 1976 to the present is characterized by a diversity of "presses" from mimeograph machine—such as John Bandi's Tooth of Time Books—and Xerox machine to the fine press work of Janet Rodney's Weaselsleeves Press and Clifford Burke and Virginia Mudd's Desert Rose Press.

In preference to "fine press" or "small press," the authors have chosen "private press" to define and delineate the printing houses included for consideration. A private press is "a small publishing house, operating outside the realm of the commercial book trade, where personal literary interest and aesthetic supersede financial gain" (p. 10). In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; publisher and printer in New Mexico was often the same individual, as in the case of Menaul, but in the twentieth century the output of private presses in New Mexico have become increasingly collaborative efforts. Type fonts, papers, design and layout, text, illustrations, binding materials, and other elements are brought together in the creative efforts of the private press. Often these involve resources from outside New Mexico and this makes the delineation of the "private press" in New Mexico problematic.

Passions in Print is a gracefully written, richly personal account of the men and women whose work has enriched the literary and cultural heritage of New Mexico through the arts of the book. Although the private presses had an average lifetime of "about seven years," the work of these men and women was and is seen as "joyful" and a "labor of love" (p. 15). As is appropriate to a book about books, the typography, page design and layout, text and color reproductions, and binding and cover of *Passions in Print* are all carefully and beautifully executed. In form and content, this is truly

a celebration of the book as well as a significant contribution to the cultural history of New Mexico. Smith and Polese have left to others the task of compiling biographies of the private presses considered here.

Louis A. Hieb

Seattle, Washington

Mary Austin's Southwest: An Anthology of Her Literary Criticism. Edited by Chelsea Blackbird and Barney Nelson. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2005. ix + 302 pp. Bibliography. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-87480-820-9.)

The title of this book might suggest a collection of essays about how Mary Austin perceived the Southwest. In fact the book is, as the subtitle clarifies, “an anthology of her literary criticism.” The book compiles thirty-four of Austin’s essays, most of which explore the influence of place on literary inspiration, form, and content.

The editors desire to overcome the perceived formidable obstacle of Austin’s personality to achieve an acceptance of her as a serious literary critic. “In this collection we hope to help the reader recognize Austin as the early theorist she was and to get past her daunting veneer to the valuable insights she provided into Southwestern literature” (p. 16). I would add that the essays are not so much about southwestern literature per se as they are about the relationship between place—any place—and the literature that is produced there. Her examples are primarily southwestern, but the implications of her conclusions are much broader.

The essays are grouped thematically into three sections: prose, drama, and poetry. As the essays demonstrate, Austin anticipated a number of areas of contemporary scholarly interest, including ethnopoetics, ecocriticism, bioregionalism, and even animal studies. In one essay, for example, she asserts that sheep dogs “not only recognized familiar tales of their own adventures, but could, when the adventure was a lively one, relive it joyfully, and even get the drift of an unfamiliar tale told about some other shepherd’s dog” (p. 45). This provocative claim for interspecies literature may seem absurd to many scholars, but not if they own a border collie.

These essays do expose some of the weaknesses in Austin’s theorizing, most notably her tendency to overgeneralize from limited evidence. Conjecture would have increased her credibility. If making authoritative claims from limited data is one of her flaws, it is one she shares with some of the

most notable literary theorists of our own time. Nevertheless, with the addition of a few qualifications and a dose of nuance, many of her pronouncements still have the power to illuminate.

Austin's insights are especially valuable for scholars interested in place-conscious and ecocritical approaches to literature. Her claim "[T]he process of interweaving the natural environment and the consciousness of the observer is one of the fundamental processes of poetizing" encapsulates the emerging field of ecopoetics (p. 211). This collection of essays confirms that Austin's work is increasingly relevant today, even as the ideas of many of her more celebrated contemporaries recede into inconsequentiality.

The lack of an index reduces the value of this text for researchers, but the book does contain an excellent annotated bibliography of Austin's theoretical essays, which serves as a valuable scholarly resource. This book has obvious appeal for Austin scholars, but it will also be useful to those interested in the development of a place-conscious approach to literary theory as it was formulated by one of America's more intriguing writers and theorists of the early twentieth century.

Tom Lynch

University of Nebraska, Lincoln

Mexican Suite: A History of Photography in Mexico. By Olivier Debroise, translated and revised in collaboration with the author by Stella de Sá Rego. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001. ix + 291 pp. 143 duotones, notes, bibliography, index. \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-292-71611-7.)

Using a thematic and biographical approach, Olivier Debroise tells a comprehensive and fascinating history of photography in Mexico. He begins with an important critical discussion about how photography has been discussed, written about, and collected by some of the major North American figures and institutions, such as Beaumont Newhall and the Museum of Modern Art, since the 1960s and 1970s. After establishing this broader context, Debroise then charts some of the defining events that finally called attention to Mexico's rich photographic history (along with other Central and South American countries) such as the now famous colloquia known as *Hecho en Latinoamérica*.

Although not strictly chronological, he does address the nineteenth century in depth with all its complexity and foreign influences. Rather than

feeling compelled to read the book only sequentially, the reader can move easily from one section to another. Debroise successfully weaves general historical information on photography into the Mexican cultural scene. He also has many informative and sound biographical sections devoted to individuals who worked in the country, both Mexican (Nacho López, Manuel Alvarez Bravo, Agustín Víctor Casasola, and Lola Alvarez Bravo) and foreign (Désiré Charnay, Edward Weston, Laura Gilpin, and Eliot Porter, to name just a few). Reading about these photographers and their Mexican work from the perspective of a Mexican art and cultural historian is important. While all writers naturally bring a particular viewpoint to their subject, Debroise's work perhaps provides insights that a foreign author might not observe.

The book has a broad range of fascinating images, both well known and less familiar, but they are not addressed directly in the text. Rather, they function to illustrate a particular passage or specific issue Debroise is addressing. Still, many of the images deserve close scrutiny. Perhaps in a volume of this magnitude the author felt the photographs should speak for themselves and not require a detailed explanation. The author does understand the wide range of images within the Mexican cultural landscape and attempts to tackle all these different kinds of photographs—fine art, documentary, and vernacular—in a comprehensive and insightful way.

In telling the history of photography in Mexico, Debroise has set a high standard. The history book on photography should be forever altered by *Mexican Suite*, and every culture deserves to have its photographic patrimony treated as justly and comprehensively. The graceful and highly readable translation by historian of photography Stella de Sá Rego greatly enhances the book's scholarly value. The volume will be an important resource for a variety of scholars in many different disciplines for a very long time to come.

Michele M. Penhall

University of New Mexico Art Museum

Malintzin's Choices: An Indian Woman in the Conquest of Mexico. By Camilla Townsend. Diálogos series. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. xv + 287 pp. Halftones, illustrations, maps, appendix, notes, bibliographic essay, index. \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-3405-3.)

Camilla Townsend's work challenges easy interpretations of Malintzin's life, a historical figure for whom only records written by others exist.

Malintzin served as a translator for Hernando Cortés and bore him a child, leading to stereotypes of her as a manipulative woman who helped facilitate Spanish conquest. In an attempt to recover Malintzin's significance to Spanish conquest, different constituencies have given her multiple meanings. Townsend reminds readers to consider interpretations with the observers' position and their time period in mind. The generation that followed Malintzin held her in high regard, resulting in her appearance in numerous illustrations, including sixteenth-century codices where her depictions rival those of Cortés. After her death, Malintzin was a forgotten figure in Mexico's history until independence, when historians deemed Spanish allies as foes.

In 1826 Mexicans defined Malintzin as a traitor who, in allying herself with Cortés, betrayed her own people. Townsend notes that during Malintzin's lifetime, no one had yet identified as Indian, thus, we should not interpret her actions so simplistically. Rather, distinct groups with varied relationships to the Aztecs existed in Malintzin's lifetime. The Aztec kingdom was Mexico's most powerful, and it was attempting to bring Malintzin's homeland of Coatzacoalcos under its control.

Malintzin was born in a Nahuatl- and Popoluca-speaking world where many kingdoms bordered one another and where many noble families yielded power in relation to their community, other families, and distant kingdoms. Within these power dynamics, Malintzin's family sold her to an elite Mayan family, in which she also became fluent in the Chontal and Yucatec Mayan languages. Her ability to use Nahuatl, a courtly language reserved for the elite, indicates that she lived and worked in such a household. Her ability to move between several languages and her knowledge of Mexica politics would make her a bridge between three cultures after the Spanish arrived.

Feminist scholarship from the 1970s characterized Malintzin as a victim who, sold by her own people, betrayed no one. Scholarship in the next two decades resurrected Malintzin as a resourceful and intelligent survivor. Townsend expands on earlier scholarship by attempting to read Malintzin as representative of the indigenous experience, including its ethnic rivalries and gendered tensions present in elite households. She examines the role translators played, including Malintzin, in the process of conquest and after, when life became business as usual. Rather than presenting a factual account of a woman whose life has been misread, Townsend's research pieces together Malintzin's life through Spanish and indigenous histories read in

conjunction with legal documents of the era. Additionally, recent studies in Nahuatl-language sources reveal numerous instances when indigenous peoples sided with the Spanish, meaning Malintzin was not alone in forming alliances in a region where coalition with those who held power meant survival. Using diverse materials, Townsend uncovers the nuances and the complexities of Malintzin's life that previous research has ignored, making her book a valuable contribution to feminist and historical scholarship on Malintzin and Mexica social and political relations.

Elizabeth Archuleta

Arizona State University

Along Navajo Trails: Recollections of a Trader, 1898–1948. By Will Evans, edited by Susan E. Woods and Robert S. McPherson, foreword by Charles S. Peterson. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005. xvi + 264 pp. Halftones, map, appendix, notes, index. \$42.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87421-605-9, \$21.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-87421-606-6.)

Do we really need another set of recollections from a Navajo trader? Susan Evans Woods, the granddaughter of trader Will Evans, and scholar Robert S. McPherson provide their answer to this question in the introduction of the lyrically titled *Along Navajo Trails*. First, they note the dearth of scholarly literature on, let alone firsthand accounts of, Mormons who traded with Navajos. They then offer Evans as a guide to this bygone era of Navajo trading.

Evans was born in South Wales in 1877. In 1892, after his family converted to Mormonism, he immigrated to Utah. Following work—and a church directive to settle the Four Corners region—the family settled in Fruitland, New Mexico, where Evans worked as a coal miner. In 1898 he accepted a job at a trading post. From that point on, Evans “was intricately connected to the Navajos as a Mormon trader and a student of their culture” (p. 12). Both before and after his retirement from trading in 1948, Evans spent a great deal of time documenting his life as a trader and honing his skill as a storyteller. In three sections, “Events,” “People,” and “Culture,” Evans offers readers his services as local historian, firsthand observer, and cultural interpreter. As a historian, he presents the stories of a handful of Navajo elders who had been interned at Fort Sumner and involved in the Beautiful Mountain Uprising. As firsthand observer, he recounts the beginnings of the trading business and the discovery of oil in the Four Corners

region. As cultural interpreter, he shares his own understanding of Navajo customs. In the introduction, the editors remind us that this work is a “period piece” that has not been “sanitized” (p. 34). Students will find this a helpful reminder, especially while trying to balance Evans’s seeming sensitivity to the problems Navajos encountered in the early twentieth century with his ethnocentrism and racism. Scholars can use these sections to understand the ways in which race and power continually influenced interactions between Navajos and whites at trading posts.

Beyond shepherding the reader through the trading process, the fact that Evans was part of a regionally influential group of Mormons makes this book a potentially significant addition to the literature. Evans wanted his book to be “one of the most valuable collections of Indian and Book of Mormon subjects in existence” (p. 27). Yet, Woods and McPherson tell us that even though “his experience with the Navajo and their teachings have been left intact” his “Mormon theology and comparisons have been left out of the work” (p. 27). Whether Evans neglected to make theological comparisons, despite his stated intentions, or if the editors decided to excise them is unclear. Either way these omissions seem glaring in light of the editors’ informative introduction and Charles S. Peterson’s foreword—both of which locate the import of Evans’s story in his Mormonism, a religion that emphasizes the close connection between Native Americans and Lamanites. If Evans himself edited out his own religious views, I wish the editors would have explained why and reprinted some of Evans’s many theological publications listed in the appendix.

Ultimately, *Along Navajo Trails* points to the need for more scholarship that examines the influence of race and religion on local regional economies and provides valuable information about the world Navajo traders inhabited.

Erika Bsumek

University of Texas at Austin

By His Own Hand? The Mysterious Death of Meriwether Lewis. Edited by John D. W. Guice, foreword by Elliot West, introduction by Clay S. Jenkinson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. xxi + 178 pp. Half-tones, map, appendix, bibliography. \$24.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3780-3, \$16.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8061-3851-0.)

The untimely death of Meriwether Lewis, co-leader of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, robbed the nation of a distinguished explorer and left

many unanswered questions. Lewis died in 1809 on the Natchez Trace while en route to Washington, D.C., to defend himself against allegations of fiscal irresponsibility related to his brief tenure as governor of Upper Louisiana Territory. The circumstances of his death have inspired animated debate ever since. Clay S. Jenkinson notes in his introduction, “[t]he bulk of the available evidence seems to point overwhelmingly toward suicide,” but a minority of doubters clings to the view that Lewis was murdered, as some have argued almost from the day he died (p. 5). The details of his death may be less important than Lewis’s achievements, but the controversy over exactly what happened still generates interest among historians and lay readers alike.

This book summarizes the competing interpretations, presents evidence for each case, and reviews the history of both perspectives. Curator and historian James J. Holmberg argues the case for suicide. Noting that William Clark believed Lewis suffered from chronic melancholia, which today would be called “manic-depressive disorder,” Holmberg lists other potential reasons for Lewis’s suicide (p. 26). These include nagging financial problems, both personal and professional; a disabling penchant for procrastination in many matters, including editing the expeditionary journals for publication; his frustrating search for a wife; and the possibility that he was somewhat deranged by debilitating malaria and/or cerebral syphilis, or by the opiates prescribed to remediate those diseases.

Historian John D. W. Guice presents the case for murder, arguing that the suicide theory relies on “flimsy circumstantial evidence” (p. 73). Noting that Lewis owned potentially valuable land and other assets around St. Louis and elsewhere, Guice asserts that Lewis “was definitely not bankrupt” when he died (p. 81). Furthermore, Guice argues, most Americans drank heavily at the time, and he finds no compelling evidence that Lewis was mired in alcoholism or drug abuse. Guice highlights deficiencies and contradictions in eyewitness and postmortem accounts of Lewis’s death, and contends that the Natchez Trace remained a perilous highway in 1809. Guice’s article echoes, with some additional material, the substance of Vardis Fisher’s book *Suicide or Murder?* (1962).

Historian Jay H. Buckley constructs a thought-provoking “postmortem trial” that marshals the “testimony” of many witnesses, past and present. Furthermore, Buckley calls for Lewis’s remains to be exhumed and examined by forensic crime specialists. Lewis’s skeleton was first dug up in 1848 when the Tennessee legislature funded a large stone monument to be erected near the site of Grinder’s Stand, where he died. The National Park Service,

which oversees Lewis's gravesite, refused requests to exhume Lewis's body in 1996, 1998, and 2002, but Buckley believes re-examination of the bones might provide information on the cause of Lewis's death. The mystery surrounding Lewis's death is very much alive, and readers interested in sorting out the main issues in the case would do well to read these fine articles.

Barton H. Barbour
Boise State University

Secrets of Casas Grandes: Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology of Northern Mexico. Edited by Melissa S. Powell. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2006. 135 pp. 116 color plates, halftones, notes, bibliography. \$29.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-89013-495-5.)

Secrets of Casas Grandes was published as the catalog for an exhibition that opened at the Museum of Indian Art and Culture in Santa Fe in November 2006. Casas Grandes, a major archaeological region in the Chihuahuan desert, is well known in southwestern archaeology for its distinctive polychrome pottery. Paquimé, the most extensively recorded site in the region, was occupied between AD 1200 and 1450 and has intrigued archaeologists for centuries. In 1998 it was named a World Heritage Site in recognition of its unique architecture and exquisite assemblage of ceramics, turquoise and shell jewelry, and other artifacts.

