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## Book Reviews

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*Mexico and Her Foreign Creditors.* By Edgar Turlington. (Columbia University Press, 1930. Pp. x+449, incl. folding tables. \$6.00.)

*The Diplomatic Protection of Americans in Mexico.* By Frederick S. Dunn. (Columbia University Press, 1933. Pp. vii+439. \$5.00.)

These are the first two volumes of a series of studies on "Mexico in International Finance and Diplomacy" which is appearing under the auspices of the Columbia University council for research in the social sciences. The third volume of the series, by Herbert Feis on *The Foreign Financing of Mexican Railroads*, will doubtless be issued shortly. Planned and guided by a selected committee of the Columbia faculty and financed by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation, the series might well be expected to result in comprehensive and thorough research, in an able and authoritative presentation of the findings, and in a conservative and dignified book-form. To the present reviewer these two books seem to reach a very high standard in all these respects.

Perhaps we should remark at once that they may not attract the general reader. The same Press has just issued *Peace by Revolution* (reviewed below) with cartoon illustrations by the Mexican artist Covarrubias and a glaring jacket showing a vulture perched on a cactus—a parody of the historic Mexican eagle; but these two books are innocent of jackets or any illustrations.

On the other hand they should appeal strongly to anyone who wants to have an intelligent understanding of our economic relations with Mexico—and in this class it is to be hoped will be found many of those who, directly or indirectly, hold vested interests in our neighbor country. The day of "economic aggression" ought to be as definitely relegated to past history as is that of "territorial aggression."

Neither volume supplies a bibliography of the basic

material used, but each has an index and adequate footnotes, besides other indications as to sources in preface or introduction. Mr. Turlington's citations show a very comprehensive range, including governmental archives, statesmen and financiers of both the United States and Mexico, with some additional authoritative sources, British, French and German. There seems, however, to have been no direct use of European governmental records. Professor Dunn's materials are almost wholly from the Department of State in Washington, with which he was formerly connected. His narrower range of sources is explained in part by his subject and by the fact that he had already published a book on the broader theme *The Protection of Nationals* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1932). Neither author wholly ignores non-official sources, but a well-informed publicist like Ernest Gruening, for example, is cited just once in each book.

An occasional typographical slip has been noticed: e.g., Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, 6 vols., was published in 1883-1888 (Turlington, 16, note); Priestley is misspelled (Dunn, 306). Curiously the number of Americans killed in the Villa raid on Columbus, N. Mex., in 1916 is given as fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen (Dunn, pp. 322, 420). But in a rather hurried scanning of the two volumes no adverse criticism of any real importance has been noted. Both are scholarly and authoritative studies which will certainly be welcomed as valuable additions to the field of international relations. In the field of history they will emphasize and illumine problems which have been very serious for over a hundred years for both our southern neighbor and for us.

L. B. B.

*Peace by Revolution*, by Frank Tannenbaum. Drawings by Miguel Covarrubias. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1933. 317 pages. \$3.50.)

The first fruits of Tannenbaum's mission on mule-back from one corner of the Mexican Republic to the other,

from the comparatively easily accessible *ranchería* nestled in the lower ranges to the *pueblo* buried in the almost impenetrable fastnesses of the Sierra Madre Occidental, were published in his volume *The Mexican Agrarian Revolution* (1929). Considered as "a more detailed and authentic account of the actual status of land ownership or control in Mexico than has ever before been available to readers of either English or Spanish," that work exhausted the factual material necessary to interpret the causes and trends of the Revolution of 1910. In that volume the author declined to do other than marshal the facts; *Peace by Revolution* is the result of his serious consideration and study of what these facts prove and reveal—it is Tannenbaum's interpretation of the basic causes of Mexico's unrest. While his former work tends to repel the average reader because of its imposing, scholarly array of quotations, tables, graphs, statistics, and similar data, his present one fascinates by the depth and clarity of its vision and the almost relentless reasoning and analysis of the facts. This is the work of the scientist, of the true scholar, who, after making a thorough survey of his field, seeks to sound and determine the immutable laws that motivate man and society.

Tannenbaum would explain the social revolution of the last twenty years as "an attempt to liquidate finally the consequence of the Spanish Conquest," and he adds that "this explanation of the Revolution is at the same time the best key to Mexican history." Spain, although one of the leading European nations during the Renaissance, had retained much of the feudalism of the Middle Ages; these feudal traits prevailed in her colonization of the Aztec empire. The War of Independence destroyed Mexican dependence upon Spain but left intact the feudal structure inherited from the mother country. The hundred years of strife that have characterized her national life have resulted from the attempt to transform Mexican society into a world of modern ideas without reckoning with the three major institutions that were left as a heritage from Spain

—the army, the Church, and the plantation. The *Reforma* was successful in curbing to a large degree the oppressive tyranny of the former two; the destruction of the feudal landholding system was the task of the Revolution of 1910. That task is "still only partially achieved."

