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REVIEWS AND EXCHANGES

The Rise of the Spanish Empire. By Roger Bigelow Merriman, Professor of History in Harvard University, (The MacMillan Company New York, 1926) It is seven years since the publication of Volume II by Professor Merriman of his scholarly history of the Spanish Empire. The first volume was given to Spain in the Middle Ages, in Volume II the story of the Catholic kings was told, while Volume III is devoted to the reign of Charles V, 300 of its 700 pages covering Spain's conquest in the New World. Volume IV is to take the history down to the death of Philip II.

Professor Merriman, in covering a span of history for which the sources are prolific and which has been examined and re-examined by historians of various nationalities, particularly those of Germany and Austria, is generous in giving credit to those to whom he feels indebted and in pointing out the sources which have thrown new light for him upon wellknown historical facts. He admits that the final word is never said upon any epoch or historical episode and confesses that there have been compensations for the delay of seven years in publishing the third volume in that this delay has enabled him "to utilize several books whose recent appearance has made the study of Spanish history, and particularly of the period of Charles V, both easier and more fruitful than ever before." His conclusions are the latest word of scholarship but surely not the last upon the period under review, for he himself says: "The amount of practically unutilized printed material for Spanish history still remains so vast, that it is quite as important that it should be thoroughly explored as that extensive researches should be made for something new."

Professor Merriman has not only the viewpoint but also the method of the modern scientific historian. He

appears without prejudice though decided in expressing his opinions after weighing all authorities at his command. He realizes the danger of generalization and yet says: "If there was any one characteristic common to all ranks and classes of the Spain of that period, it was certainly dislike and distrust of foreigners. The reasons for this are not far to seek. Geographical facts and historical traditions furnished the background. A natural pride in glorious deeds done under the Catholic Kings, and a consequent tendency to look down on others who had accomplished less, counted for much." He quoted Guicciardini: "They are by nature proud, and believe that no other nation can be compared with their own. In their conversation they are constantly vaunting their own exploits. . . . They have little use for strangers, and are exceedingly rude in their dealings with them."

"That Charles knew little of Spain and of the Spaniards, and that most of that was wrong" was the opinion expressed by the bishop of Badajoz in a letter to Cardinal Ximenez at the beginning of the reign of Charles V and the history is therefore not only that of Spain but also the development of the young ruler who gave no "promise of the ability, ambition or independence which he was afterwards shown to possess." It is a striking portrait which the author draws of the appearance and personality of the Emperor and his deeds which reconciled the Spaniard to the fact that Spain's greatest glory came at the initiative of and under a foreign sovereign, a prince of the house of Hapsburg at that. It was Cardinal Ximenez who looms dominant in Spain in the first few months of the reign of Charles. Incidentally, the efforts of the Cardinal "for the progress and prosperity of the Spanish dominion across the Atlantic, and for the fair treatment of the American Indians, form an interesting and important episode in the history of Spanish civilization in the New World." Nevertheless, the "most intimate adviser was the Burgundian

Chièvres, for whom Charles entertained affection and profound respect."

The problems of taxation and of government during the reign of Charles V are vividly presented, The conditions of life as they existed four hundred years ago in Spain and as the author interestingly describes them, were in their tendencies not much different from those of today. There are petitions to the Emperor to forbid cards and dice "as has been done in the kingdom of Portugal." One of the commonest demands is for the codification of laws into one volume and in language that the people could understand. There are requests that the ancient histories of the realm be collected and printed and that "books of lies and vanities" over which "youths and the young women spend their idleness" be burned. Much attention was given to higher education. One petition says: "Since fathers and mothers send their sons to the universities, and carefully provide them with food and clothes and books, and the students, on the pretext that they need to purchase these things, seek to get money by loans or by pawning their books and effects and then gamble it away or spend it for other evil purposes and are thereby distracted from their studies" let it be forbidden "to imprison students for such debts." Another complaint has it that the apothecaries are seldom present in their shops but leave behind them incompetent persons "who mix up the drugs and make other mistakes, from which great harm results for those who take the said medicines." The petitioners ask that no one be permitted to practice without a thorough examination and the degree of bachelor of arts. The *procuradores* were also greatly concerned over the march of luxury and reckless expenditure. As stated: "It often happens to a poor woman who has nothing but a place in a doorway and a bed of cloths, which she has collected as a dowry for her daughter, that the guests who are imposed on her ruin her bed and destroy it." Gay clothes and carriages were another cause of complaint. "Such is the insolence that