Melissa S. Powell, author of the first of four chapters, explores the "secrets," or archaeological theories, analyzing the distinctive mixture of Puebloan and Mesoamerican features at sites in the region. She explains the importance of Paquimé as an interregional trade center in which trade goods such as shell, copper, turquoise, and macaws flowed into the site, perhaps as tribute, from a wide area. Pottery production arose as a craft specialization along with the ascendancy of an elite class.

Maria Sprehn investigates the role of specialist potters in the second chapter of the catalog. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sites in the Casas Grandes region exhibit complex architectural plans that include ball courts, ritual features such as symbolic room forms, and water and sewage management systems. Pottery technology changes from simple utilitarian vessels to effigy forms and from plain wares to elaborately decorated polychromes and polished blackwares. The serpents, birds, scrolls, and geometric patterns were expertly painted. Many vessels were found in association with

burials and offerings that suggest they were used for religious rituals or were symbols of political or economic status.

Christine S. VanPool and Todd L. VanPool contributed chapter 3, which is on the cosmology of Casas Grandes. They argue that the animals and geometric forms on Casas Grandes pottery are the equivalent of the saints, angels, and other religious images that appear in Western artistic traditions. They interpret pots in the form of human effigies, particularly those shown with pipes in hand or mouth, as shamans on spiritual journeys induced by smoking tobacco. On some pots, a combination of human and animal design elements shows the process or liminal state of spiritual transformation.

In the final chapter, Timothy Maxwell synthesizes the archaeology of sites in the larger Casas Grandes region. Although the boundary of the region changes through time, the influence of Paquimé is strongest on those sites within a radius of eighteen to twenty miles. Maxwell also reports that recent archaeological excavations at the site of Villa Ahumada have led scholars to reassess the arguments that once placed Paquimé in control of interregional trade. Turquoise from Villa Ahumada shows that this site was a major center of stone working, and that Paquimé, while occupied for a long period and architecturally complex, was not the dominant force it was once assumed to be.

The volume is beautifully designed, and talented Museum of New Mexico photographer Blair Clark expertly photographed the ceramics. Each vessel was positioned and lighted to show off its distinctive form and design. Adriel Heisey's aerial photographs of archaeological sites in the region are dramatic, showing the precise geometry of the archaeological room blocks and the magical light of the Chihuahuan desert. The text is a well written, popular summary placing the ceramics on exhibit in a broader cultural context.

Frances Levine

Palace of the Governors

New Mexico History Museum

Frank Springer and New Mexico: From the Colfax County War to the Emergence of Modern Santa Fe. By David L. Caffey. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006. xvii + 261 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-58544-464-9, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-60344-004-2.)

Many New Mexicans recognize the name Springer only as the town in Colfax County. The town's namesake is an important figure in territorial

history. Frank Springer (1848–1927) was central to many of the events surrounding the conflicts over land grants in New Mexico and the creation of modern Santa Fe. David L. Caffey fills in a significant historical gap with this finely crafted biography of a figure who has, oddly, never been the subject of a book-length study.

Caffey characterizes Springer as a typical pioneer, coming to New Mexico as a young lawyer in search of opportunity. He followed the beckoning of an old college friend from Iowa, William Morley, to join the newly formed Maxwell Land Grant Company. As counsel for the company, Springer steered through the turbulence of the Colfax County War. The Maxwell Company, an English outfit, had purchased title to the land from Lucien B. Maxwell, but the company faced significant opposition from prior settlers as it secured title to the enormous grant. Springer found himself front and center of the conflict as the company's primary litigator and as publisher of the *Cimarron News*. Caffey aptly demonstrates that Springer was instrumental in maneuvering the company through violence and controversy with settlers until he successfully argued for the firm in front of the U.S. Supreme Court. The Maxwell Land Grant was then patented at 1.7 million acres. The settlers either came to terms with the company or left the area.

This story is familiar to students of the Colfax County War, but Caffey demonstrates that Springer's contributions to New Mexico culture were perhaps more important than helping conclude the Maxwell Land Grant situation. After spending the prime of his career in building wealth, Springer spent the last decades of his life using that wealth for the betterment of his state and the pursuit of his scientific interests. Springer took the lead in establishing New Mexico Normal University (now New Mexico Highlands University) in Las Vegas, the primary college for the northeastern section of the state. He published widely on the subject of fossil crinoids. In his later years, he donated his collection to the Smithsonian and took up residence in Washington, D.C., to continue his research. Springer was a major part of the early group of patrons and scholars who founded the School of American Archaeology, and he was one of the key players in the establishment of the Museum of Fine Arts in Santa Fe. As an influential resident of Santa Fe, Springer was an enthusiastic supporter of establishing the unique architectural style that is the hallmark of the city today.

Using Springer's own papers and a variety of archival and newspaper sources, Caffey provides a fresh account of the Maxwell Company's activities and conflicts from the corporate perspective. He views Springer's character as a

product of his times: ethnocentric, elitist, and a staunch proponent of material progress. He represented corporate interests for the Maxwell Company and the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, often to the detriment of struggling citizens. This book is no apologia, but Caffey finds much to admire in the resourceful and productive lawyer, particularly in his scientific and cultural pursuits.

Readers interested in the Colfax conflict should combine this book with a reading of María Montoya's *Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict over Land in the American West, 1840–1900* (2002), an account sympathetic to the settlers on the Maxwell Grant. But Caffey's work is very well done. He presents Springer as a complex, ambitious man, and this book answers many questions about Springer while providing a strong contextual understanding of territorial New Mexico.

Richard D. Loosbrock
Adams State College

The Mountains of New Mexico. By Robert Julyan, photographs by Carl Smith. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. xv + 368 pp. 83 halftones, 10 maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-3515-9, \$22.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-3516-6.)

Mountains dominate the landscapes of New Mexico. Most New Mexicans have driven through, lived or hiked in, or skied upon New Mexico's mountains, but many are probably unaware of how they have influenced human settlement, provided food and building materials, yielded millions of dollars in mineral wealth, witnessed deadly conflicts, and acted as a home to an amazing variety of plant and animal species. This book explores the natural and human history of about 125 mountains in the state, ranging from isolated peaks and small uplifts to majestic ranges that occupy hundreds of square miles. Only four ranges (San Andres, Oscura, Fra Cristobal, and Animas) are inaccessible to the public.

Mountains are the result of geologic processes. Julyan summarizes New Mexico geologic history, noting several different episodes and types of mountain building. For each mountain, he indicates the age, type of rock composition, and when and how it formed. The mountains discussed are grouped in chapters organized by physiographic provinces—areas of generally similar geologic history and landscapes—and shaded relief maps of these areas

show the locations of most ranges. Geographic information such as location, elevation, highest peaks, areal dimensions, land management, and wilderness status is provided for most mountains.

The Mountains of New Mexico, however, is about far more than geology and geography. Julyan's profiles of each mountain weave together its ecology; life zones; wildlife, including rare and endangered species; archaeology and human history of Native American, Spanish, and Anglo occupation; and the origin of names. Two-thirds of the names are of Hispanic origin and some names will amuse (e.g., Grandmother, Brokeoff, Jerky, and Nutt). Other information includes what minerals have been mined and what the mountains are like today, with notes on access, hiking trails, and water availability. Julyan accomplishes this presentation with a wonderfully readable writing style, which was informed by extensive personal experience and punctuated with a wry sense of humor and a fondness for the odd or interesting fact. The reader learns, for example, that the Peloncillo Mountains are home to more vertebrate species than any national park, that burros have never lived in the Burro Mountains, nor grapes in the Sierra de las Uvas, and that there are 172 named peaks over ten thousand feet high in New Mexico.

There are a few disappointments. The sequence of coverage and portrayal on the maps is disjointed in places. For example information on the Sierra Ladrones, north of Socorro, immediately follows Sierra de Cristo Rey, opposite El Paso, Texas, on page 214, while the map showing the former is on page 278, and the latter is not indicated at all on the map of its area on page 132. Some of the exclusively black-and-white photographs are murky, lack contrast, or show little of interest. A section of color photographs would have added considerably to the appreciation of the scenic qualities of many of the mountains. A few typos, misspellings, and factual errors appear in the text, but they do not detract from the overall high quality and remarkable breadth of information presented. This is a unique, highly informative book that deserves a place in the library of anyone interested in New Mexico's natural and human history.

Barry S. Kues

University of New Mexico

Tales from the Journey of the Dead: Ten Thousand Years on an American Desert. By Alan Boye. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. 255 pp. Halftones, map, notes, bibliography. \$26.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8032-1358-6.)

Unconventional might be the most relevant word to describe this new book by Vermont geographer Alan Boye. Not purely history or archaeology, nor purely geography or environment, the broad and impressionistic *Tales from the Journey of the Dead* looks at central New Mexico's desolate Jornada del Muerto through a geographer's perspective. Fusing bits of history, archaeology, geography, environment, and interviews with residents that live on or next to this expansive desert landscape, Boye fashions a ten-millennia-long story of the people, events, and environmental challenges that defined this legendary and unforgiving area of the American West. "Each tale from this wild and rugged land," Boye states, "is the story of life, well lived or not, set under a burning desert sun" (p. 1).

Uneven might be another descriptor, and herein lies the central problem with this book: a lack of focus exacerbated by his broad and ambitious scope. Although well written, mostly in first-person narrative, Boye's brief study cannot give adequate attention to ten millennia of Jornada natural and human history, especially when using environment as the hub that holds the complex spokes of history, archaeology, and geography together. There are other shortcomings. Historians and archaeologists might be dissatisfied at the lack of documentation ("notes" is misleading). Geographers might be disappointed with only one map to help provide perspective; he makes references to Ted Turner's expansive Jornada ranch, but does not show this on the map. Naturalists might be critical of Boye's freshman attempt to tell a story as another brave writer self-immersed in a harsh desert environment. After all it is a daunting task to follow in the huge literary footsteps of Joseph Wood Krutch or Edward Abbey.

The history/archaeology aspect of *Tales from the Journey of the Dead* relies on ten thousand years of assorted historical tidbits and events, arranged topically by chapter, ranging from the activities and remnants of prehistoric occupants to the testing of the first atomic weapon at Trinity Site. True to the book's expansive scope, once Boye sets into a story, he moves on, jumping through the millennia like a time traveler gone wild. With such a broad range, details are selective, and the reader might question the author's parameters for selectivity. Furthermore, two aspects sorely missing from *Tales from the Journey of the Dead* are an introduction and conclusion; two criti-

cal literary components that would have helped him place his approach and subject matter in a more complete historical, environmental, and conceptual context.

For all its minor shortcomings, *Tales from the Journey of the Dead* is nonetheless an entertainingly descriptive read. Boye's interviews with locals who live, work, and play on the Jornada are particularly strong. Their experiences capture the central story of humans dealing with a harsh environment. Thus, if not approached with a scholarly eye for conception and detail, *Tales from the Journey of the Dead* can effectively capture the reader's imagination with its impressionistic and descriptive approach to humans eking out an existence on a desert over ten millennia. In other words, when Boye describes life under that burning desert sun, the reader can feel the heat.

Jim Bailey

U.S. Bureau of Reclamation

Villages and Villagers: Stories from New Mexico Villages. By Abe Peña, foreword by Marc Simmons. (Los Ranchos de Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Rio Grande Books, 2007. xviii + 241 pp. Halftones, map, glossary, bibliography, index. \$32.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-890689-90-2, \$18.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-890689-80-3.)

An enjoyable follow-up book to his *Memories of Cibola*, *Villages and Villagers* takes one back to a time that no longer exists. Abe Peña's memories, interviews, and relationships have allowed him to put pen to paper and create these tiny glimpses of his life in San Mateo, New Mexico. Each section of the book melts smoothly into the next. One cannot speak of the villagers without mentioning the villages. One also cannot describe the villages without writing about the ranching and the changes that came along in time.

Peña's recollections of his childhood—playing in the acequias or shooting marbles with Adan Barela—are generational to people over the age of forty. These activities are seldom done anymore. The ways of life from the early 1920s to the 1950s are not the same as those today. The experiences recorded in *Villages and Villagers* relate to families working and living in the same village from birth to death. The book makes one yearn for simpler times. Yet, the author acknowledges that he likes the modernization that has taken place over the years, such as the microwave.

Peña satisfactorily describes the marriages, the children, and the grandchildren of the families. The book itself is not genealogical; but if you are

looking for someone from that area, Peña surely mentions him or her. His thoughtful relationships with people who he has not forgotten fill many of the pages. Some chapters almost appear as obituaries for those who he fondly recalls. Readers who have lived in small villages could relate to similar people and stories.

There are numerous well-captioned photos. The chapters are short, but the pictures often relate much more than the written word. Some pictures do not have anything to do with the story, but fit in with the period he is writing about. For instance there is a wonderful picture of Tío Antonio, the judge and rancher, and his unnamed bride with a very short story. This reviewer was left wondering who she was and when they married. Unfortunately, the text related the story of Antonio's father (pp. 118–19). The author possibly did not have a story about the wedding but fondly recalled this man in his life.

Many folks who grew up in this area will enjoy reading this charming book. The individuals the author mentions throughout the book mainly comprise the index. A bibliography and a small glossary all add to the book's overall usefulness. Since it appears that Peña has many more stories to tell, readers can eagerly await his third book.

Henrietta M. Christmas
Corrales, New Mexico

Yellow Cab. By Robert Leonard. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. 179 pp. \$18.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-3785-6.)

Anthropologist Robert Leonard should be given credit for venturing, however shakily, into the world of creative nonfiction. The idea behind *Yellow Cab* is a nice one: cabbies see and interact with a cross section of the population that most of us can only hope to experience in a lifetime. It is an anthropologist's dream come true. Yet, these stories from Leonard's days as an Albuquerque cab driver do not tell us much about Albuquerque. They seem to be meant as timeless portraits of individuals passing through rather than a description of a specific sample.

Some of these stories transcend their subject matter and feel a bit like poetry in their ideas. In "City of Cats," for example, Leonard speaks about seeing ghosts and then makes the parallel that cabbies are like ghosts, never

experiencing things themselves, but always witnessing. This idea is beautiful, and I wish that more of the stories had a similar quality.

Yellow Cab, however, is flawed in terms of simple writing technique and style. Many of the stories that Leonard saw unfold were interesting and some were probably quite entertaining. Translating these encounters to the written page is no simple feat. The fact that almost all the stories and poems end in a one-liner betrays Leonard's inexperience as a creative nonfiction writer.

Leonard's chosen style tells us more about him than it does about the world of cab driving in Albuquerque. Leonard seems to think that he has been cast as a gruff private eye in some cheap 1950s *film noir*. He fails to escape the cliché. Here is a narrator who desperately wants you to think that he is Humphrey Bogart, but that idea is completely unbelievable. Often, a flawed or unreliable narrator makes for an interesting read. Not in this case. Normally, the reader is given a window into a character's psyche, especially an opaque character: Why does he want us to think of him this way? Who is he? We really only know two things about him: he does not like northeasterners for some unexplained reason, and he is happily married with kids.

So if this is a film noir, what is the crime?

Leonard's transgression is that he, from his safe vantage point as a professor of anthropology at the University of New Mexico, pretends that he can truly understand what it is like to be a cab driver. Leonard wants the reader to believe that he is down and out, worried about danger and making a fare. But he only had to do this job while his wife was pregnant and could not work. The truth of the matter is, unlike most cabbies, Leonard had a choice. Read the back of the book. He has returned to the nice, safe world of anthropology, and he is a partner in an anthropological consulting firm.

Leonard has mounds of rich material to work with here. Maybe in the next book—and I hope there will be one—he will realize that he has to develop the narrator just as much as the stories.