Why did the Mexican Social Revolution break out in 1910, the best of the years of the Díaz régime? The tinder that had been accumulating during the patriarch's reign was of a most inflammable nature: the local *cacique*, with local loyalties, had been reduced to an enemy of the locality; adherence to the positivism of Comte had nurtured the credo of the superiority of the white man and provided the legislators with moral justification for a systematic attack upon the communal holdings of the Indian; foreign acquisitions had made "Mexico the mother of foreigners and the stepmother of Mexicans"; public life had become an old man's prerogative—politics had stagnated, party organization did not exist; all political rights and liberties had been suppressed. The spark that set the country aflame was supplied "by the demand of the younger generation for opportunity to take part in politics." Madero and his group made the demand; the pressure, however, came from below, from the masses who have moved to greater freedom and greater power while the outstanding political personalities of the Revolution have largely gone the way of a Pancho Villa, a de la Huerta, and a Zapata.

So rapid and varied have been the cross currents of the Revolution that it seems impossible to discover any given direction in the movement as a whole. Tannenbaum, after reviewing these multiple waves, hails the Constitutional Convention of 1917 as the most important single event in the history of the Revolution. "It definitely marked off the past from the present and the future in Mexico, . . . and once and for all set a definitive legal program for the Mexican Revolution."

Articles 27 and 123 were the distinctive features of the Constitution; the former upholds the formula that "prop-

erty in fee simple has ceased to exist in law," the latter consists of "a body of rights and prerogatives for labor." The full significance of these legal provisions may be more thoroughly appreciated in the succinct summary that Tannenbaum makes in describing the new trends in the Revolution: "Until 1917 the struggle was to formulate a program for the destruction of the feudal structure of Mexico. Since 1917, it has been to maintain the gains written into the Constitution." The tide has definitely turned; it is no longer a struggle merely to hold in check the institutions bequeathed by the Conquest; it is now a defense, national in scope, of the new ideals that tend to the discovery and realization of the Mexico of the future.

The chief by-product of the Revolution, therefore, is spiritual: a discovery by the Mexican people of their own dignity. "This spiritual change is best seen and most significant in the new attitude towards the Indian . . . The Indian has been discovered by the Mexican people, discovered in the sense of evaluation, in the sense of acceptance, in the sense of gladness. . . . Mexico is becoming a nation to the extent that the whole of the country is embraced in the political conscience of its governing groups." If the Revolution wins, "Mexico will become characterized by thousands of little communities owning their land in semi-communal form, tilling them collectively, with a school in the center, with a high degree of community co-operation for many activities, with a basis for democratic government resting upon a unified community. That is the ideal." Racial and cultural unity was denied for four centuries. The Mexico of tomorrow will arise from the fusion of "all the variants of life and culture that make up the Mexico of today. . . . It must be a process of adoption of the white culture by the Indians and a reciprocal adoption of the Indian culture by the whites, each group absorbing and modifying, a process of mutual infiltration and fusion that will not involve sudden and violent destructive denial."

These are, in the main, Tannenbaum's conclusions per-

continent to Mexico's present struggle for "peace by revolution." It should be a revelation to all those who have never been able to penetrate the sanguinary, bandit-like character of this social strife; not as an intruder but as one who calmly and altruistically interprets these movements from within, Tannenbaum has, we hope, definitely dispelled the unsavory myth that not only Mexico, but all Latin-American countries, know not whither they go.

One may not agree with all of this "revolutionary economist's" statements. He is prone to make sweeping generalizations, to many of which some readers will object. He himself often contradicts, or at least, renders some of these generalizations most untenable. I cannot concur in that the answer for Mexico seems to be to *undo* the effect of the Spanish Conquest. Certainly, "undo" is too strong a word, as the author himself admits. He concedes the unquestioned good fruits of the work of the "spiritual" conquerors; he believes that one of the strongest cultural bonds that must eventually prevail is the language that has preserved for us the written accounts of that epic achievement; and he sees hope for Mexico in the complete fusion of the two cultures that have thus far largely pursued their own paths. This is not the "complete repudiation of the Spanish Conquest" that he speaks of in closing. "Complete repudiation" is not the "open sesame" to all of Mexico's problems; it is certainly not the answer to Mexico's ultimate salvation.