coaches and all their following have been seen to pass the Holy Sacrament in the streets without a single obeisance. . . moreover there have occurred countless terrible accidents through people's rushing and confusion, through the frightening of horses and mules, and the falls of their riders." There were also efforts to mitigate the harsh punishments of the day. "Since those who are condemned by the Hermandad to be shot with arrows are shot alive, without first being strangled, and this seems to be inhuman, and sometimes causes a lingering death, we beg your Majesty to give orders that no one shall be shot with arrows without first being strangled."

Much space is given to the wars with the Infidels and especially the pirate Barbarossa and is followed by an account of the effort of the Emperor to root out Protestantism which ended so disastrously for Charles. The marriage of Philip to Queen Mary of England and the retirement and death of Charles in the convent of Yuste close a story of dramatic intensity.

In the chapters that follow is told concisely and graphically the narrative of Spain's conquests and government in the New World, centering of course, around the epoch-making feats of Hernando Cortes, who because of "his fondness for brawling and amorous adventures" gave up his studies of the law at the University of Salamanca to enter upon a career that led to brilliant successes through his sheer audacity. "In his passion for gambling, and in his looseness of his relation with women, he was typical of the Spaniard of his day," says the writer, "but he kept business and pleasure rigidly separate, and when he recognized the moment for decisive action, drove forward with a power that refused to be denied. His followers could not resist the magic of his appeal. Under his leadership they attempted and achieved the impossible!" The writer quotes Cortes's chaplain and apologist Gomara, in discussing the trouble of Cortes with Governor Velasquez which "originated in Cortes's refusal to fulfill his

promise to marry a lady whom he had persuaded to become his mistress," but prefers to give credence to Las Casas, the historian and eye-witness of the scenes he describes, and who reports that Cortes became deeply involved in a plot against Velasquez who had befriended Cortes. However, Cortes married the lady he had wronged and Velasquez, apparently reconciled, conferred on Cortes the office of alcalde and actually stood godfather to one of his children. "But smouldering jealousy and distrust still remained" and out of them grew the events that were destined to shape the future history of the Americas.

Merriman follows Bernal Diaz pretty closely in outlining the salient facts in the life of Cortes but also cites Professor A. S. Aiton of the University of Michigan, especially as to the last years of the Conqueror, who even at the moment that Charles V. rendered his verdict in favor of Cortes deprived him of the management of finance by naming a contador, the certificate of whose appointment was found in the archives of the Indies by Aiton. The appointment of Mendoza as viceroy and of the second audiencia, even though it took Mendoza six years to get his instructions and reach his post ousted Cortes completely. He sought to retrieve his fortunes in Algiers. "Like many another loyal servant of the Spanish crown," he "was ruthlessly cast aside and suffered to die in neglect."

Equally vivid is the recital of Pizarro's conquest of Peru. Coronado, Fray Marcos de Niza, De Soto, Narvaez, are other figures that pass over these pages and which serve to tie up the American Southwest with the great monarch who dominated the world for so many years.

It is just four hundred years since Charles V wedded Isabella of Portugal. Of this, the historian says: "The spring, summer, and autumn months which followed his marriage were probably the happiest of Charles's whole life. His union with Isabella had been dictated by policy, not affection; in fact, he wrote to his brother Ferdinand

that he wedded her to get her dowry and an acceptable representative when he had to be away. But the Emperor was to be more fortunate in his marriage than he knew; for besides the financial and political advantages, he had the additional satisfaction of falling in love with his wife. His nature was not romantic. The cares of state weighed ceaselessly upon him and left scant space for the development of his affections. But he yearned for sympathy, loyalty, and devotion, and these Isabella offered him in full measure. Though slight and pale, she bore herself like an empress; her head and her heart were both in the right place; she was as a contemporary justly observed, 'of the sort that men say ought to be married.' Certainly she was an ideal companion for Charles. Though he had married her in part to get a regent in his absence, he was to find it unexpectedly difficult to leave her side. Most of their honeymoon was spent at Granada, where they took refuge from the great heats of the valley of the Guadalquivir. It was the first time that Charles had visited Andalusia, and he gazed with wonder and delight on what he saw."