Jasmine Gartner

Fashion Institute of Technology (SUNY)

Puebloan Ruins of the Southwest. By Arthur H. Rohn and William M. Ferguson. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. xiv + 320 pp. 332 color plates, 47 line drawings, 25 maps, bibliography, index. \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-3969-0, \$34.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-3970-6.)

Puebloan Ruins of the Southwest offers the general public an overview of Pueblo culture and history from beginnings up to the modern day. The book uses aerial and ground color photographs, maps, line drawings, charts, and detailed descriptions of the major Ancestral Pueblo archaeological sites and historical developments to make Puebloan history easily accessible to the naive reader.

Arthur H. Rohn and William M. Ferguson have organized their book into six chapters. The first chapter summarizes the archaeology and aboriginal history of the Pueblo people. Each of the subsequent six chapters covers a subregion of the Pueblo world: Northern San Juan, Kayenta, Chaco Canyon, Little Colorado, and Northern Río Grande Valley. These chapters provide a brief summary of developments in the subregion followed by site-by-site descriptions of the best-known and most accessible ruins in the area. The authors also discuss, map, and illustrate rock art panels and shrines. The site-by-site descriptions are encyclopedic, highly detailed, and very helpful. These descriptions are the main utility of the book for professional historians, anthropologists, and archaeologists who may use the volume as a reference.

The summaries of aboriginal history seem dated. They convey a sense of cultural continuity in Pueblo life from Pueblo I to the modern Pueblos that does not articulate well with contemporary interpretations stressing dynamic cultures that underwent various profound changes over time. This problem is evident, for example, in the authors' universalizing of the concept of unit pueblos as the building blocks of all large pueblos, including Chacoan great houses such as Pueblo Bonito and Pueblo IV Río Grande pueblos.

As befits a popular volume, the illustrations, maps, and photographs in the book are eye-catching and informative. Most striking are the aerial photographs that give the reader an oblique elevated view of each of the sites discussed. The overall maps of the Pueblo world are colorful, but would be more coherent than they are if modern state boundaries had been included. The authors reinforce the continuity of past and present on these maps by plotting the locations of all of the modern Pueblos. Unfortunately, they do not label many of these communities. The maps of individual sites and

groups of sites are uniformly well done and helpful. The book is organized like a textbook, has the look and feel of a textbook, and reads like a textbook.

Puebloan Ruins of the Southwest is not a guidebook to Puebloan ruins. The descriptions and maps of the sites are detailed enough for an interested person to locate them. The book does not, however, provide explicit directions for how to find the sites. For many of the ruins in the volume, such a description would be inappropriate because they are isolated and unsupervised.

Rohn and Ferguson have done an impressive job of pulling together photos and illustrations of the most important Puebloan archaeological sites. The book stands as a valuable resource for the lay public and professionals for this reason alone. The book will also be a useful reference tool for these audiences.

Randall H. McGuire

Binghamton University

History Is in the Land: Multivocal Tribal Traditions in Arizona's San Pedro Valley. By T. J. Ferguson and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, foreword by Robert W. Preucel. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006. xx + 316 pp. Halftones, illustrations, maps, tables, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-2499-0, \$35.00 paper, ISBN 978-0-8165-2566-9.)

The deep human history of the San Pedro River Valley extends back some twelve thousand years. This book reports on a collaborative effort to understand this history. The San Pedro Ethnohistory Project was funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Center for Desert Archaeology, and the Salus Mundi Foundation. Authors T. J. Ferguson and Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh escorted representatives of four tribes believed to have long-standing ties to the area—Western Apaches, Zunis, Tohono O'odhams, and Hópis—to archaeological sites and museums to elicit past and present meanings about places and things. The book attempts to appeal to both professional and popular audiences, and ultimately, it satisfies neither.

On the positive side, we can applaud the cultural-landscapes approach used to frame the research, and there are nuggets of information in the results chapters. The general reader may find much in these chapters that is interesting. The personal tone of this book suggests it was designed to appeal to a general audience, which also is a worthwhile goal. But these advantages do

not balance what I perceived as the book's omissions, which begin with the theoretical framework and methods. Citations to the large body of Southwest literature describing ancient and living cultural landscapes are curiously attenuated. Robert W. Preucel's foreword notwithstanding, the methods are not new, but are now more than a century old in Southwest anthropology. The explicit attention to multiple stakeholders and multivocality also is not new. All professional archaeologists must deal with the concerns of descendant communities before ever putting a shovel into the ground. Our sensitivity to multiple stakeholders is mandated by ethical choice as well as law.

The research itself is not ethnohistory in its fullest conception. Peoples other than Native Americans are not included, although they also populated the valley. This omission will reinforce the widespread stereotype that archaeology is only about Native peoples, primarily ancient ones. As J. Jefferson Reid, Michael E. Schiffer, and William L. Rathje argued many years ago in the article "Behavioral Archaeology: Four Strategies" (1975), this is emphatically not true. In today's politically charged atmosphere, archaeologists should promote alternative views. Moreover, the authors do not explain why they chose to privilege the narratives of Native American peoples.

The results chapters are of mixed usefulness. Experienced archaeologists will know how the Tohono O'odhams used cactus fruits and what water-control features look like. There also are some scholarly lapses, and professional readers may disagree with certain viewpoints. Chapter 8 and its well-done sketches are rather self-indulgent. Scholars will find this chapter to be unnecessary fluff.

Last, the final chapter is not the conclusion it should have been. Given the theoretical perspective of the book and the authors' experience in cultural-landscape studies, I expected more. At the least, they might have given us some comparisons among the cultural landscapes of the four tribal groups.

In short this book exemplifies some of archaeology's current issues: our failure to recognize older work and that of our competitors; sometimes superficial research; and inability to rise above the cyclical, sometimes fadish nature of research. Moreover, it should have been two books. As it stands, the book is a warm-and-fuzzy piece recommendable to general readers. Researchers seeking new light on cultural landscapes likely will be disappointed. I look forward to a publication designed for the serious scholar of cultural landscapes that will tackle the omissions of the present work.

Stephanie M. Whittlesey
Flagstaff, Arizona

Civil War and Revolution on the Rio Grande Frontier: A Narrative and Photographic History. By Jerry D. Thompson and Lawrence T. Jones III. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2004. x + 174 pp. 130 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87611-201-4.)

Jerry D. Thompson, who has made a distinguished career of casting light on what has been characterized as the dark corner of the Confederacy, and Lawrence T. Jones III, a well-respected authority on Civil War-era Texas photography, have combined their knowledge and their skills to produce a solid contribution to our understanding of the war on the Rio Grande. They have also added to the body of knowledge about the emerging art of photography. More important than that, they have given us a unique glimpse into the visual record of this too often overlooked arena of the war.

Civil War and Revolution on the Rio Grande Frontier focuses on the area around Brownsville, Texas, and Matamoros, Mexico, where, as the ever-strengthening Union naval blockade took its toll on Confederate commerce, the cotton trade boomed. Texas, Louisiana, and even Arkansas planters took advantage of the South's only neutral foreign border. They exchanged their crops for English, French, and even New England gold, which they used to purchase the rifles, gun powder, and other military stores that were the life's blood of the rebellion. Mindful of the region's value to the rebel cause, Federal troops repeatedly attempted to occupy the lower valley, and by the war's end Brownsville had changed hands no fewer than five times.

The war in Brownsville was not the relatively simple contest between North and South, but a complicated four-way affair comprehending two civil wars—one being fought between the Union and its seceded states and another between the legitimate government of the Mexican Republic and the regime of Ferdinand Maximilian Joseph. The succinct and authoritative narrative, delineating the history of the region from Texas's secession through the execution of the puppet emperor, Maximilian, is a distillation of Thompson's previous work from such books as *Sabers on the Rio Grande* (1974), *Vaqueros in Blue and Gray* (1976), *Mexican-Texans in the Union Army* (1986), and *Juan Cortina and the Texas-Mexico Frontier, 1859–1877* (1994).

The truly stunning contribution of this volume is its wealth of images: 130 glass plate-albumen photographs. Most were the work of the talented and prolific Louis de Planque. The shortage of chemicals and paper that thwarted photography in the rest of the Confederacy was not an issue on the

Mexican border, so photographers were numerous in Matamoros and Brownsville, and the work of several of these lesser-known artists is also represented. This collection consists of remarkable portraits of army officers—Union and Confederate, Imperialista and Juarista—merchants, bandits, and common soldiers. Also included are pictures of the hangings of deserters and outlaws, the damage done by the devastating hurricane of 1867, and everyday street life in the two border towns.

The tale of how these pictures came into the authors' hands is, in itself, truly remarkable. The largest part of them, published here for the first time, was quite literally pulled from a Matamoros dumpster where they had been casually tossed in 1999. This wonderful discovery provides historians not only with a vivid window into a specific time and place, but also gives us a forcible reminder of why the visual image is vital to our understanding of the past and why preservation of the objects of material culture is vital to the preservation of our collective memory.

Thomas W. Cutrer
Arizona State University

Wanted: Historic County Jails of Texas. By Edward A. Blackburn Jr. Clayton Wheat Williams Texas Life Series, no. 11. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006. xii + 412 pp. 179 halftones, 254 maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-58544-308-6.)

Jail does not conjure up picturesque images for most people. The word is bleak and forbidding. However, as Edward A. Blackburn Jr. points out in *Wanted*, the presence of some form of detention center speaks to a community's commitment to the rule of law. In Texas the establishment of a county jail often predated that of the courthouse, and the development of the architecture of such a building became a symbol of local wealth and civic pride. In exploring this social dynamic, Blackburn spent over three years visiting the sites of all 254 Texas county jails. The result of this endeavor is a meticulous and engaging compendium that lays out each jail's story in alphabetical order.

This work focuses primarily on the development of jails in Texas during the years from 1840 to 1940. In the earliest years, prisoners awaited punishment in wooden dungeons without heat, light, ventilation, or plumbing. If the town did not have a proper structure, the lawmen simply chained their

suspect to a tree. With the development of permanent facilities in settled regions of East Texas, more sophisticated structures of brick and stone appeared, and this architectural trend gradually moved west. Post-Civil War Reconstruction saw an influx of settlers into the Lone Star State and brought an increase in crime and conflict with the Native tribes. The resulting wave of violence and the activity of the Texas Rangers (reorganized in 1874) brought a greater demand for detention facilities. New bond measures from 1884 onward meant that the counties could finance such building projects, which the state constitution in 1876 mandated but did not fund, and the construction continued around the state into the early 1900s.

Jail construction slowed in the 1930s with the Great Depression, but by the 1960s overcrowding and outdated facilities renewed the effort. Old, architecturally unique jails got torn down and replaced by modular civic buildings made of standardized materials. The specifications now took the prisoners' living standards into account, rather than a town's image. Recently, local interest groups have had some success in preserving the older buildings and converting them into libraries, museums, and civic centers.

Wanted is a wealth of local knowledge, history, and anecdotes. Blackburn has drawn on county histories, local historians, interviews with community residents, and the *New Handbook of Texas* to present the reader with short vignettes that convey the flavor and diversity of the regions contained within the expanse of Texas. Appendixes list information regarding contractors, architects, and equipment companies; maps and photographs have been expertly selected to complement the text. While this book functions best as a reference guide, both the serious and casual reader of southwestern history will find it a rewarding volume to dip into when study or curiosity demands.

S. M. Duffy

Texas A&M International University

Frontier Crossroads: Fort Davis and the West. By Robert Wooster. Canseco-Keck History Series, no. 7. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2006. xii + 210 pp. 18 halftones, maps, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$24.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-58544-475-5.)

The history of individual forts in the American West has developed an extensive historiography. Robert Wooster adds to that body of historical work

with his fine study of Fort Davis, Texas. Wooster demonstrates that during the years it operated (1854–1891), Fort Davis became a crossroads for army soldiers, Native Americans, various travelers, and settlers.

Established to provide a base of operations for U.S. Army units, Fort Davis fulfilled several functions. Its soldiers patrolled the U.S.-Mexico boundary, protected settlers and ranchers, mounted actions against Native Americans, and attracted a small civilian settlement (also named Fort Davis) that grew up near the post. During the Civil War, both Federal and Confederate units sought to control the fort. Confederate brigadier general Henry Hopkins Sibley led an offensive expedition into New Mexico Territory in 1862 after his troops paused at Fort Davis. After regaining the upper hand in New Mexico, Federal soldiers reestablished the fort as a Union outpost. After 1865 the number of buildings grew, and Fort Davis served as home of several units, notably the African American Buffalo Soldiers of the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry regiments. Companies of different infantry regiments, including men of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, another black unit, also garrisoned the fort in the postwar years.

Fort Davis served as home station for some of the U.S. Army's distinctive personalities. Among the standouts were William Shafter, leader of the Twenty-fourth Infantry, and Col. Benjamin H. Grierson of the Tenth Cavalry Regiment. Shafter led troops at Fort Davis during the controversial court martial of Lt. Henry O. Flipper, who was tried in 1881 for misappropriating money and conduct unbecoming an officer. Colonel Grierson became notable as a promoter of Fort Davis and, with his son, a developer of land in its vicinity from 1882 to 1885.

Wooster's research is a model for a historical monograph. The author draws materials from numerous collections in archives and libraries across the nation, including a wealth of documents from the U.S. National Archives. In addition Wooster examined contemporary newspapers, printed government documents, memoirs, journals, and published letters and diaries. Making effective use of his research, Wooster goes beyond military matters to give readers insightful analysis about the interaction of Hispanics, Anglos, and African Americans. He covers the social activities of officers, sergeants, enlisted men, Native Americans, and civilians in West Texas. Helpful maps, several well-selected photographs, and line drawings by Frederic Remington support the book.

Joseph G. Dawson

Texas A&M University

Savage Frontier: Rangers, Riflemen, and Indian Wars in Texas, Volume II, 1838–1839. By Stephen L. Moore. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2006. xiv + 426 pp. 36 halftones, maps, tables, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-57441-205-5, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-57441-206-2.)

Stephen L. Moore's *Savage Frontier* is the second volume in a three-volume series dedicated to examining the Republic of Texas's Indian wars between 1836 and 1841. Moore begins his study by explaining that the Texas Ranger battalions, a force of approximately 450 men organized in 1835 by acts of the provisional government of the Republic, were in decline and in danger of disappearing altogether in early 1838. In fact the Republic Congress and Pres. Sam Houston had reduced the thirteen ranger companies that had existed in late 1836 to only one battalion serving along the Colorado River under the command of Maj. William H. Smith in 1838. According to the author, the primary reason behind the reduction of the ranger battalions was President Houston's conciliatory policies to the Native Americans and the expiration of enlistment terms of the men serving in the ranging companies. By the summer of 1838, frontier defense would have ceased to exist altogether if Maj. Gen. Thomas Jefferson Rusk, commander of the Texas militia, had not reorganized the militia. His action allowed defenders to maintain small battalions of mounted rangers. Rusk's revamped force was sent out repeatedly on expeditions in 1838 against the Kickapoo villages in East Texas, against various tribes located along the Trinity River near the Cross Timbers area of present-day Dallas and Fort Worth, and against the Caddo Indians, who the Texas military forces chased out of East Texas into Louisiana.

The author explains that continued Indian depredation in the fall of 1838 motivated the newly elected president, Mirabeau B. Lamar, to adopt an extermination policy toward hostile bands of Native Americans in the Republic. In addition to appropriating funding to establish a new Frontier Regiment of the Texas Army, Lamar's Congress also authorized the formation of additional companies of Texas Rangers to serve in numerous trouble spots along the Texas frontier. Throughout 1839 the newly formed Frontier Regiment and the Texas Rangers, supplemented occasionally by hastily assembled civilian volunteer groups, waged several bloody campaigns against their Indian adversaries.