The incessant reasoning, and the continual driving home of an idea—which explain the repetitive nature of the opening chapters of the volume—are relieved by the inclusion of some fifteen fascinating drawings by Covarrubias. The great personalities of the Revolution pass in review, and we are permitted a moment of relaxation, paradoxical as this may seem, in the presence of Villa, Carranza, Madero, Calles, Obregón, Díaz, and Zapata. Other drawings portray significant aspects of present-day Mexican life.

A short, concise bibliographic note and a most-welcome index score additional fine points on the "quality side."

The volume is very attractive, far more so than his former one. It lends itself to easy reading and, in general, is representative of the fine work done by the Columbia Press. Unfortunately, a most unusual number of errors, mainly typographical, are to be noted throughout the work. Careless punctuation and the failure to quote many terms that are constantly reappearing are to be charged obviously to the author. They are overshadowed, however, by the many good features of this timely "interpretation"; it is only to be hoped that they will be effaced in a future edition.

JOHN E. ENGLEKIRK.

*University of New Mexico.*

*Mesa Land.* By Anna Wilmarth Ickes. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1933; 236 pp., \$3.00.)

*Mesa Land* by Anna Wilmarth Ickes should be a pleasant book to carry in the pocket of an automobile headed southwest. It is directed to an audience of potential travelers on southwestern roads—an audience warned of sand, of arroyos in flood, of cold desert nights, but lured by glimpses of the daily life and the ceremonial of Southwestern Indians.

"The Indian of the Southwest repays knowing whether from the standpoint of the archaeologist, the ethnologist, the historian, or just human interest, and if this book will encourage anyone to look at him, not merely as a bit of local color, not as a romantic or grotesque figure, the subject of story or canvas, and today we must add movie, but as a man among men, a woman among women, and a present day comrade on our continent, it will have served its purpose."

Stating her program thus explicitly in the introduction, the author goes on with a brief preliminary account of the country—its greens and browns, its roads, and even its long departed camels. A chapter on the history of the



Southwest provides background for the following chapters, which in turn touch on the history of the Navajo, the Navajo today, the cliff dwellings, the kiva, the pueblos in general, the Zuñi, the Hopi villages, the Hopi snake dance, Ácoma and other pueblos (a chapter including a page or two each on Laguna, Sía, San Felipe, Santo Domingo, Cochiti, San Ildefonso, and Taos), and finally on the eagle and the snake in Southwestern Indian ceremonial and symbolism. The book is beautifully illustrated with photographs, one of the most attractive of which is that of a painting by Fred Kabotie of the Hopi Eagle Dance, used as the frontispiece.

Since so much ground is covered, the treatment of each of these peoples is necessarily rather brief. More attention is given to the Navajos than to any other tribe—and even they, past and present, get only thirty pages. Nevertheless, here and there through the book, a man, now in a hogan, now on a plaza, now in a pueblo room, comes to life in a way that makes us glad that he is “a present day comrade on our continent.”

We are glad to become acquainted with the Hopi who said, “When a Hopi wakes up at sunrise and goes out to say his morning prayer he goes to the edge of the mesa and all is beautiful and he is happy and he stays happy all day and you like him. When the man of — [mentioning one of the Rio Grande pueblos] goes to his door, he sees just a dusty plaza and that doesn't make him happy and you don't like him.”

We are glad to know the Zuñi who denied any feeling of resentment with the words “Resentment would only hurt me.”

We shall respect the cacique who regretted so earnestly the encouragement tourists gave to the pueblo children who ran up to them demanding money:

“One white man said: ‘Why don't you tell them not to?’ With dignity and a courtesy not to be conveyed by the written word the old cacique replied: ‘An Indian does not teach his child by saying “don't,” but by the example of his elders.

Why do your people treat my child as though he were a beggar?" "

In the book there are alluring glimpses of ceremonies come upon unexpectedly, of Navajo firelight, and Pueblo plazas in the sun. No pretense is made of analyzing ceremonies about which little is known to the white man. The account is simply of what an interested traveler in the Southwest may see and feel if he keeps his eyes open and his sympathies sharpened. It is a letter and a promise to any who will take the roads of Mesa Land, written by one who has taken those roads many times, and loved them.

For those who wish to read more extensively there is an excellent bibliography, including historical, archaeological, and ethnological material, much of which has been quoted and recommended throughout the book. *Mesa Land* should stimulate as much interest in these other books as it does in the country.

FRANCES GILLMOR.

*University of New Mexico.*

*History of New Mexico.* By Gaspar Pérez de Villagrà (1610); translated by Gilbert Espinosa, edited by Frederick W. Hodge. (Quivira Society Publications, Vol. IV, Los Angeles, 1933. 308 pp. illus. \$7.00.)

