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BOOK REVIEWS

Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest, 1680-1682. Introduction and annotations by Charles W. Hackett; translations of original documents by Charmion C. Shelby. Parts I-II, being Vols. VIII-IX of the *Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940.* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1942. ccx+262 pp.; xii+430 pp.; glossary; index. \$10.00.)

Because of his important undergraduate and graduate studies, a quarter century ago, in the sector of Southwestern history treated in these volumes, Dr. Hackett has long been recognized as the especial authority on this period. It is doubtless very gratifying to him, as it will be to students of the Southwest, to have his various monographs thus consolidated and, supplemented by additional source material, published in such a fine way.

It is regrettable, however, to find that Dr. Hackett has not improved the opportunity to edit out numerous misreadings of his earlier work, and that he has fallen into other serious errors through his reliance on transcripts rather than originals or facsimiles. Also, he seems to be unacquainted with important source materials on his period which have become accessible since he did his University work.

Apparently he knows A. G. I., Guadalajara 138, only through secondary transcripts of it and has made no use of the Library of Congress facsimile which was gotten in 1929; nor does he anywhere explain that the "testimonio de los auttos tocantes" and the "testimonio de los auttos pertencientes" are not originals but contemporary certified transcripts. The originals of both these sets of autos he finds correctly at Mexico City in A. G. N., Provincias Internas 37 and 34 respectively; but these again he knows only through second-hand copies, although the originals were among a great number of records photographed for New Mexico in

1930, and for some years they have been accessible at the Coronado Library of the University of New Mexico.

He tells us (I, pg. xi) that the Bancroft compilation known as "N. Mex. Docs." was copied chiefly from A. G. N., Historia 25 and 26, in Mexico; but he does not evaluate this material. Not only is it inferior to the originals in Provincias Internas, but also to the transcripts in A. G. I., Guadalajara 138; the latter were contemporary copies whereas these in Mexico City were made less carefully and a century later. Even so, facsimiles of A. G. N., Historia 25-26 have been accessible for some years but Dr. Hackett has been satisfied to work from transcripts which he knew were defective. (See his *Bandelier: Historical Documents . . .*, III, 335-339, footnotes.)

Though he does not cite the earlier work of Miss Anne Hughes, he seems (I, p. cxix, note 2) to follow her in identifying correctly the "auttos sobre los socorros," but he is satisfied to cite (as did she) another source as "an expediente without a title"! Yet on the very next page he does properly identify the latter as "Expediente 2" in A. G. N., Provincias Internas 35.

Lastly, as to sources, Dr. Hackett seems wholly unacquainted with the ten legajos of New Mexico records in the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico City, of which in 1930 France Scholes secured complete facsimiles for the Library of Congress. Among these are important originals which might have saved our editor and translator from some of their mistakes. Take, for example, Father Ayeta's remarkable letter of December 20, 1680 (I, pp. 212-217), which ought to stand out as a high-light of this whole documentation; instead, the vigorous sprightly account of Ayeta is fumbled repeatedly. Governor Otermín had not "marched" but he "came running" from Fray Cristóbal to Salineta, fifty-four leagues in three days! And Father Ayeta with his helpers did not simply "work," they "battled" from dawn to dusk to get that cart with its precious supplies free from the quicksand in the flooding river. Again, some copyist misread the "U" sign;

Ayeta wrote that he had bought 1U600 (1,600) head of cattle,—not 11,600 (p. 215). There never was a Fray "Alvaro" de Zavaleta in New Mexico (same page); the original reads "Fray Juan," and with him also there were "four other" religious. "La Providencia" is a misreading of "La Purísima." And who are the illustrious "Escamiela" (I, p. 216) to whom the Father Procurador wanted to pay his respects and so he had decided to gallop forty leagues in four days? The original text reveals that it was "Escañuela" whom we at once recognize as another Franciscan, the then bishop of Durango! And then (below, same page) we have the astonishing picture of Ayeta asking for an important Church preferment for his secretary "who is now fifteen years old"! Every padre had two ages, and Ayeta meant, of course, that his secretary had been "in religion" for sixteen (not fifteen) years—which would make him actually about forty years old.

On the next page (I, p. 217) is a case of careless editing, of which other examples are unfortunately numerous throughout the two volumes. Here the unwary reader will naturally think that the *fiscal* in Mexico, January 3, 1681, is talking about the preceding Ayeta letter of December 20. But the source shows (A.G.I., Guadalajara 138, doc. 19, f. 55v.) that he means Ayeta's letter of September 11 which, with accompanying papers, is here found entirely out of sequence (I, pp. 106-112).