Moore's exhaustive research is based on a wealth of secondary literature as well as Republic-era documents, including available newspaper accounts,

diaries, letters, and military muster rolls. Scholars looking for a critical analysis of the Texas Indian wars, however, are likely to find this book disappointing. In short the author does not adequately explain the causes of the wars, nor does he include Native American perspectives. These oversights create an imbalanced study that contributes to the idea of a war between savage Indians and innocent frontier settlers. In the author's defense, including Native American perspectives might be extremely difficult, especially considering the lack of printed sources expressing their point of view. Despite these shortcomings, Moore's *Savage Frontier* is a valuable research tool and will be necessary reading for genealogists searching their early Texas ancestors, Texas history buffs, and researchers wanting to learn more about the specific details surrounding individual battles of the Texas Indian wars during 1838 and 1839.

Kenneth W. Howell

Prairie View A&M University

Below the Escondido Rim: A History of the 02 Ranch in the Texas Big Bend. By David W. Keller. (Alpine, Tex.: Center for Big Bend Studies, Sul Ross State University; distributed by Texas A&M University Press, 2005. xii + 261 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, graphs, appendixes, notes, bibliography. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-9707709-3-6.)

This narrowly focused, somewhat eccentric, but often insightful volume will be of interest to scholars and devotees of West Texas and ranching history. The book grew out of a grant provided to Sul Ross State University by the F. E. Lykes Foundation in 2002 to study the cultural resources of the 02 Ranch, which the Lykes family currently owns.

The ranch's history is fascinating. Keller successfully argues that its history is "inextricably bound to the larger history of the Big Bend—a region that was settled late, with great difficulty, and that for a time promised to be a ranching paradise" (p. 1). Anglo settlers brought cattle to the area in the 1880s, expecting to inaugurate a profitable livestock economy. They mostly experienced unpredictable environmental change, episodic but crippling droughts, and business failure. The ranch was consolidated from jumbled smaller holdings in the early twentieth century; a drought that wiped out most smaller operators expedited the process. After that development, the principals of the 02 Ranch were able to make the endeavor a going concern

for a time. They built a sprawling ranch headquarters; ran thousands of heads of improved cattle; and contributed to the region's political leadership, cultural institutions, and economic life.

The drought and depression of the 1930s forced the principal families to put the property on the auction block. The Aetna insurance company purchased the ranch and managed it from 1936 to 1941. In 1941 the Lykes family bought it. The family ran an extended set of profitable ranching operations in Florida, East Texas, and Cuba. They visited in a wet year and made naive assumptions about the ranch's carrying capacity, as they found out when drought returned in the 1950s. A host of modernization efforts, including electrification and irrigation works tied to check dams, failed to make the ranch profitable. The Lykes family leased the ranch to outside operators, including future Texas governor Dolph Briscoe, from 1965 to 1998. In 1998 they gave up on the effort to make money from the property by running cattle; instead they opted for hunting leases, ecotourism, and conservation programs.

David W. Keller is most successful in exploring the connections between settlement, livestock, and the landscape, showing how people unwittingly changed the landscape from arid grasslands to a shrubby desert by suppressing fires and introducing livestock, even as the region's harsh climate repeatedly dashed their hopes. In other respects, the work is idiosyncratic: the details about the ranch house and careers of those involved with the operation will likely be of only local interest, and the discussion of deep historical background, such as the disappearance of large mammals from North America ten to twelve thousand years ago, are derivative and even distracting. Nonetheless, those interested in the region and in ranching in the arid West will find much of use and interest in the book.

Benjamin Heber Johnson
Southern Methodist University

Hers, His, and Theirs: Community Property Law in Spain and Early Texas. By Jean A. Stuntz, foreword by Caroline Castillo Crimm. (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2005. xxiii + 217 pp. Maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89672-560-7.)

The significance of female property rights in colonial Mexico's northern frontier, particularly in the province of Tejas, is confirmed in this

well-informed book by attorney and West Texas A&M University history professor Jean A. Stuntz. *Hers, His, and Theirs* is built around the stories derived from lawsuits, such as divorce cases and the settlement of estates. These lawsuits involved several women in San Fernando de Béxar, San Felipe de Austin, and other areas of Texas. This well-written and nicely documented monograph sheds light on the comparatively dissimilar nature of gender relations and property regimes in the Iberian, Iberoamerican, and American worlds.

Similar to a number of related works by Asunción Lavrin, Edith Couturier, and Charles R. Cutter, among others, this monograph shows the deep influence of the allegedly benign Spanish legal tradition in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, Texas being a case in point. Furthermore, the monograph pushes forward the discussion and, along the lines of the works by Kathleen Elizabeth Lazarou, James W. Paulsen, and those of Malcolm Ebright, Charles L. Briggs, and John R. Van Ness that have dealt with landed rights in neighboring areas, presents additional insights on property rights in Republican Texas. The author maintains that post-revolutionary Texas developed a legal regime carried over from the colonial era that, in matters of property rights for women, was far more advanced than the one in the Anglo portions of the late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century United States. From 1850 until the 1960s, Texas law embraced a community-minded vision of property rights. Within that system, the legal status afforded women was fairly advanced relative to the one derived from English common law. This southwestern portion of the newly expanded United States inherited practices springing from a prior Spanish-run society where not only Spanish but also Creole, Mestiza, and Indian women had the right to buy, own, sell, and rent property; lend and borrow money; reclaim dowries upon a husband's passing; bequeath property of all kinds in relatively liberal ways; and appear in court on their own as plaintiffs, defendants, or witnesses.

When highlighting the well-established differences in the legal status of adult men and women in Spain and Spanish America, and the fact that females were excluded from many civic institutions, we should not be oblivious to the multidimensional and diverse nature of female social engagements in different legal milieus. We should not dismiss that, even in the midst of a generally subordinate status, Spanish women were more autonomous and appear to have wielded much more power than equivalent counterparts in the period's English and Anglo American worlds. For valid reasons, Iberian cultures came to be viewed as overpowered by sexism and male

chauvinism. More recently the image of macho Latinos became a common stereotype. The Iberian-influenced legal world of the Republic of Texas, however, presented quite a refreshing “liberal” contrast to the more restrictive regulation of female property rights in the world of English common law that prevailed in heavily Anglicized states of the American union.

Hers, His, and Theirs would be a nice reading in women’s history courses. The book offers a case study with larger implications. Public libraries must acquire it and so should general and specialized collections in college libraries.

Victor M. Uribe-Uran

Florida International University

A Hanging in Nacogdoches: Murder, Race, Politics, and Polemics in Texas’s Oldest Town, 1870–1916. By Gary B. Borders. Clifton and Shirley Caldwell Texas Heritage Series, no. 9. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. xii + 209 pp. 35 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-292-70252-3, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-292-71299-7.)

This book revolves around an incident that Nacogdoches, Texas, sheriff A. J. Spradley termed a “legal lynching” (p. xi). On 11 October 1902, twenty-year-old James Buchanan murdered three members of the Duncan Hicks family. The black man was trailed from the scene of the crime and captured two days later by Spradley, who had twice before arrested Buchanan for minor offenses. The bridge worker confessed to the murders but denied that he sexually assaulted the women. Buchanan explained that he did not like the way Hicks talked about his race.

The main focus of the book is the three-day zigzag journey of the sheriff and deputies by wagon, train, and horseback through East Texas and Louisiana. After apprehending their prisoner, they narrowly avoided lynch mobs along the way who sought entertainment in the pain of another human being. The sheriff had lost two prisoners to lynch mobs and he had no intention of it happening again. Spradley called on Gov. Joseph Sayers, who sent militias from adjoining Smith, Gregg, and Cherokee counties. They guarded trains, served as decoys, and held an ever-growing crowd at bay while an impromptu trial for Buchanan was held in the Nacogdoches County Courthouse. Leading citizens served as jury members. The accused said he was satisfied with the jury. Buchanan confessed and the jury found him guilty. They sentenced him to hang six days after the murders occurred.

The hostile crowd outside the courthouse outnumbered the militia and called for Buchanan to be burned alive. Buchanan waived the normal thirty-day waiting period before execution. The sheriff, deputies, and militia then escorted Buchanan across the street where a makeshift tripod had been erected. The criminal was hanged before a cheering crowd, and Spradley cut down the body and placed it in a wooden box, only to have the crowd overcome the officials and hang the body again so all could get a closer view and the local photographer could make souvenir photos.

While this story of an East Texas lynching during the Jim Crow era mirrors the racial tensions and prejudices of the South, author Gary Borders widens the scope, demonstrating how the social, economic, and political atmosphere of this small rural community in 1902 also resembled a western or border town. Open saloons beckoned gun-slinging men who liquored up and dueled on the city streets. Sheriff Spradley survived such an affray. This book has value for those interested in a comparison of southern and frontier justice and lynching or racial tensions. First published as a series of local newspaper articles, the book version could be improved by removing extraneous matter and repetitious material.

Linda S. Hudson
Georgetown, Texas

Mapping and Imagination in the Great Basin: A Cartographic History. By Richard V. Francaviglia. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2005. xviii + 231 pp. Halftones, line drawings, 79 maps, notes, bibliography, cartobibliography, index. \$44.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87417-609-4, \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-87417-617-9.)

This accessible book traces the history of how cartographers of the American West came to understand and represent the Great Basin. Like in his other books, Richard V. Francaviglia's informed use of illustrations gives his study a visual quality that makes it both a joy to read and an important scholarly contribution.

Following a brief introductory chapter, Francaviglia uses his own map of the Great Basin to introduce readers to the many ways that maps communicate information to us at the same time that they reflect the imagination of their maker. Content, proportion, orientation, and other cartographic conventions are all discussed in a nonthreatening way that will inspire readers

to look at old maps with new eyes. The chapter also overviews the basin's stunning geography and especially its aridity and hydrology.

By careful study of the first historic maps of the region to 1795, Francaviglia shows us that knowledge takes form slowly. Maps frequently misrepresent the actual geography by neglecting known features (e.g., the Sierra Nevada) or portraying spurious features long after their existence is doubted (e.g., a westward river that empties at the Pacific). A penchant for water travel among the British and French helps explain their relatively late exploration and the inaccurate qualities of their early printed maps. On the other hand, Spaniards produced many maps derived from foot travel or indigenous knowledge, but most of their maps were manuscripts and seen by few. This difference helps explain why printed and inaccurate maps made in Amsterdam, Paris, and London disproportionately influenced the popular imagination.

Westward expansion greatly improved geographic knowledge. William Winterbotham's map of North America in 1795 became the first map to show the Sierra Nevada and two interior basin lakes toward which water flows. Francaviglia argues that Winterbotham learned this information from indigenous peoples, a process of graphic transliteration that Francaviglia discusses throughout his book to good effect.

Two chapters are devoted to the process of cartographic demystification of the basin that occurred between 1825 and 1865. Discussing the forces of manifest destiny, the gold rush, east-west rail surveys and construction, Mormon settlement and cartography, and what he describes as the literary nationalism of a young America, Francaviglia details how many different processes came together to improve knowledge of the Great Basin. Following the Civil War, new methods of geological mapping, systematic government surveyors, and railroad maps finally filled in the cartographic blanks of the Great Basin. In the twentieth century, automotive travel, route maps, promotional literature, and satellite technology all helped change the popular imagination about the American West.

Overall, Francaviglia shows how accurate maps of the American West only emerged after Mexican independence and westward expansion by a young United States. Here, in the newly opened spaces of cultural encounter, travelers, knowledgeable Indians, geologists, surveyors, and modern capitalism met to produce innovative maps that spurred new popular imaginations and the transformation of the Great Basin.

Karl Offen

University of Oklahoma

Devils Will Reign: How Nevada Began. By Sally Zanjani. Wilbur S. Shepper-son Series in Nevada History. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2006. xi + 222 pp. Halftones, line drawings, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87417-663-6, \$18.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-87417-724-4.)

Devils Will Reign is a quasi-social history of Nevada's territorial and early statehood years. Focusing mainly on economic and political events, the narrative emulates Old West historiography, yet its inclusion of ordinary, literate white men gives the book a progressive flare. Missing is a New West awareness of cultural issues and themes of imperialism as well as the use of theoretical models for accessing those not represented in archival records. Sally Zanjani does include a chapter touching upon Indians, women, and ethnic minorities, yet it does not go beyond more than the usual Pyramid Lake War, examples of women as society builders, and a nod to Hispanics. Consequently, while this is a fine rendering of Nevada's march to statehood, it falls short of reflecting the broader human and environmental milieu from which Nevada grew.

The story begins with Mormon settlers arriving in the 1840s and with references to trappers, traders, and government scouts. Zanjani then pulls the territory onto the national stage with the gold rush and emigrant trains struggling to cross the Humboldt Trail. While details abound, the book offers scant information on Great Basin geology and very little mention of Nevada's first peoples. Throughout, both nature and Indians often appear, without much analysis or discussion, as mere obstacles Americans either defeat or fall before. There is almost no treatment of settlers' difficulties with the region's water and soil quality or the repercussions Indians suffered as travelers depleted and seized their scarce resources.

Connections between Nevada, Utah, and California figure prominently as do conflicts between Mormons and non-Mormons. Relevant chapters show evenhandedness in explaining perceptions, motives, and actions on all sides. Zanjani skillfully maintains ties to ongoing national events as this regional narrative unfolds. One of the last chapters even provides an interesting review of local Confederate activities during the Civil War. In many ways, this section most resembles traditional, Old West history and its penchant for glorifying capitalist pursuits and gun-slinging politics.

Overall, this book is an invaluable read for an intense examination of a brief and important period in Nevada's past. *Devils Will Reign* elegantly captures the chaos of Mormons, miners, frontier entrepreneurs, and shady

politicians all converging in what started out as the western edge of Utah Territory. The monograph's strength lies in Zanjani going a step beyond the usual characters to include lesser-known figures upon whose shoulders the state's elite eventually stood. Yet as a stand-alone history, the book's greatest weakness lies in what is missing. Without generous helpings of supplementary readings covering the Great Basin environment, its Native peoples, and the region's whole demographic range, the book is insufficient in providing a well-rounded historical picture.

Sondra Cosgrove

Community College of Southern Nevada

Devil's Gate: Owning the Land, Owning the Story. By Tom Rea. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. xii + 307 pp. 24 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$26.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3792-6.)

Wyoming's Sweetwater Valley enthralls the visitor with majestic scenery stretching in quiet solitude from the Oregon Trail landmark of Independence Rock to the formidable, towering cliffs of Devil's Gate. The region is remarkable for its vicious winters, golden summers, and uncertain rainfall. A stretch of land traveled by many yet settled by few, the Sweetwater Valley has a history rich with the stories of Native Americans, explorers, emigrants, ranchers, artists, and Latter-day Saints who have passed through its reaches and left their mark upon the land. Native American residents had made it their home for centuries before Europeans arrived and altered their lifeways forever. Later, emigrants traveled through on their way to seek better lives further west, while others came to settle permanently along the Sweetwater, attracted by the lush grasslands and the potential for ranching. A few unfortunates suffered brutal and untimely deaths there. They were victims of bad judgment and the elements or of a hangman's noose. The stories of these diverse visitors, some crafted in fact, others in fiction, vie for supremacy based on competing claims of entitlement to the land and ownership of its resources and history.

Tom Rea's elegant narrative traces the social and geographical history of the Sweetwater country through both the historical and the contemporary stories of its visitors and residents. Rea's own sage observations supplement the chronicle. The result is a literary tapestry of geographical grandeur and human conquest, interwoven with episodes of high adventure, dogged

determination, fatal miscalculations, unbridled avarice, murder, entitlement, and acts of reverent—although inaccurate—commemoration. Through his sensitive analysis of the competing versions of the region's history, Rea achieves a masterful synthesis of diverse narratives, locating a middle ground through which all voices can be heard and their stories preserved and acknowledged. Notable chapters include a detailed examination of the Mormon War and the tragic experiences of the Martin and Willie handcart companies, a refreshing analysis of the Sweetwater lynching of Ellen Liddy Watson and James Averell, and the insightful discussion of power struggles over water and federal reclamation projects.