Most scholars look askance upon compositions that purport to be literary, and are sometimes loath to employ such works as a reliable source for historical accounts. This disinclination increases all the more when the source in question happens to be in verse, for poetic meters have seldom been the vehicle of chronicle. The Spaniards, however, had a long established custom, as Dr. Hodge points out in the Foreword, "to record the exploits of Spanish arms in the form of poems." Villagrà's epic, however, though written in verse, and sometimes better verse than we are likely to admit, is as true a narrative as it was possible to obtain from an interested eye-witness and participant. His lack of historical accuracy may be due to his rich imagination and lack of objectivity.

The early chroniclers of America have elicited a great deal of adverse criticism due to their exaggerations and in some cases inadvertent inaccuracies. Considering the conditions under which these men had to write, the difficulties of travel, and the constant peril of losing their lives, it is a wonder that they took time to write at all! Furthermore, the newly discovered lands by their very nature, their magnitude, their grandeur and novelty, were conducive to stimulation of the imagination, so that what we today condemn in the name of historical veracity may easily be condoned by ascribing to literary imagination such deviations from actual fact.

The average student of history, upon reading Villagr a's History of the Conquest of New Mexico is immediately repelled by the fact that it is written in poetry, and in many cases the book is overlooked as a reliable source, because Villagr a committed the sin of attempting verse. Had he been content like Bernal D az del Castillo to use prose throughout, his epic would have fared much better.

Mr. Espinosa's translation of Villagr a's memorable history renders a service to both the student of literature and of history. Very wisely has the author chosen to translate into prose, for had he attempted verse further distortion would obviously have been necessary. The original is simplified in many instances, though in some cases the renderings may be doubtful. The free translations, however, are restricted to those portions of the poem that appear somewhat obscure. A bit of the flavor of early seventeenth century Spanish is kept throughout Mr. Espinosa's work, and thus he is able to convey both the matter and spirit of Villagr a's original composition.

An occasional mistranslation here and there may be of interest to the minute and impeccable scholar, but save for such small details, the work as a whole is a fine rendering. *Dar garrote*, for instance, in Canto XV, was a form of punishment or a "third degree" applied to both Spaniards and Indians and not an execution as it is here translated. In

Canto XVI (p. 150, Espinosa) the reference made to the Cíbola is merely a proper name. It is interesting to see that the name *gallina de la tierra* has been a favorite in this region to the present time instead of the accepted Aztec word *guajolote*. The word *montes* as used by Villagr a does not mean "mountain" but rather "wild." The same adjective is today applied to "wild cat" in Spanish, thus: *gato montes*.

The rhetorical distortions in Villagr a's epic are a stumbling block to any translator. Having written at a time when such poetic liberties were not only admissible but in vogue, it would be impossible to follow faithfully such difficult passages as appear in the poem.

Mr. Espinosa's work gives us the impression that he wrote the first part more meticulously than the last ten Cantos. His style wanes somewhat towards the end. It is apparent nevertheless that the translation represents a considerable amount of work, and Mr. Espinosa is to be commended on the completion of so difficult a task.

The book would not be complete without the enlightening annotations of Dr. F. W. Hodge. At times they may be controversial, but more often they try to clarify the literary liberties that the soldier poet took upon writing history. Moreover, the notes supply a host of information that is otherwise unaccessible, and such sidelights point out how complete an account Villagr a gave us of the New Mexican undertaking. Would that the duties of his sword had given more leisure to his pen!

The form in which the work is published leaves nothing to be desired, and those eager to learn the first impressions of the white man's contact with the aborigines will find Mr. Espinosa's translation very delightful reading.

ARTHUR L. CAMPA.

*University of New Mexico.*

*Southwest on the Turquoise Trail: the first diaries on the Road to Santa Fé.* Edited by Archer B. Hulbert. (The Stewart Commission, Colorado College, 1933. xiv+301 pp.; maps and illustrations; index. \$5.00.)

The second volume of the "Overland to the Pacific" series comprises an interesting group of source materials, brought together and delightfully edited by Dr. Hulbert, director of the Stewart Commission.

The contents are presented in two parts, of which the latter, called "Extensions of the Santa Fé Trail," takes us with Pike from Santa Fé south to Chihuahua and east to Natchitoches; and with Antonio Armijo from Santa Fé west to California. Historically this treatment is open to question, for the old Chihuahua Trail had been in use for two hundred years before Pike showed up; and for over fifty years the Spaniards (and later the Mexicans) had wanted to connect New Mexico with California—and the journeys they made can hardly be regarded as an extending of the Santa Fé Trail (from the United States).