And why has Dr. Hackett repeated (I, 108-111), with all his earlier mistakes (see *Bandelier: Historical Documents* . . . , III, 335-339), Ayeta's list of the twenty-one martyred religious? This is another case where he might have found the original among the facsimiles from the Biblioteca Nacional; even a facsimile from A.G.I., Guadalajara 138, would have corrected most of the mistakes. Instead, he relied solely on the Ayer, Bancroft, and Bandelier copies (or copies from such copies), and in consequence seven out of seventeen dates are wrong; also there was no Fray Antonio Sanchez de "Pio" (p. 109); Espeleta (p. 111) had

entered "more than thirty years ago"; and (end of document) there were three who had died a natural death shortly before the rebellion, not "after."

Turning back to Dr. Hackett's extended introduction, we note that San Ildefonso and San Juan were not on the west bank of the Rio Grande (I, p. xxxi); there was no Fray "Juan" de Morales (pp. xxxv, 10), nor Fray "Francisco" de Mora (I, 98, 110), nor Fray "Felipe" Daza—despite the certified copy in A.G.I., Guadalajara 138, doc. 19, f. 45v. Ample evidence shows that this padre's name was "Juan." "Father Antonio" (p. xl) is a misreading by some copyist from *Auttos tocantes* of "Padre Custodio" (I, 25). Los Cerillos is south, not west, from old San Marcos (p. xli, note). The Vargas *auttos* of 1692-93 would have cleared up the editor's doubt as to the moving of San Felipe (I, xliii, note); Puaráy was not north of Sandía (pp. xlix, clxvii). "Arizona" as of the seventeenth century is an anachronism (p. iii),—the Hopi towns were in New Mexico until 1863.

Dr. Hackett's citation of Villagutierre (p. lxxxvii) seems to show that he is unacquainted with that author's great manuscript work, *Historia de la conquista, pérdida, y restauración de . . . la Nueva Mexico*,—of which the Library of Congress has had a facsimile for over ten years. And in the same note, why criticize Thoma rather than Bancroft whom Thoma followed so cedulously, mistakes and all?

"Yumas" (p. cxiv, line 6) is an evident error for "Sumas," but we cannot pass over Dr. Hackett's failure properly to locate the Estero Largo (pp. cxxv, ccviii). It is true that Otermín wrote of it (II, 370) as forty leagues above the camp at San Lorenzo, but either he misspoke himself or he was greatly exaggerating; that distance is definitely disproved by his own *auttos* which he had just completed. From Doña Ana (II, 369) he had detoured with a small party to scout the Organ Mountains (and incidentally he made the first recorded visit to La Cueva!) On the third day he rejoined his weary train, moving slowly down the valley, at "the pools of Fray Blas." Three days later (six

Macas
p. 195
Pij

San Lorenzo to el Passo	=	12	leagues
el Passo " Salineta	=	4	"
Salineta " Estero Largo	=	4	"
		<hr/>	
		20	"

from Doña Ana) they were at the Estero Largo. From the *arittos* and from our own acquaintance with that valley, we should place this about at Brazito; and in fact, it is so identified on Father Pichardo's map of 1811—which Dr. Hackett himself edited. Otermín's "forty leagues" is absurd, for it would put the Estero Largo far north of Doña Ana, somewhere out in the Jornada desert.

At the top of page cxlviii, Dr. Hackett seems to think that, before December 10, Mendoza at Sandía had received a letter which Otermín wrote at Isleta on December 11. At the center of page 178, a passage beginning "Adonde consta nos falta el prelado" has been mistranslated; eighteen plus two does not make twenty-one martyrs.

It would make our review far more technical than it already is, to discuss the various places where documents have been published out of proper relation to each other and without any editorial explanation. This may be due in part to defects in the transcripts used, but in any case it is disconcerting. The careful student will have to go repeatedly to the originals—and this is not easy because most of the citations are inadequate.

Balancing in some measure the adverse character of our review, we are glad to point out that the great bulk of this material on an important and critical period of New Mexico history has never before been readily available. The translation is on the whole excellent, and certainly the general reader will here get a documented picture of the men and events of those times which can be had in no other way.