Interviews with the descendants of Tom Sun, who established the historic Sun Ranch near Devil's Gate, provide a contemporary perspective on life, past and present, in the region. The concluding chapters examine the current struggle being waged in the Sweetwater Valley to establish dominance over the land and its stories. Rea offers a balanced examination of the controversial negotiations between the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and the U.S. Bureau of Land Management that resulted in the recent establishment of the Mormon Handcart Historic Site at Martin's Cove near Devil's Gate. Rea's work is an important addition to other notable works that preserve the stories of the region, such as Bernard DeVoto's *Across the Wide Missouri* (1947); Will Bagley's *Blood of the Prophets: Brigham Young and the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (2002); George W. Hufsmith's *The Sweetwater Lynching of Cattle Kate, 1889* (1993); and Merrill J. Mattes's *Platte River Road Narratives* (1988).

Carol Bowers

University of Wyoming

Oh, Give Me a Home: Western Contemplations. By Ann Ronald. Literature of the American West series, no. 16. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. 269 pp. Bibliography. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8061-3799-5.)

For those tempted to see the New West as a corruption of the Old, Ann Ronald offers an antidote. If tumbleweed invasions, dude ranches, and dams have altered western landscapes, they have done so as “natural outgrowth[s]” of a continuous history of “opportunism and progress” (p. 152). *Oh, Give Me a Home* tests this thesis in a series of essays organized around the verses in the cowboy ballad “Home on the Range.” In chapters ranging from “Cit-

ies and Air” to “Stream Flows,” *Oh, Give Me a Home* attests that even as western landscapes change, the “inherent longings” of the old ballad still apply (p. 13).

Most chapters find Ronald visiting and contemplating several different western sites in light of the eponymous song. In “Pressed from the West,” for example, trips to Navajo country and a pair of West Coast tribal casinos provide ample evidence of the varied strategies that Native people have undertaken to survive. In “Cities and Air,” Ronald finds cities and towns from Page, Arizona, to her home in Reno “dimmed by industrial effusions” (p. 112); nonetheless, she enjoys cities such as Seattle and San Francisco where she finds evidence of strong community life, even if skies are cloudy all day.

Throughout the volume, Ronald prefers complexities and ironies to neat binaries and moral judgments. In a vignette from one of the book’s best chapters, “Flowers and Flocks,” she confronts her own contribution to the success of an invasive species. Visiting a Sierra lake where non-native trout once decimated a native frog population, Ronald considers: “When I think of all the trout I’ve eaten, I realize I’ve feasted on an invader species” (p. 155). She declines to take sides between the frog and the trout, as elsewhere she refuses to choose favorites between urban and rural Wests, between federal and local governance, or in other regional conflicts. She understands that western landscapes have always provoked “a vastness of responses” (p. 244).

An amalgam of personal essay, regional history, and travel narrative, informed by extensive reading and research, *Oh, Give Me a Home* lends itself to a wide audience. In subject and style, the book is well suited to interdisciplinary courses on the West and to leisure reading. It raises an impressive range of topics rarely addressed together, from cloud seeding to the anthropocentrism of “water words” (p. 171). The prose is vivid and eloquent, with frequent eruptions of whimsy or humor, as when she visits a wild turkey “bordello” and observes there the “great enthusiasm” of one “red wattled guy” (p. 164). To join Ann Ronald on her western excursions is to admit to a nineteenth-century longing for a place where deer and antelope play, while recognizing the ecological consequences of our desires.

Tara Penry

Boise State University

Black Cadet in a White Bastion: Charles Young at West Point. By Brian G. Shellum, foreword by Vincent K. Brooks. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. xix + 175 pp. Halftones, drawings, maps, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$16.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8032-9315-1.)

Charles Young was the third African American graduate of West Point and the first black graduate to remain in the army for an extended period. He entered the Military Academy in 1884. He spent an extra year there due to academic deficiency but persevered and graduated in 1889. Young entered the cavalry and served as military attaché to Haiti and Liberia. In 1916 he commanded a squadron (a battalion) in Gen. John J. Pershing's expedition into Mexico, and Pershing recommended he command a brigade in France, but Young was retired for medical reasons. Recalled to service as an attaché, he died in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1922.

In *Black Cadet in a White Bastion*, Brian G. Shellum focuses on Young's youth and cadet years. He was born a slave in Kentucky in 1864; his father fled slavery and joined the Union Army, moving the family to Ohio after the war. There Young was encouraged by the black community, particularly abolitionist John P. Parker, and was selected to attend West Point through a competitive examination initiated by his congressman. Despite racist social ostracism, he succeeded at the Academy, where he was the only black cadet his junior and senior years, through fortitude and perseverance. Shellum explains: "The experience was tremendously painful for him, leaving wounds that had not healed twenty-five years later" (p. 132). "But the essential experience he took away . . . was the friendship and kindness shown by a small band of classmates," which encouraged Young to make his career in the army (p. 135).

Worn down by the racism of classmates, much more than faculty, and the rigorous academic schedule, only one of seven black cadets graduated prior to 1884; Young was the last to do so until 1936. Shellum observes that black cadets' success or failure at West Point depended on individual balance and tenacity in the face of classmates' inescapable racism (p. 42). *Black Cadet in a White Bastion* provides a valuable exploration of cadet life. Shellum promises to follow Young's successful struggle in the army in a future volume. Much has been written about first black graduate Henry Ossian Flipper, but Young's story means much more for African Americans in the military. Young mentored Benjamin O. Davis Sr., who became the army's first African American general in 1940. Davis's son was the fourth

black graduate of West Point, forty-seven years after Young. The lack of papers for Young's cadet years forced Shellum to rely on a variety of sources, which he exploits very effectively. Shellum is to be congratulated for his perseverance in bringing Young's determination to light.

Samuel Watson

United States Military Academy

Washita Memories: Eyewitness Views of Custer's Attack on Black Kettle's Village. By Richard G. Hardorff. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006. xvii + 474 pp. 14 maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3759-9.)

At dawn on 27 November 1868, Lt. Col. George Armstrong Custer attacked a village of Southern Cheyennes encamped along the Washita River in Indian Territory. Guided by Osage scouts, Custer had led his men on a nighttime march through accumulating snow to reach the Washita, where he found Black Kettle's band asleep in their lodges. This expedition opened an unusual winter campaign, designed by Gen. Philip H. Sheridan to subdue or destroy his Native enemies, attacking them when they least expected it and were most vulnerable. Black Kettle and his people were certainly vulnerable. Days earlier Black Kettle, a persistent advocate of peace, had attempted to affirm his pacific intentions and settle near American forces at Fort Cobb, under Gen. W. B. Hazen's protection. Hazen, however, had sent Black Kettle away to face Sheridan, who Hazen called "the great war chief," and told Black Kettle he must make peace with Sheridan. Hazen claimed, "I cannot stop the war" (p. 56).

History might not repeat itself, but in this case it had a disastrously familiar ring to it: Custer's assault came almost four years to the day after Black Kettle's people suffered a similar unprovoked attack on noncombatants at Sand Creek in Colorado Territory. In 1864 Black Kettle somehow survived; in 1868 he did not. Many other Cheyenne men, women, and children were killed or left in bleak conditions, without food or shelter.

Washita Memories offers a compilation of primary sources recounting this terrible event, including letters, diary entries, interviews, official reports, and newspaper accounts, from both perpetrators and victims. It includes a general introduction, headnotes for each of the forty selections, extensive footnotes, and several appendixes that detail troop rosters, squadron formations,

casualties, burial details, and a genealogical outline of Black Kettle. Although the editor aspires to fulfill Cheyenne hopes that their perspective will find equal place in the historical record, conventional sources still favor their conquerors.

This volume's useful compilation of information offers much of the raw material required for sorting out Washita's complicated events, and the selections offer readers telling—and often chilling—views of that day almost 140 years ago. We witness Custer's arrogance, ambition, and brutality expressed in his own words and see gruesome images of the Washita running red with the blood of panicked Cheyenne women and children, their bare feet sliced by the river's ice. Such descriptions, along with the critical but sometimes numbing detail of personnel, logistics, and locales, beg for larger context and interpretation. The editor generally eschews such elaboration, adopting a “just-the-facts-ma'am” sort of approach, so the book is not really the “documentary history” that the dust jacket claims. The editor's decision certainly has its advantages, but facts do not necessarily speak for themselves, particularly to nonscholars who lack familiarity with broader historical contexts or historiographical contributions.

Washita Memories bears reading as a means to reconstruct an important American story and for its potential, allied with broader knowledge and insight, to explain the massacre's meaning and consequences.

Matthew Dennis

University of Oregon

Indian Yell: The Heart of an American Insurgency. By Michael Blake. (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Publishing, 2006. 170 pp. Halftones, index. \$21.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87358-907-9.)

In his introduction to this modestly sized coffee table book, the author tells his readers that “recorded history is plagued with” what he describes as “appalling inaccuracies” about the Western Indian wars of the late nineteenth century (p. 1). Labeling himself as a “teller of stories,” he presents his version of a dozen conflicts and incidents that stretched from the so-called Grattan Massacre to the death of Sitting Bull and the 1890 attack at Wounded Knee that ended the Indian wars (p. 3).

As the subtitle suggests, Michael Blake depicts each incident or conflict as a part of a series of on-going tribal insurgencies that the Native people

used as they sought to retain their cultures, countries, and independence. This approach rightly depicts American citizens, the army, and the federal government as being part of a continuing physical and cultural invasion of the West. As the miners, farmers, railroads, military posts, and Indian agencies came to occupy much of the region, the government demanded that the tribes move to newly established reservations and adopt a sedentary lifestyle. That ultimatum certainly represented an all-out attack on tribal cultures and economies as they functioned at the time. If the Indian actions recounted in the narrative demonstrate a multitribal insurgency, it proved sporadic, disconnected, and unsuccessful.

The author offers his readers incidents that range from grisly to pathetic. They include groups such as the Sioux in the north, the Kiowa and Comanche in the south, and the Apache in the Southwest. His sparse narrative provides barebones discussions of their actions and little but vague similarities to show any connections among them. In general each chapter details the opening incident that led to violence and then narrates the fighting briefly. In doing so, the author's approach is accurate, but vastly oversimplified. Clearly all Americans did not hate Indians. All federal officials were not corrupt or incompetent, and at least some army leaders showed respect and admiration for the tribal societies they were ordered to force onto reservations. Certainly little or nothing was positive about the nation's Indian policies or their implementation, but extermination was never a federal objective.

This book is an easy way to gain at least some idea of American-Indian violence during the last half of the nineteenth century. *Indian Yell* is well written and includes interesting photographs of the central characters in the narrative. At the same time, its brevity ensures that the narrative fails to offer any careful analysis of the central issues. Rather, it remains focused on American aggression and righteous Native defense as its main themes. Both scholarship about this unfortunate set of experiences and public awareness have moved well beyond what the book offers.

Roger L. Nichols
University of Arizona

Bernie Whitebear: An Urban Indian's Quest for Justice. By Lawney L. Reyes. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006. xii + 179 pp. Half-tones, map, bibliography, index. \$35.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-2520-1, \$17.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8165-2521-8.)

Written in an engaging, literary style, this biography of the late Native American activist Bernie Whitebear chronicles a life that began on the Colville Indian Reservation in Washington State and culminated in a three-decade career serving the Indian community of Seattle. *Bernie Whitebear* might also be taken as a glimpse into larger patterns that have defined the experiences of American Indians in the twentieth century. That aspect makes it useful for any number of research projects as well as valuable for course adoption.

The author, Whitebear's brother, draws upon his own memories and those of family members, friends, and colleagues in telling Whitebear's story. Born in 1937 to a Filipino immigrant father and a mother from the Sin-Aikst People, Whitebear spent his youth with his family as they moved about the region seeking wage labor in the orchards and forests. After graduating from high school, Whitebear moved to Tacoma and began commercially fishing on the Puyallup River, where he witnessed the tensions with non-Indian fishermen. Following army service as a Green Beret, Whitebear returned to the Pacific Northwest in 1959, splitting his time among a job at the Boeing Corporation, fishing rights protests, and Indian bars. Increasingly over the next decade, Whitebear also worked for the growing American Indian population of the Seattle-Tacoma area, first by arranging powwows, then as the executive director of the Seattle Indian Health Board.

Whitebear was the primary organizer and negotiator when the national events of the Red Power movement inspired the Fort Lawton takeover in 1970. The experience led him to a realization: "[T]he locations of battlefields with the white man had changed. Fighting for Indians' rights would now take place . . . in the corporate headquarters or in the halls of the ways and means committees . . . [or] in courtrooms" (p. 107). Whitebear remained this new type of warrior through the mid-1990s, working to get local, state, and federal monies to support urban Indians. Among his most lasting achievements was the establishment of Daybreak Star Center in Seattle's Discovery Park, a site of powwows and other cultural activities, organizational meetings, weddings, and an intertribal community where "customs, languages, singing, and dancing styles and traditional foods were shared" (p.

115). The tributes to Whitebear leading up to and following his death from cancer in 2000 serve as further testimony to his legacy.

While this biography is not the work of an academic historian, something evident from its light analytical touch, it might nonetheless prod scholars of Indian history to take more seriously any number of themes, including migration, wage labor, urbanization, social activism, and the interplay between tribal and intertribal identities. Furthermore, the book both provides lecture material and would work wonderfully as assigned reading for an American Indian or U.S. history survey. Indeed, the stories and photos throughout *Bernie Whitebear* promise to help fill the void that so many instructors face as they move through the twentieth-century history of American Indians.

Nicolas G. Rosenthal

Loyola Marymount University

The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests: Essays on Regional History of the Forty-ninth Parallel. Edited by Sterling Evans. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006. xxv + 386 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, notes, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8032-1826-0.)

Many western historians associate Borderland studies with the Southwest. Of course a rich Borderlands scholarship centers on the Southwest, but studies of the western Borderlands between Canada and the United States have been relatively too few and far between. This compilation makes a significant contribution to the revived scholarly interest in that Borderlands region. The work includes an eclectic collection of essays from a balance of Canadian and American scholars. While some contributions come from previously published works, many of them are elaborations upon unpublished symposium and conference papers. The collection exemplifies the diversity of topics and approaches in the field.

Several essays examine the interface between international borders and transnational environments, economies, and cultures. Establishing the ecological integrity of the Northwestern Plains, one essay makes an impressive case for bioregional studies that avoid telescoping contemporary political boundaries into the past and recognize the holistic nature of such transnational regions. Essays on the environmental dimensions of the border, one on the regulation of the Pacific Northwest fisheries and another on

the evolution of the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, address the environmental and national challenges of imposing human-constructed boundaries on such interconnected ecosystems. Beyond transnational ecological connections, essays addressing the lives of itinerant workers and the development of horticultural landscapes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries suggest how class-based interests and anxieties also transcended the border. Illuminating the long history of North American trade and how it entangled regional economies and ecologies across borders, Sterling Evans examines the interconnections between Canadian and American grain farmers on the Great Plains and henequen plantations in the Mexican Yucatan. As Evans elaborates in the conclusion, much work is still to be done on comparative North American Borderlands and transnational connections.

A pervasive theme in the history of the international border, as identified by Evans, has been its use as a protective line. Several essays address the diverse fair of peoples and groups who have sought refuge behind the border, including Mormon polygamists, “wet” American tourists to Canada in the Prohibition Era, the transnational Ku Klux Klan, and Americans who sought to avoid military service during the Vietnam War. Indigenous communities tried to make the most of it as they found their homelands and lifestyles threatened on both sides of the border. Shedding light on the many ways that indigenous communities negotiated the border, essays on Métis and Crees who tried to take refuge in Montana complicate the traditional narrative in which Indians sought refuge north of the line from pervasive violence and depredations south of the line. Nevertheless, as the boundary became more entrenched and the traditional mobility of indigenous peoples more circumscribed, the opportunities of the line yielded to its limitations, as an essay on the contemporary Salish in the greater Pacific Northwest clearly demonstrates.