It is these revelations and human touches that make the volume more than a history and cause the pages to teem with romance, although every statement is well documented. The footnotes and references are voluminous, the typography excellent, the maps informative, and altogether, the book is one that delights the bibliophile, the student, the historian as well as the general reader.

P. A. F. W.

Pioneer Days in the Southwest By Grant Foreman, (A. H. Clark Co., Cleveland, Ohio.) The centenary of Kit Carson's arrival in Santa Fe and of Jediah Smith's entry into California is more fittingly marked by the publication of a volume such as "Pioneer Days in the Early Southwest" by Grant Foreman, than it would be by the erection of monuments in bronze or stone to the pioneers to whom the United States owes the acquisition of an empire.

The author opens with an account of the early explorations of Louisiana Territory. He declares: "From the mouth of the Verdigris, in its day the farthest thrust of the pioneer, the conquest of a large part of the Southwest was achieved. The story of this campaign covering a period of nearly fifty years, has never been written, though it contains much of romance that even in the form of isolated or related incidents it is possible to record." He continues: "The earliest explorers of the Southwest were Spaniards. The first known visitors were DeSoto who crossed the Mississippi in 1540, and Coronado who came from the south the next year. Schoolcraft traces the march of DeSoto to the north of the Verdigris." It was not far from there that Coronado passed on his march to find Quivira. The author then tells of the illfated expedition of Captain Villasúr who left Santa Fe in 1719 and after a march of 600 miles was massacred with all his men except "the priest who escaped on his horse."

The expedition of Zebulon Pike in 1806 and that of Don Facundo Melgares sent out from Santa Fe in anticipation of Pike (Melgares who later conveyed Pike as a prisoner to Chihuahua) were parties to one of the first conflicts between Spanish and American authorities that found their climax in the Texas invasion of New Mexico in 1841, and the capture of Santa Fe by General Stephen W. Kearny on August 18, 1846. It was then, according to the author that "the Southwest of the trader, trapper and explorer gave way to the Southwest of the immigrant, the herdsman, the goldseeker, and agriculturist. With the birth of a new era was closed the last chapter of an old."

It is with crucial incidents of the thirty years between 1816 and 1846, that the volume mostly concerns itself. The author has gone to original sources and has made good use of official documents as well as published reports. The chapter headings, perhaps, give the best synopsis of the riches one finds in the 350 pages of beautiful typography

marred only here and there by some typographical error which slipped by the proofreader:

Establishment of Fort Smith in 1817.

Expeditions of Fowler and James to Santa Fe in 1821.

Establishment of Fort Gibson in 1824.

Earliest known traders on Arkansas River.

Washington Irving at Fort Gibson, 1832.

Peace Attempts with Western Prairie Indians, 1833.

The Osage Massacre.

Colonel Dodge Reaches Villages of Western Indians.

Western Garrison Life.

Governor Houston at His Trading Post on the Verdigris.

Governor Houston's Life among the Indians.

The Stokes Treaty Commission.

Governor Stokes's Views and Difficulties.

Indian Warfare between Texas and Mexico.

Expeditions of Bonneville and other Early Traders.

Governor Stokes's Uncompleted Plans.

Warfare on the Texas Border, 1836.

Border Warfare and Texas.

The bibliography, the index and a map showing early explorations and routes of expeditions are valuable addenda.

The author recalls that John G. James who left St. Louis on May 10, 1821, opened a store in Santa Fe where he had arrived on December 1, 1821. James spent six months in Santa Fe and then returned east by way of Taos. However, Glenn who headed the Fowler expedition was the first to go from the mouth of the Verdigris to Santa Fe.