In Pike's diary it is unfortunate that his vagaries in spelling should have been accepted, some of his errors being reproduced even in brackets. A few examples are "Salteol" (p. 203), "Pojouque" (p. 209), "Malgares" (214). Unedited are names like Facundo Melgares (226), Taos, St. Bartholemew (Cochiti; p. 219), "Tousac" (Atrisco; 227), Sevilleta, Maynez, "Hymie" (*Jaime*; p. 258). At page 275 the editor has confused the Red river proper with the Colorado river of Texas.

In the Armijo diary, several Spanish terms seem to be misunderstood. In New Mexico usage, *ceja* (pp. 283, 284, 287) means a crest or divide; *milpitas* (286), small fields; *yerba del manso* (288) is a medicinal herb native to the Lower Sonoran life-zone and is still to be had in nearly any drugstore.

Part I of the volume, on "The Santa Fé Trail" proper, is arranged in six sections upon which some comment may be of help to students of the Southwest.

1. "The Vanguard of the Pioneers: with bibliographical resumé 1810-1825." A valuable introductory discussion by Dr. Hulbert of the pioneers and early writers of the period, embodying lengthy excerpts from *The Eclectic Review* (London, 1811); the *Missouri Gazette* (May 13, 1813); and Edwin James' account of Maj. Stephen H. Long's expedition (1823).

2. "Vial and Becknell: Pathfinder and Road Breaker." The diary of Pedro Vial (here edited) from Santa Fé to St. Louis in 1792 has been difficult of access, but there should at least be mention of the other diary of Vial's return to Santa Fé in 1793 which was edited by Dr. A. B. Thomas in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, vol. IX, 195-208. The latter more nearly followed the subsequent route to Santa Fe. Dr. Hulbert's comment on the Melgares and Vial routes (p. 49, note 37) is hardly justified, and he should have corrected the confusion of the Red river with the Rio Grande (same page).

By some unfortunate slip, Becknell is called "Thomas" instead of "William" throughout the book except in the signature of his journal (p. 68). It should be noted that Becknell's statement combines his *first two trips*.

3. "A Trail Born of a Trade." The writer believes that Dr. Hulbert is mistaken in thinking that Storrs and Marmaduke were members of *the same party* in the summer of 1824. Here we are given the important Marmaduke journal (from the *Missouri Historical Review*, VI); the replies by Augustus Storrs and Richard Graham to the questionnaire of Senator Benton (from congressional records, and *Niles Register* of Jan. 15, 1825); and the treaty of the "road commissioners" with the Kansas tribe on August 16, 1825. "Wymos" (p. 86) needs a bracket: [Guaymas]; and the "superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis" (95) was O'Fallon.

Sections 4-5 belong together: "The Survey of the Santa Fé Trail" and "Sibley's Santa Fé Diary." The first consists of the field notes as compiled by the surveyor, Joseph C. Brown, and gives the distances in miles and chains from

Fort Osage (Sibley, Mo.) to San Fernando de Taos—with supplementary remarks as to the two routes for reaching Santa Fé. For the road from the international boundary to Taos, the field notes have been reversed; as we know that this part of the survey was actually made in the other direction.<sup>1</sup> The editing here is especially good, and it includes Sibley's explanation of the naming of "Council Grove."

The text of Sibley's "Santa Fé Diary" was secured from the Missouri Historical Society and yields many points of historical interest. Why he is called "General" and "commander of the expedition" is not clear; for Reeves was clearly regarded as head of the commission, even while Sibley was in New Mexico. Errors in spelling are unfortunately numerous, some of which trace back to Sibley but many of them clearly come from misreading of the manuscript and slips in proof-reading.

6. Part I is rounded out (again from a government publication) by the letter of Alphonso Wetmore to Sec'y of War Lewis Cass, dated at Franklin, Mo., October 11, 1831, in which Wetmore embodies his diary record from May 28 to August 2, 1828.

The book as a whole, in content and format and illustrations, is an admirable piece of work. It is a valuable addition to Southwestern *Americana*.<sup>2</sup>

L. B. B.

1. See the paper by Professor Culmer and the two Sibley letters, *ante*, pp. 78-97.

2. As we go to press, there is telegraphic announcement of the death of Dr. Hulbert on Christmas Day. By his genial personality and long study in his chosen field of research (the trails and highways of our country) Dr. Hulbert won the regard and esteem of a wide circle of friends and associates to whom his passing will bring sorrow. It is to be hoped that his labors in this particular series were sufficiently advanced so that it may be carried to completion.