Several contributors offer insights through more traditional side-by-side comparisons. A comparison of the development of legal authority suggests that while there was relatively more violence on the American side, it was not eliminated by the Mounties on the Canadian side. Stoking potential scholarly controversy, a previously published comparative overview of cattle ranching on both sides of the border concludes that both were products of an American “Midwestern system” (p. 114). An essay on white women on the Borderlands of Montana and Alberta generally emphasizes shared experiences and perceptions, concluding that beyond the early resettlement

period, "it appears to have mattered more to be unquestionably white than to be Canadian or American" (p. 129).

The Borderlands of the American and Canadian Wests is a useful introduction to the Borderlands of the forty-ninth parallel. The wide-ranging collection provides readers with a significant sample of recent and past scholarship in the field. For those seeking to pursue further research on the subject, extensive bibliographies in each section will be of great service.

John Husmann

Dakota Wesleyan University

Exploring the Bancroft Library: The Centennial Guide to Its Extraordinary History, Spectacular Special Collections, Research Pleasures, Its Amazing Future, and How It All Works. Edited by Charles B. Faulhaber and Stephen Vincent, foreword and introduction by Charles B. Faulhaber. (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books; Berkeley: Bancroft Library, University of California, 2006. v + 190 pp. Color plates, halftones, maps. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-893663-19-0, \$29.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-893663-18-3.)

"A great library does not simply happen" (p. 3). With these words, Charles B. Faulhaber, the James D. Hart Director of the Bancroft Library, presents the reader with this marvelous introduction to one of America's great research collections. Although bearing at first glance a striking resemblance to the glamorous "treasures of" volumes so favored by the museum world, *Exploring the Bancroft Library* reveals a more ambitious agenda at work.

In setting the tone for what will follow, Faulhaber argues that the Bancroft's ultimate legacy is to "enable each generation to research, enrich and reshape the telling of its story, undoubtedly the most precious gift a culture can give itself" (p. 3). To that end, each essay in the volume combines a rich selection of handsomely reproduced images with a thoughtful description of a collection field or research topic. Chapters written by Bancroft curators such as Theresa Salazar, Walter Brem, Anthony Bliss, and Jack von Euw, portray the library's renowned holdings in Western Americana, Latin Americana, visual materials, rare books and literary manuscripts, science and technology, and the university's own archives. Other articles discuss the Center for Tebtunis Papyri, the Mark Twain Papers, and the Regional Oral History Office. Moreover, sidebar pieces entitled "At Work" accompany each chapter, offering vignettes by Bancroft researchers that illuminate the results of

their expeditions through the library's holdings. Other sketches depict the behind-the-scenes Bancroft, from the sources that describe the holdings and the operation of the Reading Room to acquisitions, cataloging, and preservation. The public side of the Bancroft, which includes programs, fellowships, publications, and the Friends of the Bancroft Library, also receives treatment.

By devoting space to explaining, as part of the volume's subtitle puts it, "How It All Works," Faulhaber has pushed *Exploring the Bancroft Library* slightly beyond the customary parameters of the genre; although it is possible to furnish the reader only with a brief glimpse of these activities, incorporating even a few such details provides a rather fuller view of all that a great library involves. These details also bolster Faulhaber's argument in the introduction that the twenty-first-century Bancroft struggles to overcome the "paradox of success" as reflected by the rising tide of voluminous acquisitions that always threatens to outrun the space, staff, and money available to stem the flow. The library's successful Bancroft Centennial Campaign to fund a state-of-the-art renovation of its aging physical plant is thus presented as one more example of the successful stewardship that such a magnificent collection requires.

Researchers seeking comprehensive analyses of specific collections will not want to turn here; instead, they will need to rely on the admirably flexible cyber tools such as the Bancroft's own website or the Online Archive of California (OAC). *Exploring the Bancroft Library*, by contrast, will appeal to students of the Spanish and Mexican Borderlands, of the Mexican Republic, and of the American Southwest who wish to understand how the collections that document their subjects were assembled as well as to archivists, curators, and librarians who want to learn how one of our most distinguished peers has evolved over the past century. The admirable volume is a welcome reaffirmation of the crucial role that research libraries still play in the world of the humanities.

Peter J. Blodgett
Huntington Library

The Antiquities Act: A Century of American Archaeology, Historic Preservation, and Nature Conservation. Edited by David Harmon, Francis P. McManamon, and Dwight T. Pitcaithley. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006. ix + 326 pp. Halftones, maps, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-2560-7, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8165-2561-4.)

Nearly every president since Theodore Roosevelt has used the broad authority provided in the 1906 Antiquities Act to create national monuments — enclaves of land and water that contain, as proclaimed in Section 2 of the act, “historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or scientific interest.” This law is important, especially in the West and Southwest, and the evolution of the national monuments and the system of preservation/conservation deserve careful historical analysis. Despite an ambitious subtitle, the sixteen essays by twenty authors in this volume commemorating the centennial of the Antiquities Act represent a kaleidoscopic assortment of perspectives on the law, individuals involved in its creation, and examples of monument creation and administration.

Some of the essays draw heavily upon familiar secondary works and go beyond those studies only marginally, but historians will find other chapters useful. Probably the most pertinent and instructive essay is Jerry L. Rogers’s overview of how the Antiquities Act has shaped historic preservation efforts. Rogers’s narrative is encompassing and also subtle; he recognizes at one point that “the federal government itself soon became the primary threat to historic places,” an important perception that possibly only one other essay is willing to acknowledge (p. 181). Rogers also allows for the inclusion of a decentralized citizen movement as well as government programs in the effort, a sensitivity that again makes his discussion less one-dimensional than other chapters. Joe E. Watkins uses a Native American perspective to question the “scientific” management of cultural resources that others in the volume cheerfully line up behind. The story that Cecil Andrus and John C. Freemuth relate about the Carter administration’s setting aside of fifty-six million acres as monuments in Alaska is not new, but it brings personal experience to the story. Some may find that Mark Squillace’s essay on the Clinton administration monuments — especially Grand Staircase-Escalante — documents the cynical use of the law for crude political purposes in the middle of a campaign, although that is not his purpose. Squillace’s extensive references make his

chapter one of the most valuable in the collection for scholars wishing to dig deeper.

One chapter is especially revealing about recent uses of the Antiquities Act. Darla Sidles and Dennis Curtis describe their experience as co-managers of Grand Canyon-Parashant National Monument, which is jointly administered by the National Park Service and the Bureau of Land Management, despite those agencies' different missions, cultures, management structures, and even computer systems. With grace, tact, and thoughtful reflection, Sidles and Curtis assess the structure that was handed to them; generous to the monument's creators, they are nonetheless candid in acknowledging that at least one aspect of the original organizational structure "did not work" (p. 249). With somewhat less grace, the editors, in their summary chapter, conspicuously avoid assessing the significance of the larger pattern whereby Grand Canyon-Parashant and other recent national monuments are committed to managing livestock and mineral activity at the same time they preserve the nation's "antiquities."

Michael Cassity

Broken Arrow, Oklahoma

Latinos and American Law: Landmark Supreme Court Cases. By Carlos R. Soltero. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. x + 239 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-292-71310-9, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-292-71411-3.)

Despite an explosion of legal history monographs, dissertations, and articles in recent years, relatively little scholarship has focused on Latinos. In order to fill this void, Carlos R. Soltero compiles some of the major U.S. Supreme Court cases that have involved and subsequently impacted the Latino community. Accordingly, Soltero "seeks to open a dialogue" about the possibilities and potentials surrounding the legal history of one of the nation's least understood groups (p. 6). This one-volume work is not meant to be exhaustive, but indicative of the variety of legal issues that have confronted Latinos in the history of the United States' highest court.

Soltero organizes the book chronologically around select cases that the Court considered during the tenures of Chief Justices Melville W. Fuller (1888–1910), William Howard Taft (1921–1930), Earl Warren (1953–1969), Warren E. Burger (1969–1986), and William H. Rehnquist (1986–2005). In

this manner, Soltero hopes to contextualize the Supreme Court's historical ambivalence toward Latino claimants. On the one side, Soltero highlights how the Court has been explicitly hostile to those issues uniquely faced by Latinos in cases such as *Botiller v. Dominguez* (1889), *Balzac v. Porto* [sic] *Rico* (1992), and *Alexander v. Sandoval* (2001). On the other side, Soltero makes a compelling case about the capacity of the Court to deliver American constitutional and statutory guarantees through cases such as *Hernandez v. Texas* (1954), *Miranda v. Arizona* (1966), and *Plyler v. Doe* (1982). For Soltero these cases collectively highlight a "pattern of formally proclaiming a commitment to equality for Latinos while creating exceptions that engulf the proclamations" (p. 197).

One of the challenges of writing about Latino legal history is to effectively describe the conceptual boundaries of the community's legal and social identity. Soltero enters into this conversation by sketching out the inconsistent ways that others have chosen to describe Latino ethnic and racial categorizations. Noticeably absent from Soltero's discussion, however, is the recognition that law is central in both producing and reifying the legal meaning and social effect of those terms. Simply, law is the centrifugal force in the creation of a "Latino" community and identity.

Soltero's analysis could have been further strengthened by including suggested readings at the end of each of the cases he describes. Although organized chronologically, thematic categories surrounding property rights, equal protection, citizenship, and immigration emerge. To the extent that each of these areas has been the subject of much powerful scholarship by historians such as María E. Montoya and Neil Foley and legal scholars such as Richard Delgado, Pedro A. Malavet, and Ian F. Haney López, such a section would further the larger goals Soltero has for this introductory reference work. Read in this light, Soltero's concise compilation is a necessary start toward recovering the lived experiences of Latinos in the American constitutional order and inserting their voices into understanding the nation's legal past.

Tom I. Romero II

Hamline University School of Law

Spain in the Age of Exploration, 1492–1819. Edited by Chiyo Ishikawa, foreword by Mimi Gardner Gates. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. 240 pp. 150 color plates, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8032-2505-3.)

This catalogue accompanied a groundbreaking exhibition at the Seattle Art Museum of 120 objects from the Patrimonio Nacional of Spain. Demonstrating the links between art, science, and imperialism, the exhibition presented a global view of the diverse cultures of the Spanish empire. The objects exhibited ranged from paintings by Spain's greatest artists—including Juan de Flandes, Francisco de Zurbarán, Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, and Francisco Goya—to botanical illustrations, maps, tapestries, armor, colonial manuscripts, and Native American artworks. Scientific devices of seagoing conquest such as armillary spheres, chronometers, and astrolabes were also included. The exhibition's innovative approach, which broke down the barriers between Spain and Latin America as well as between art and science, clearly influenced the catalogue essays. In contrast to the triumphalist tone of histories past, the authors demonstrate balanced views of the polemics surrounding Spanish colonization. None of the essays focuses exclusively on Spain; instead they examine the dialogue between Europe and New World discoveries. The essays' tone demonstrates the success of postcolonial theory in Spanish art and history. As postcolonial theorists have long insisted, colonialism did not just occur in the colonies, but in the metropole itself.

Instead of traditional catalogue entries, the eight essays incorporate the exhibition works. The curators' introductions map out the major themes. An essay by Richard Kagan and Benjamin Schmidt narrating the rise and fall of Spain's empire sets the historical stage. Joaquín Yarza Luaces provides a balanced account of the use of art and architecture by King Ferdinand II and Queen Isabella. Jesús Carrillo Castillo examines attitudes toward nature in the sixteenth century, as revealed by botanical texts and illustrations. Sarah Schroth's excellent essay on royal portraiture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries employs Michael Baxandall's notion of the "period eye" to explain how viewers of the time, both in Spain and in the colonies, read royal portraits, with particular attention to the meaning of armor and weaponry.

Two essays make important contributions to eighteenth-century studies, an area of strength in this catalogue. José de la Sota Rius's essay surveys Spanish scientific expeditions to the Americas. He looks at developments on both sides of the Atlantic, examining the interaction between European

and American scientific discourse. Andrew Schulz's wonderful essay on art, science, and empire demonstrates how art and science served the Enlightenment as well as "Spanish imperial ambition" (p. 190). He begins by defining the "Enlightenment" in the context of Spain, then analyzes portraits by Goya, still lifes by Lu s Mel ndez, botanical illustrations, palace decoration in Madrid, and the spaces of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts and the Royal Cabinet of Natural History. As Schulz points out in his conclusion, the Prado Museum originally showcased not just art, but also science—the Museo de Ciencias y Artes del Prado. His essay re-establishes these forgotten connections.

This is a very strong catalogue that establishes the links between art, science, and imperial ideology during the age of exploration. The curators and authors are to be commended for their global, multicultural view of Spain and its empire.

Charlene Villase or Black

University of California, Los Angeles

The Conquest of History: Spanish Colonialism and National Histories in the Nineteenth Century. By Christopher Schmidt-Nowara. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006. xvi + 278 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8229-4292-4, \$25.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8229-5990-8.)

The subject of Christopher Schmidt-Nowara's newest work is how history comes to the service of political and social agendas. In his first book, *Empire and Antislavery: Spain, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, 1833–1874* (1999), Schmidt-Nowara explored the intricate relationships among Spanish politicians, imperial economic interests, and Caribbean patriots. In *The Conquest of History*, he explores the struggle over the interpretation of Spain's history in light of its colonial experience. In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, Spanish intellectual and political elites attempted to rationalize the loss of a vast empire in the opening decades of the century and justify their imperial history against the Black Legend. At the same time, colonial scholars and intellectuals sought to establish histories that emphasized their separateness from the metropolis.

The book is divided into five thematic chapters. That organization best serves the subject but also contributes to a certain amount of redundancy

and repetition. The first chapter focuses on how Spaniards struggled to establish the parameters of Spanish history. The author argues that by the nineteenth century, Spanish identity was bound up with the colonies, although there were various interpretations of what that history signified. Chapter 2 is, in a way, a case study of the preceding one, since it concentrates on the uses and abuses of Christopher Columbus's remains. As Cubans, Dominicans, and Spaniards argued over the discoverer's bones, they also had to struggle with what the Genoese represented, both within the Hispanic world and beyond: bearer of civilization to new lands or vanguard of brutal subjugation. Spaniards created a White Legend to counter the English-Dutch Black Legend, while colonials struggled over whether to identify with the colonizers or as victims of colonization.

Chapters 3 and 4 more directly focus on the roles of Indian peoples in Spanish history. To the Spanish argument that the Caribbean islands had no history before Columbus's arrival, Creole intellectuals pointed to evidence in the ground and in the writings from the age of the conquistadors. Cuban and Puerto Rican scholars interpreted archaeological remains in such a way as to create a base from which nationalism could sprout from local roots. Bartolomé de Las Casas's writings, and those of other chroniclers, could be and were interpreted to promote the idea of Spanish idealism, to argue for Spanish brutality, and to explain the advent of slavery.

The last chapter is dedicated to understanding Spain's late-colonial relationship with the Philippines. In some respects, this last chapter traces the ideas explored in the rest of the book in the uniquely Asian context. Unlike in the Antilles, the Filipino population remained overwhelmingly native and only marginally Hispanicized. Spanish missionaries administered large areas of the colony and resisted secular rule. Filipino nationalists promoted a pre-Spanish Tagalog civilization while Spanish administrators and intellectuals argued for the continuing need for Spanish rule based on the utter backwardness of the Filipinos.

The Conquest of History reaffirms the notion that history requires periodic rewriting, if only to serve the interests of those who turn to it for justification of their actions and beliefs. In the case of nineteenth-century Spaniards, they sought for and took comfort in justifications that made their empire a civilizing influence in two hemispheres and a champion of racial acceptance—whether true or not.

Jesús F. de la Teja

Texas State University, San Marcos

The Colonial Spanish-American City: Urban Life in the Age of Atlantic Capitalism. By Jay Kinsbruner. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005. xiii + 182 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, appendix, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. \$40.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-292-70621-7, \$18.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-292-70668-2.)