Still earlier, Col. A. P. Chouteau and Julius DeMun had been trading in Spanish territory. In 1815 they were trading with the Arapaho Indians at the headwaters of the Arkansas. They returned to St. Louis the following year. Says the author:

"In their absence, a friendly governor at Santa Fe

had been succeeded by one hostile to Americans. Disregarding the permission granted by his predecessor for the Americans to enter Spanish territory, the governor caused the arrest of Chouteau and DeMun with their men, as they were about to leave the Arkansas for the Crow Indian country on Columbia River. They were thrown into prison at Santa Fe, where they were confined for forty-eight days, part of the time in irons; their lives were threatened, and they were subjected to other indignities; the final and most poignant of all was that Chouteau and DeMun were compelled to kneel to hear a lieutenant read the sentence pronounced by the governor, and were then 'forced likewise to kiss the unjust and iniquitous sentence, that deprived harmless and inoffensive men of all they possessed --of the fruits of two years' labor and perils,' as reported by them to our government." The description of Chouteau's establishment, feudal in its extent and management, the visit of Washington Irving, the sketch of Mrs. Nicks, the first American business woman in the far West, make a delightful chapter. Countless thousands of prairie chickens, numberless herds of buffalo, gave some hint of the wealth of game that covered the western prairies.

"A party of twelve traders had left Santa Fe in December, 1832, under Judge Carr of Saint Louis for their homes in Missouri. Their baggage and about ten thousand dollars in specie were packed upon mules. They were descending the Canadian river when, near the present town of Lathrop in the Panhandle of Texas, they were attacked by an overwhelming force of Comanche and Kiowa Indians. Two of the men, one named Pratt, and the other Mitchell, were killed: and after a siege of 36 hours the survivors made their escape at night on foot, leaving all their property in possession of the Indians. The party became separated and after incredible hardship and suffering, five of them made their way to the Creek settlements on the Arkansas and to Fort Gibson where they found succor. Of the other

five only two survived. The money secured by the Indians was the first they had ever seen."

This and other incidents in the year of the great flood and of star showers (1833) led to the displacement of the Rangers by the Dragoons, commanded by Major Henry Dodge, and Lt. Col. Stephen Watts Kearny, who was destined 13 years later to take Santa Fe. Jefferson Davis, only a few years out of West Point, became a first lieutenant in the regiment. "While the Rangers wore no uniforms, Congress went to the other extreme in the organization of the Dragoons, who must have created a sensation in all beholders, if one can visualize them in their splendor: A double-breasted dark blue cloth coat, with two rows of gilt buttons, ten to the row; cuffs and collar yellow, the latter framed with gold lace and the skirt ornamented with a star. Trousers of blue gray mixture, with two stripes of yellow cloth three-quarters an inch wide up each outside seam. A cap like in infantryman's, ornamented with a silver eagle, gold cord, and with a gilt star to be worn in front with a drooping white horsehair pompon. Ankle boots and yellow spurs; sabre with steel scabbard and a half-basket hilt; sash of silk net, deep orange in color, to be tied on right hip and worn with full dress. Black patent leather belt; black silk stock, and white gloves. For undress uniform, the dark blue coat had only nine buttons on each breast, one on each side of the collar, four on the cuffs, four along the flaps, and two on the hips; an epaulette strap on each shoulder. There was also a great coat of blue gray, made double-breasted and worn with a cape. Add the soldier's equipment of rifle and ammunition, and picture these helpless tender-feet from northern states starting in the middle of summer on an expedition of seven hundred miles, to impress the Indians with the splendor of their raiment and the menace of their arms and numbers; marching over the blazing prairies in heavy uniforms and through the suffocating thickets of underbrush and

briars that entangled with the countless buttons and snatched off the towering cap with the white pompon."

Enough has been quoted to give an inkling of the sustained interest of the volume which gives so vivid a picture of the "Conquest of the Southwest."

P. A. F. W.

The United States and Mexico By Pauline Safford Relyea. (Smith College Studies in History) The diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico under Porfirio Diaz, 1876-1910, are the theme of one of the recent Smith College Studies in History. It is by Pauline Safford Relyea. Considerable space is given in the introduction to diplomatic relations between the two countries from 1825 to 1876. In conclusion, the writer says:

"The undercurrent of hostility to American interests is not found to have been shared by the Mexican government. The administration pursued the same friendly course as during the preceding years, but the question that arose at the time of the introduction of Diaz's policy to invite foreign capital into Mexico, the question as to whether the government would be able to establish its own feeling in the minds of those whose private interests were engaged, must now be answered in the negative. Two currents of feeling were present in Mexico at this time--that of the government still friendly to the United States and to American interests; that of many Mexicans who resented the results of the government policy and laid their wrongs at the door of American intervention in Mexican development. If this intervention could have been guided from the United States by a policy of 'usefulness', it might greatly have aided Diaz in the success of his policy, but exploitation was more often the policy under which Americans worked. The government was thus pursuing the same friendly attitude. In 1907, the boundary question was further settled by a convention for the equitable distribution of the waters of the Rio Grande, whereby the United States undertook to deliver 60,000 acre-feet of water annually to Mexico without cost. In the same year the second question left by the Commission, the matter of 'bancos', was settled by a line drawn through the deepest channel of the

river for the present but providing that all future questions should be settled by reference to the old bed of 1848. The third question, that of the El Chamisal tract, was submitted to arbitration and settled satisfactorily in 1910. As important as the settlements themselves was the culmination of the policy of arbitration in the treaty of 1908 for submitting to the Hague Tribunal all controversies between the two republics not capable of settlement by ordinary diplomatic means."

There is also an interesting note on the attempt to continue the Santa Fe Trail into Mexico.

P. A. F. W.

A Manual of Navaho Grammar. By Fr. Berard Haile, O. F. M. of St. Michael's, Ariz. (Santa Fe New Mexican Publishing Corporation, Santa Fe, New Mex., 324 pp.) If "infinite capacity for taking pains" is genius, then the book is the work of a genius. The Navaho language is naturally in keeping with the Indian's way of thinking; and being a child of nature, the accidental qualities of things and actions obtain great prominence. This calls for minute, or rather indinite detail of expression. Fr. Berard is exceptionally well qualified to work out and give us this detail. Having been in the field, living among the Indians at St. Michael's Chin lee, Lukachukai; and speaking the language for upwards of 27 years, he is naturally familiar with the Indian's way of thinking and expressing himself. His is the knowledge, not of the theorist, but of the practical man and student.

The alphabet used is essentially the same as that used in the "Ethnologic Dictionary" and the "Vocabulary of the Navaho Language" published some years ago by the Franciscan Fathers; but it is rounded out and simplified by applying suggestions, found in the "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages" (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 66, No. 6) published in 1916.

The work is dedicated to the memory of the late Fr. Anselm Weber, O. F. M., who so valiantly fought the battles of the Indians, and especially the Navahoes, against the

neglect and oppression of the white man; and was, without doubt, the most noted of Indian Missionaries of recent date.

The publishers are to be complimented on their ability to solve the intricacies of the amazing alphabet and word grouping.

All in all, the work is one that will not easily be duplicated, and ought to prove a valuable aid to students of the language.

Fr. T. M.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Referring to Prof. Baldwin's paper in the April *Review*, Mr. H. R. Wagner of Berkeley writes:

"I certainly dispute the fact that Niza ever set foot on the soil of New Mexico, and there are plenty of others who do not believe it. I am quite convinced that he never went any farther than the Gila Valley, all the rest being imagination. As far as Cortez' remarks are concerned, Niza's own account bears internal evidence that he had received information either from Cortez himself or someone who had accompanied him."

For detailed discussion of this point, with citation of important documents, see Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest*, pp. 45-49. In the author's opinion, these sources

"go a long way to bear out the statements of Cortez, who after all would never have dreamed of saying that he told Niza the stories he heard from the Indians unless there had been some foundation for it."

In connection with the Chamuscado paper by Dr. Meham in the present issue, the facts regarding a lost map bearing on this expedition as stated by Mr. Wagner in the same work (p. 76) are of interest:

"A marginal reference in Hakluyt, 390, to a map in his possession which he said had been made by Chamuscado,

is interesting. Purchas, IV, 1561, also refers to a map of New Mexico in his possession, made in 1585, no doubt the one referred to by Hakluyt. There is not much doubt that it was the map made by Francisco Dominguez, who in his petition to the Council, undated but after 1584, A. G. I., 58-6-19, expressly states that he had made a map of New Mexico at the request of the Viceroy Conde de Coruña. The King afterward complained that this had not been received,—we now see because the English had intercepted it.”

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