Jay Kinsbruner's synthesis of the colonial Spanish-American city marks a convergence of the growing field of colonial urban history and the vogue of the Atlantic World. *Unique in the English-language historiography*, this overview is a welcome contribution. Kinsbruner describes this work as both a history and interpretation of the colonial city, declaring its central theme to be that "the colonial Spanish-American city evolved during the age of Atlantic capitalism and was itself a circumstance of that capitalism" (p. xi).

Kinsbruner excels in his history and description of the city and the daily life of its inhabitants. He covers considerable ground in the ten chapters that make up this slim volume. The first half of the book describes the origins and physical structure of colonial cities. It defines the urban habitat and its significance, privileging form and function over size and administrative status; considers the pre-Columbian city and its organization, denying Mayan cities urban status for not meeting the above criteria; and covers the royal decrees and Roman origins of the Spanish colonial urban template, including a superb four-page appendix comparing articles from the *Ordenanzas* of 1573 with the statements of the Roman military engineer Vitruvius from which they were drawn. Kinsbruner clearly explains the administrative organization of the city before analyzing similarities in urban spatial and architectural construction with particularly interesting sections on urban housing, the street, and morbidity. The last half shifts to the social and economic structures of the cities. Kinsbruner shines with his examination of urban occupations and household organizations with a strong emphasis on single-female-headed families. He concludes by considering the paradox of life in the urban marketplace of a capitalist society, a recurrent theme throughout his study. Although mindful of its harsh and unforgiving nature, Kinsbruner lauds the economic, educational, and social opportunities available exclusively in an urban milieu. Only the legal and social restraints constructed by the colonial state hindered the social mobility afforded by a market society.

Kinsbruner employs a class interpretation and emphasizes the capitalist character of colonial economy and society. He challenges a feudalistic interpretation that envisioned urban society divided into a simple dichotomy

of a small patrician class and a mass of “immiserated plebeians” (p. xi). Drawing on his earlier work on *pulperos* (small grocery store owners), his class analysis lionizes the lower-middle class as “a crucial energizer of capitalism across the centuries” (p. 75). What makes this analysis interesting is Kinsbruner’s care in considering race, gender, and other factors in hampering class unity.

This book has its trouble spots. One obvious example is the map of Latin America. Mexico City and Puebla are incorrectly located, while the absence of the Atlantic Ocean and the centrality of the Pacific strikes an odd note for a study of Atlantic capitalism. Despite such criticism, the resulting portrait of the complexities of colonial economic and social organization combined with the earlier discussion on urban origins and space make this synthesis ideal for undergraduate classes as well as an indispensable reference work.

Steven B. Bunker

The University of Alabama

Wars within War: Mexican Guerrillas, Domestic Elites, and the United States of America, 1846–1848. By Irving W. Levinson. (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 2005. xviii + 173 pp. 15 halftones, maps, 5 tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87565-302-0.)

Irving W. Levinson’s interpretation of the U.S.-Mexico War will remind many readers of the present war in Iraq. As in Iraq, the United States invaded an internally divided country under false pretenses, enjoyed a quick victory, but quickly began to encounter popular resistance against the occupation. Both occupations were complicated by in-fighting between factions of the local population. The result in Mexico and Iraq was that the U.S. occupiers were at once the hated conquerors and the arbiters between various political factions. In the case of Mexico, these conditions encouraged the United States to withdraw from most of Mexico as quickly as was feasible. Levinson turns what most historians consider a decisive U.S. military victory into a nineteenth-century quagmire in which a variety of Mexican forces rendered a prolonged and deep occupation of the country impossible.

Levinson convincingly demonstrates that the U.S.-Mexico War was far from a conventional war, but rather was several wars being waged simulta-

neously. The historiography has largely forgotten the sizeable role played not just by partisan and guerrilla forces who harassed U.S. supply lines, but also the variety of internal revolts that exploded throughout Mexico as the national state's authority evaporated. Although one might expect that the revolts, many of which were communal and indigenous in nature, would have facilitated the U.S. occupation, Levinson shows that the opposite was true. Using a cache of military records from both Mexican and U.S. sources, Levinson argues that the U.S. military found itself in a politically and militarily volatile situation. While partisans effectively undermined the U.S. occupation, civil conflict undermined the ability of the Mexican state to negotiate for a settlement of the war and, more important, decide where to draw the definitive border. In the confusion of 1848, with formal hostilities over, the U.S. Army found itself arming the Mexican state to help it quell the many localized rebellions. In the end, the U.S. military became eager to quit Mexico, but it was a task that was far from straightforward.

By demonstrating the complexity of the U.S.-Mexico War, Levinson really forges a new interpretation not just of the fighting, but also of the peace that followed. Yet, if Levinson reminds us that war is in so many ways simply an extension of politics, too often in this book he simplifies Mexican politics as a contest between racial groups. Ideological conflicts and regional tensions are frequently subsumed under the broad explanation that whites refused to suffer the ascent of non-whites.

This single weakness, however, hardly detracts from the book's contribution to the scholarship on the war. Readers will be surprised to discover that a nineteenth-century conventional war was far more similar to contemporary conflicts. Like a more recent conflict, winning the war was easier than figuring out when and how to go home.

Jonathan D. Ablard

Ithaca College

Blood, Ink, and Culture: Miseries and Splendors of the Post-Mexican Condition. By Roger Bartra, translated by Mark Alan Healey. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002. ix + 249 pp. Glossary, notes, bibliography, index. \$84.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-2908-4, \$23.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-2923-7.)

Roger Bartra always offers unparalleled insight into Mexico's current political life; he is perhaps the most important political and social analyst

working in Latin America today. I was not ready to understand the importance of *Blood, Ink, and Culture* when I first read it four years ago. In fact I was disappointed because the essays seemed out of date, too far behind Mexico's rapidly changing political and social reality and global events that have changed the world for us all. I read the book again after another series of significant political events had shaken Mexico: violence in Oaxaca, another disputed presidential election, demonstrations and occupations in Mexico City, and emerging wars between narcotraffickers and the government. Bartra's essays then seemed really dated. So I read them as a historian and not as someone looking for guidance about how to understand Mexicans and the place of Mexico in the world today.

This volume contains seventeen essays published originally between 1981 and 1997. They are divided into three themes: identity, intellectuals, and the political culture of the Left (p. ix). A postscript tells us that Vicente Fox won the presidential elections in 2000, and it captures Bartra's enthusiasm and apprehension perfectly. Here was the splendor of Bartra's ideas. At times expanding on his monumental book *La jaula de melancholia*, translated as *The Cage of Melancholy* (1992), these essays capture Bartra's cutting-edge thinking in the 1980s and 1990s. Some of his offerings are working essays, so themes and references overlap. But he was—and is—calling his audiences to a larger project, a challenge to breakout of ideological cages, traps, and dead ends. Stop looking for an essentialist Mexican identity, Bartra argues; stop seeing politics as an exclusive Left-Right struggle for a utopia that never existed and never will. The organization of the essays makes sense according to these themes, even if chronologically they move freely between the two decades.

Two of my favorite essays are two of the oldest in the volume. In a brief 1981 essay, Bartra wrote about "phallus politics," and the need to analyze how sexism and patriarchy continually change in order to survive. While the wordplay invites us to smile as we read it, Bartra prophetically warns us of the violence behind gender discrimination, like the tragic unsolved murders of hundreds of women in Ciudad Juárez. My other favorite is a 1983 essay on the historic decision by the Mexican Left to pursue a strategy of non-violence toward the revolutionary state. This essay points in all directions: back to the roundtable discussion among the Marxist Left in 1947, around Bartra's own sense of the political challenges in the early 1980s, and forward to the summer of 2006 when the Left was frustrated once again by electoral politics.

The essays come to us through the superb translation of Mark Alan Healey. He provides his own footnotes to help explain some references, and he has added an excellent bibliography and index. These tools will help scholars, students, and the general public read these essays for years to come. Bartra reveals his interest in irony in one essay, but actually all of these essays work so well because his ideas move in unexpected, surprising directions. Ironically, I had to learn how to read Roger Bartra in English. I look forward to more translations.

Patrick J. McNamara
University of Minnesota

Faith and the Historian: Catholic Perspectives. Edited by Nick Salvatore. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007. vii + 196 pp. Half-tones, notes, index. \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-252-03143-4, \$25.00 paper, ISBN 978-0-252-07382-3.)

While reading this remarkable collection of essays, one is perhaps reminded of W. E. B. DuBois's celebrated revelation in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) of a "double-consciousness" that marked the circumstance of blacks in the United States: they were always looking at themselves through the eyes of white Americans. A long-standing issue in American history is whether Roman Catholics can in fact fit into the larger American population as trustworthy democratic citizens or not. This suspicion about Catholics has persisted in the academic world despite the obvious entrance of Catholics into that world, both as students and as professors. Each of these eight essays, six of which come from a 2001 conference at Cornell University, attempts to come to terms with this latter "double-consciousness." According to the prospectus for the conference, the project was to "seek essays by historians for whom Catholicism proved to be a formative experience and who are willing to explore in a public fashion this aspect (and perhaps others) of their lives as it has influenced their professional work" (p. 2). The results are, by turns, provocative, unsettling, gratifying, annoying, and always interesting.

Academics are not necessarily prone to any self-conscious reflection on their craft. To try to come to terms with how faith, whether any longer practiced, has affected their professional and scholarly work is an even more difficult chore. The modern tendency does appear to trend in the direction of sealing off these two worlds, faith and culture, from each other. But they

do intersect. The research interests of eight well-regarded historians (Philip Gleason, Anne M. Butler, David Emmons, Mario T. García, Nick Salvatore, James R. Barrett, Maureen Fitzgerald, and Joseph A. McCartin) lean in the direction of “the other” in American historiography: workers, women, and Chicanos and other ethnic groups. All approach their subjects with a deep grounding in the essential dignity, including spiritual dignity, of human beings, an attitude perhaps no longer commonplace in American society. All detect in their Catholic backgrounds an early connection with social justice issues. All write in terms of personal journeys that continue to remind them, whether practicing Catholics or not, of the sacredness of a world overseen by a Providential presence, a world thus imbued with meaning that is to be explored. All notice early experiences of community that nourished their sensibilities, religious and purely social. The older participants note the perplexities associated with the upsets and challenges of the 1960s.

In the end, one can admire the confessional quality of these several essays. The traditional stance of the Christian is to be in the world, but not of it; to take it seriously as God’s creation, but to recognize that in the end, one is not at home here—that one is truly other. This double-consciousness is not an easy prism through which to assess one’s work. The practice is done very well in this volume.

Thomas W. Jodziejewicz
University of Dallas

Hip to the Trip: A Cultural History of Route 66. By Peter B. Dedek. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2007. x + 169 pp. 16 color plates, 20 half-tones, notes, bibliography, index. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-4194-5.)

Like the Mother Road itself, *Hip to the Trip* is a sometimes interesting, sweeping history and other times slow moving and indirect. Most volumes about U.S. Route 66 are little more than nostalgic picture books, so Dedek’s cultural approach makes this a welcome addition. The book is organized thematically into chronologic chapters: a linking of the road’s cultural stereotypes to Fred Harvey’s Southwest; a brief but thorough overall highway history; an overview of its demise; and an analysis of its cultural popularity. The book concludes with a survey of historical preservation options.

Dedek is most convincing in connecting Route 66 back to Fred Harvey’s constructed cultural landscapes. Throughout this section, he explains how

the railroad and Harvey created the antimodern Southwest and then how highway enthusiasts adapted the road to this construction through imperialist nostalgia and its many impacts. There were, however, key differences. Instead of Mary Colter's corporate design and construction, Route 66's cultural landscape was built by mom-and-pop contractors who bought into the railroad's ideas but recreated them using their own limited means—concrete Wigwam Motels replaced themed Harvey Houses like La Posada in Winslow, Arizona. Dedek creates thematic periods here and explains how they represented an individualized interlude between the railroad's corporate systems and later standardized federal interstates, transforming Route 66 into both national highway and idea. This discussion alone makes the book worth reading.

Dedek's explanation of Route 66's ongoing popularity as postmodern nostalgia is less convincing. Essentially, he argues the highway's fans are "observers in a postmodern era who are stuck with a modernist transportation system (the interstates) looking back with nostalgia at a quirky highway (Route 66) that better suits their mentality" (p. 102). Although this argument has potential, *Hip to the Trip* winds its way there only after such things as a long discussion on why Route 66 buffs find the highway so interesting, an analysis of what was written on sixty brief postcards along the route covering over nearly half a century, and an overview of Cold War mentalities based on a university's web page class. What seems to be missing most is a cultural analysis of why Route 66 resonated with so many Americans in the 1970s and 1980s. Perhaps a continued discussion of imperialist nostalgia and the interstate highway system would have strengthened overall themes.

Dedek gets back up to speed discussing the ongoing destruction and preservation of Route 66's cultural landscapes. Although he thoroughly surveys the many opportunities available for preservation and the reasons for doing so, the bigger picture showing the continuation of federal structuralism—first the interstates and then the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards*—could be better developed to show the tension between the road's themes of individualism and democracy versus the corporate and federal control necessary for its preservation.

Written for a general audience, *Hip to the Trip* is a good introduction to Route 66's history, its cultural landscapes, and the need and ways to preserve it. The book would work well in an undergraduate course on the West or Southwest. The general reader will learn much from it as well.

Michael A. Amundson

Northern Arizona University

Native Moderns: American Indian Painting, 1940–1960. By Bill Anthes. Objects/Histories: Critical Perspectives on Art, Material Culture, and Representation series. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006. xxx + 235 pp. 28 color plates, halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$84.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-3850-5, \$23.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-3866-6.)

Native Moderns is another valuable installment to Duke University Press's commendable if at times sprawling Objects/Histories series. Bill Anthes's lucid and absorbing account traces the creative self-fashioning of a diverse group of Native American artists during the mid-twentieth century and compellingly argues that shifting notions of identity and modernity are fundamental to understanding not only Native American art in the postwar years, but larger dynamics of American art. The artists that Anthes focuses on—José Lente and Jimmy Byrnes (Pueblo), Patrick DesJarlait and George Morrison (Ojibwe), Dick West (Cheyenne), and Oscar Howe (Dakota)—have unique and complex relationships to their own Native traditions. At quick glance, their work does not lend itself to easy comparison to one another. Taking an episodic approach, Anthes sensitively explores both the problems and the fruitful possibilities that arose as each of these artists redrew and at times strategically blurred the boundaries between their identities as “modern” and “Native” subjects. The book is punctuated by chapters focusing on Yeffe Kimball and Barnett Newman, two non-Natives who explored Native American cultures in very different ways. Throughout his analysis, Anthes is attentive to the local and national politics that underscore such boundary-making, although gender is an area that invites further exploration.

This book fills an important scholarly gap by selectively concentrating on artists who came of age after 1945 but before the growth of the Native art markets in the 1960s. Of particular interest is the way modernism provided a set of useful intellectual concepts, discourses, and stylistic attributes that allowed these artists to move away from earlier notions of “Native craft.” These ideas were common to the activities of earlier generations of Native artists, such as those who were involved in studio school in the American Southwest. More liberated than constrained by aesthetic modernism, their artistic sensibilities were also shaped by their common experiences at colleges or art schools, officer training programs, boarding schools, and urban life as much as by the reservations. While the artists do have much in common, the reader may, at times, long for a more developed discussion that would justify the selection of these individuals over others.

Native Moderns will appeal to specialists and upper-level undergraduates with an interest in contemporary Native American art. The book provides a clear, if partial, genealogy for contemporary indigenous art, an area that now attracts enormous critical attention. One would hope that specialists of American modern art will also tune in to this book—especially the chapter “‘Our Inter-American Consciousness’: Barnett Newman and the Primitive Universal.” Although Anthes has unearthed important new material on the life and work of many artists featured in *Native Moderns*, he leaves lingering questions about the definition of modernism itself. Perhaps what is now needed is a wider and more radical theory of modernism, one that attempts to more fully grasp some of the fundamental processes of self-construction outlined by Anthes.

Norman Vorano

Canadian Museum of Civilization

Pachangas: Borderlands Music, U.S. Politics, and Transnational Marketing. By Margaret E. Dorsey. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006. x + 235 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-292-70690-3, \$21.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-292-70961-4.)

Corridos in Migrant Memory. By Martha I. Chew Sánchez. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. xvii + 228 pp. Halftones, maps, appendix, notes, references, index. \$29.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-3478-7.)

Margaret E. Dorsey examines how Borderlands music, U.S. politics, and transnational marketing intersect in the *pachanga*, a unique regional form of social gathering in South Texas. In part 1, the author shows the recent transformation of the traditional *pachanga*, a male-only event where politics are discussed and networks forged, into a mass-mediated marketing spectacle organized by transnational corporations (Anheuser-Busch) with the goal of selling products (Budweiser beer). Part 2 describes music's mediating role in the constitution of two different models of democracy: one based on active, grass-roots politics, the other on passive, transnational politics. Dorsey sees the shift in *pachangas* from participation to spectacle reflected in the kind of live music featured at those events: local *conjuntos* (groups) versus transnational *norteño* (northern) and *tejano* bands. She, however, fails to adequately describe the music of each occasion.

Chapter 2 focuses entirely on the visual presentation of the event (the Bud girls). Chapter 4, “Out of a Social Gathering, Music,” is all but about the music. Until the last paragraph before her conclusion, neither musical style nor instrumentation of the songs is mentioned. Here we finally learn that a possible reason for the failure of one of the campaign songs to catch on was its commercial, detached production. Although equipped with a keen analytical mind, Dorsey succumbs to an oversimplified perception of South Texan Mexicanos’ musical tastes as based on intra-ethnic class division: while people (voters) of low literacy and formal education levels more likely respond to traditional music (p. 7), the elites and socially upward mobile people tend to consume more cosmopolitan musical styles (chapter 7). People’s use of musical styles as markers of class, ethnicity, and other social identities is much more complex than suggested here.

Moreover, the move from traditional pachangas to huge dancehall spectacles needs to be seen in the context of the growing popularity of tejano music and the Woodstock-like concerts in vogue on both sides of the border. The trends in tejano music, which took shape in the 1980s, strengthened in the 1990s as a result of changing musical tastes among the tejano population and the involvement of multinational corporations, which acquired ownership of the tejano music industry.

Dorsey relies on many common phrases about music’s inherent power. For example, she cites that music is a tool for bonding. But how does music mediate relations between humans? How does music create community? Anyone interested in how music works will be disappointed by this book. Despite my dissatisfaction with her treatment of the musical aspects, Dorsey’s study of communication and politics on the local level nevertheless yields interesting arguments and observations that go beyond the local. Music seems to be a central mediator between politics and “ethnic” markets in South Texas and elsewhere in the United States. Corporate businesses also recognize music as a strategic device to target specific audiences.

Corridos in Migrant Memory looks for the meaning of ballad-type songs and *música norteña* to Mexican migrants along the Camino Real, the central corridor of transnational migration spanning from Chihuahua to New Mexico and West Texas. The book is in many ways a personal narrative: it is based on the author’s own history of uprootedness and search for identity, seated in a tradition of storytelling and music. Martha I. Chew Sánchez is primarily concerned with the question of how migrants negotiate their lifestyles and reconstruct their cultural memory by means of listening and

dancing to corridos performed by norteño ensembles. Rather than immigrants in the traditional sense, most of the Mexicanos in the Borderlands are transmigrants who remain attached to and empowered by a “home” culture and tradition. Frequent travel back home and maintenance of multiple relations across the border facilitate the ability to cling to accustomed ways of life.

After presenting a concise history of the Southwest in chapter 1, Chew Sánchez proceeds to a narrative analysis of a number of popular corridos performed by the commercially successful binational norteño act, *Los Tigres del Norte*. The band is from Sinaloa but has resided in northern California since the early 1970s. Chapter 3 gives voice to the migrants. This chapter, as well as the next chapter on dance and performance practice, is based on solid ethnographic work and numerous interviews conducted on both sides of the border. The final chapter addresses the often ambivalent relationship between migrants and culture industries. Here, we finally learn about the other corridos that have made *Los Tigres del Norte* such a sensation: *narcocorridos* (songs about drug smuggling). Given that *narcocorridos* as a cultural expression form part of the migrant experience—and reading Chew Sánchez’s brief critique—it would have been highly interesting to learn more about these kinds of corridos in the context of a transnational community.

Although a product of the global flow of people and goods, *música norteña*, like other regional Mexican music, depends on culturally specific locations, identities, and values. Yet, rather than analyzing the generic migration-related songs of the all-pervading *Los Tigres del Norte*, it might have been more illuminating to look at the corridos particular to the area under study. Despite big names like *Los Tigres del Norte* and *ranchero* star Vicente Fernández that fill up arenas, the advancement of regional Mexican music largely takes place in the trenches, with bands playing dances throughout Mexico and the United States all year long.

Some questions remain unanswered in this book: Given that the female migrant experience is not reflected in the corrido, why does the genre count on so many female fans? Being a male-dominated genre, how does the corrido reflect a people’s collective memory? Apart from the extramusical factors, to what sonic aspects do people react? In other words, are there any musical elements (timbre of the accordion, repetition, musical formulas, predictable harmonic progression, etc.) that bring forth the memories? In the end, Chew Sánchez limits her analysis to the song lyrics, despite the warnings of her informant: “If you want to understand this music, you need to know

. . . not only the words or the story. You also need to know the very music, the sounds, the accordion” (p. 30). Indeed, the treatment of the corrido as a literary genre only is a severe shortcoming in corrido scholarship, from its inception in the 1940s to this day.

In his book on the cultural dimensions of the modern world, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (1996), Arjun Appadurai suggested that the spaces between nations, or transnational spaces, are not yet spaces of belonging. Rather, he observed, they are in the process of being created from the numerous diasporas and migrations that mark our contemporary world. When listening into the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, we quickly realize that those spaces now form loci of sentiments and emotions crucial to a sense of home, as well as a sense of belonging to a vibrant transnational community. In this sense, both books reviewed here contribute to a new and broader understanding of people’s experiences, identities, struggles, and negotiations in the ever-changing U.S.-Mexico Borderlands.

Helena Simonett
Vanderbilt University

Towns of the Sandia Mountains. By Mike Smith. Images of America series. (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2006. 127 pp. 200 halftones, maps, bibliography, index. \$19.99 paper, ISBN 978-0-7385-4852-4.)

Towns of the Sandia Mountains is a photographic retrospective of nine small mountain towns and one large metropolitan area. Albuquerque is no longer nestled into the base of the mountain range. The city has grown to a population approaching 750,000, with its neighborhoods climbing out of the valley and into the mountains. Author Mike Smith paints a romantic narrative of a resident looking back to discover the history of the place he calls home. The brief text and extended captions for the more than two hundred images gloss over the violence of the past to present a nostalgically rosy narrative of days gone by. The book has the feel of an old family album, lovingly compiled by the family historian (complete with cryptic driving directions). The halftone reproductions, however, leave much to be desired. The maps are especially poor—small and difficult to read.

A minor quibble with the scholarship of the book is in the introduction. Smith states: “In 1846, following the Mexican-American War, New Mexico became a U.S. territory” (p. 8). The war began in 1846. On 2 February 1848,

the Treaty of Guadalup Hidalgo was signed. The Mexican territories of Alta California and Santa Fe de Nuevo Mexico were ceded to the United States in that document. In 1850 New Mexico was designated a U.S. territory, but was denied statehood until 1912. To his credit, Smith has gathered images fairly equally from the Hispanic and Anglo communities who call the Sandias home. The mountain landscape figures prominently in the album, as do the roads that lead to the towns. The book also features pictures of horses, wagons, dogs, historic churches, religious processions, festive celebrations, family gatherings, tuberculosis resorts and health seekers, grocery stores, neighborhood bars, skiers, artisans, musicians, boy scouts, prominent citizens, and murderers—all the components that go into building small-town communities.

Only by reading the captions closely does the reader learn that most of the towns discussed in the book were originally part of the ninety-thousand-acre Cañon de Carnue Land Grant, established by the Spanish Crown for the benefit of the “Landless Poor” and to provide the first line of protection for Albuquerque from the Native tribes who occupied the land prior to the Spanish. There are few images of the historic Indian ruins scattered throughout the region. The unrest of the past seeps into the narrative only toward the end of the book. Because the towns were established by the Spanish government, the area residents were mostly Hispanic, reflected beautifully in the names bestowed on the towns: Cañoncito, Carnuel, Tijeras, Placitas, San Antonio, and San Antonito. The land grants were reduced over time, if not altogether eliminated, by the U.S. government, resulting in towns with more American names like Cedar Crest or towns with a mixture of English and Spanish such as Sandia Park. The Sandias figure prominently in the New Mexican landscape. This book only begins to address the historical complexities of this place.

Mary Anne Redding

Palace of the Governors

New Mexico History Museum

Book Notes

Bárbaros: Spaniards and Their Savages in the Age of Enlightenment. By David J. Weber. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2005. xviii + 466 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$37.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-300-10501-8.)

Making a Hand: Growing up Cowboy in New Mexico. Photographs by Gene Peach, text by Max Evans, introduction by Elmer Kelton. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2005. 160 pp. 140 color plates, map. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89013-476-4, \$26.37 paper, ISBN 978-0-89013-477-1.)

Ordeal of Change: The Southern Utes and Their Neighbors. By Frances Leon Quintana, afterword by Richard O. Clemmer. (Walnut Creek, Calif.: AltaMira Press, 2004. xv + 157 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$72.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-7591-0709-0, \$24.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-7591-0710-6.)

Karl Bodmer's North American Prints. Edited by Brandon K. Ruud, annotations by Marsha V. Gallagher, preface by J. Brooks Joyner. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004. xvi + 382 pp. Color plates, halftones, map, appendixes, bibliography. \$150.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8032-1326-5.)

Confronting Race: Women and Indians on the Frontier, 1815–1915. By Glenda Riley. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. ix + 326 pp. 15 halftones, notes, index. \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-3632-3, \$21.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-3625-5.)

Western Women's Lives: Continuity and Change in the Twentieth Century. Edited by Sandra K. Schackel. *Historians of the Frontier and American West* series. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. 440 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$23.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-2245-6.)

Revolution in Mexico's Heartland: Politics, War, and State Building in Puebla, 1913–1920. By David G. LaFrance. *Latin American Silhouettes.* (2003; repr., Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007. xxv + 305 pp. Maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-7425-5600-3.)

Pedro Pino: Governor of Zuni Pueblo, 1830–1878. By E. Richard Hart, foreword by T. J. Ferguson. (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2003. xi + 188 pp. Halftones, appendixes, notes, index. \$36.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87421-562-5, \$17.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-87421-563-2.)

One Vast Winter Count: The Native American West before Lewis and Clark. By Colin G. Calloway. *History of the American West Series.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. xvii + 631 pp. Halftones, 15 maps, notes, selected bibliography, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8032-1530-6, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-6465-6.)

Translating Property: The Maxwell Land Grant and the Conflict Over Land in the American West, 1840–1900. By María E. Montoya. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. xvi + 299 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-520-22744-6.)

The Black Regulars, 1866–1898. By William A. Dobak and Thomas D. Phillips. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001. xviii + 360 pp. 19 halftones, 2 maps, bibliography, notes, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-3340-9.)

Trusteeship in Change: Toward Tribal Autonomy in Resource Management. Edited by Richmond L. Clow and Imre Sutton, foreword by David H. Getches. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2001. xiii + 354 pp. Halftones, 15 maps, line drawing, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87081-622-2, \$26.95 paper, ISBN: 978-0-87081-650-5.)

New Mexico Frontier Military Place Names. By Daniel C. B. Rathbun and David V. Alexander. *Military Place Names Series.* (Las Cruces, N.Mex.: Yucca Tree Press, 2003. xviii + 270 pp. Halftones, line drawings, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$15.25 paper, ISBN 978-1-88132550-5.)

The Birth of Modern Mexico, 1780–1824. Edited by Christon I. Archer. Latin American Silhouettes: Studies in History and Culture. (2003; repr., Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007. xii + 257 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-7425-5602-7.)

After Spanish Rule: Postcolonial Predicaments of the Americas. Edited by Mark Thurner and Andrés Guerrero, foreword by Shahid Amin. Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003. xv + 357 pp. Halftones, notes, index. \$84.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8223-3157-5, \$23.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8223-3194-0.)

News Notes

Archives, Exhibits, and Historic (Web) Sites

Salmon Ruins Museum, near Farmington, New Mexico, will present “Native Words, Native Warriors,” the remarkable story of the American Indian Code Talkers of World War I and World War II. The Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian and the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service developed the content. The exhibit runs from 26 July to 5 October 2008. A related exhibit, “Tribute to Troops: Memorabilia from Modern Wars,” will also open on 26 July 2008. For more information, call (505) 632-2013, email SRCuration@msn.com, or visit the website: www.salmonruins.com.

The Albuquerque/Bernalillo County Library System presents “Three Hundred Years of Albuquerque History.” Showing through 6 September 2008, this exhibit at the Special Collections Library presents a large compilation of images and documents about life in Albuquerque from its founding in 1706 up to modern times. Created to celebrate the city’s Tricentennial, it was assembled from treasures in the collections of the Center for Southwest Research at Zimmerman Library. The Special Collections Library is located at 423 Central Ave. NE in Albuquerque. For more information, call (505) 848-1376.

The Albuquerque Museum of Art and History announces the opening of “In Contemporary Rhythm: The Art of Ernest L. Blumenschein.” This exhibition celebrates the life and art of Ernest Blumenschein (1874–1960),

one of the founders of the Taos Society of Artists. “In Contemporary Rhythm” will present about sixty major paintings, as well as illustrations and sketches. The exhibit runs from 8 June to 7 September 2008. The museum is located at 2000 Mountain Rd. NW in Albuquerque. For more information, call (505) 243-7255, or visit the website: www.cabq.gov/museum.

Call for Papers

The History Task Force Committee for the 400th Commemoration on the Founding of Santa Fe, New Mexico, EEU, will consider manuscripts for “All Trails Lead to Santa Fe: An Anthology.” Essays should reflect original scholarly research based on primary, archival sources and must not have appeared previously in another publication. Manuscripts are accepted in either English or Spanish. Authors should submit three hard copies of the manuscript as well as a diskette containing the manuscript in Microsoft Word format or another PC-compatible software. A copy of the author’s curriculum vitae is appreciated. An honorarium of \$2,500 (EEU) will be given to each scholar whose manuscript is selected for the anthology. For more information on submission requirements, call (505) 986-1610, or visit the website www.santafenm.gov/index.asp?nid=1217.

Calendar of Events

15–18 May 2007: The Western Association of Women Historians will hold its Annual Conference at the University of British Columbia in Vancouver, Canada. For more information, visit the website: www.wawh.org.

1–5 June 2008: The 46th International Making Cities Livable (IMCL) Conference will take place in Santa Fe. The IMCL conferences focus attention on the need for public transit, bicycle lanes, and traffic calmed streets, for human-scale architecture and mixed-use urban fabric, for reviving the city center and creating public places. For more information, visit the website: www.livablecities.org.

7 June 2008: The Pikes Peak Regional History Symposium, “Doctors, Disease, and Dying in the Pikes Peak Region” will examine the region’s unique history of pioneer medicine, industrial medicine and hospitals, the history of the treatment of pulmonary diseases, and related topics, including historical Native American and folk medicine, curanderismo, and more. The

event will take place at East Library, 5550 N. Union Blvd., Colorado Springs, Colorado. For more information, email symposium co-chair Chris Nicholl at cnicholl@ppld.org.

12–15 June: The 19th Annual Mining History Conference will be at the Ironworld Discovery Center in Chisom, Minnesota. For more information, visit the website: www.mininghistoryassociation.org.