L. B. B.

John Jacobus Flourney: Champion of the Common Man in the Antebellum South. By E. Merton Coulter. (Savannah: The Georgia Historical Society, 1941. Pp. 112. \$2.00)

The progress of science and of democracy have combined to make the work of the historian more difficult. The one has forced him to give a footnote for everything he says, while the other has turned his attention largely away from

kings and nobles to the common man. Unfortunately the nobodies in the past have left scant documentary evidence of what they did and what sort of people they were. Occasionally someone like Deveraux Jarratt, the backcountry parson who had almost become a gentleman by the time of his death in Virginia in 1794, endears himself to the student because through his autobiography he speaks for a class of which we know so little. And now Professor Coulter has earned our gratitude by digging up another "forgotten man."

In his *College Life in the Old South* (1928), Coulter said that the people of Athens, Georgia, were sometimes thrown into laughter by the sight of an old man with a long white beard, riding a mule through the streets. An eccentric person, he always wore an India-rubber overcoat, winter and summer alike. An educated man who had drifted into poverty, this John Jacobus Flourney had a mania for writing to the newspapers and to the prominent men of the day, "and for advancing ideas more fantastic than the tales of the Arabian Nights." He ran for the legislature for fifty years, "and sometimes received as high as a dozen votes." One might think that this remarkable character had been borrowed from Longstreet's *Georgia Scenes*! Fortunately, Professor Coulter kept running across fragments from the pen of this intriguing unknown, and could not resist the impulse to run him down and see what manner of man he was. The result of his industrious research has been the recovery of a man who was misunderstood in his own time and who has been so completely lost sight of that he is not mentioned in *The South in the Making of the Nation*, or in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

No one would claim that Flourney was an influential man in his day, although he did possess some wealth and education. Furthermore, he was ambitious to be a leader and showed no lack of perseverance in presenting his ideas to the public. Badly defeated every time he ran for the legislature, he was equally unsuccessful in persuading the

president to send him "to some big country as Ambassador," or to make him governor of Deseret. Everything combined to make him a laughing stock. He became deaf and almost dumb, and at times was mentally unsound. His wives proved unfaithful and ran away with his property; he was continually involved in litigation and almost always lost; and he was never able to sell anything he published. While he wrote at length advising leaders like Jefferson Davis, Andrew Johnson, and Charles Sumner on their problems, there is no evidence that these statesmen adopted any of his suggestions. One idea after another failed of realization. His first wife interfered when he sought to carry out his idea of "Trigamy," a species of polygamy which he had advocated in a pamphlet as a means of abolishing the brothel and the unmarried female from society. He felt that Georgia was treating her Indians wrongfully, but his tears did not save them from being removed to the wind-swept plains of the west. He asserted that the study of Latin and Greek was a waste of time, and that the colleges and universities of the day bred snobbery and contempt for the common man. He did not succeed, however, in making any change in the curriculum, or in setting up a school with a more utilitarian purpose. When he wrote a pacifist pamphlet, advocating the principle of a world court, he sold only one copy. He advocated temperance, but "too frequently" resorted to strong drink himself. He thought that the state should provide a free education, that all children should be compelled to attend school for four years, and that every family should be required by law to subscribe to a newspaper. His views on education never reached the people of Georgia, however, and little was accomplished. The one reform which he advocated successfully was the establishment of a school for the deaf and dumb. By presenting a petition to the legislature and by working as a lobbyist, he aroused interest so that Georgia finally accomplished something along this line.

Flournoy, then, may be remembered as a representative

of people of no importance, as well as the father of education for the deaf and dumb in his native state. His chief significance, however, is that he was an outspoken critic of southern institutions, who enjoyed complete freedom of speech. While of aristocratic birth himself, "he used every opportunity to stir up the poor against the rich," yet no attempts were made to suppress him. He boldly declared that the presence of the negro with his shiftless ways drove the planter on to acquire fresh fields and forced the poor man on worthless land. At the same time, the hiring out of slaves destroyed the market for free labor—unless the work was too dangerous to be done by valuable slaves. Thus, more than twenty years before Hinton R. Helper's *Impending Crisis*, Flournoy showed that the concentration of negroes in the south was responsible for its falling behind the north. For years Flournoy was obsessed with the idea that the only way in which the country might be saved from civil war and the amalgamation of the races was the expulsion of the negro from the United States.

While Professor Coulter's study is a little detailed, it is a significant and interesting human document, and deserves to be read widely.

MARION DARGAN

University of New Mexico.

Lewis H. Morgan's Journal of a Trip To Southwestern Colorado and New Mexico, June 21 to August 7, 1878. Leslie A. White, editor. (Reprint from *American Antiquity*, Volume 8, No. 1, July 1942. 26 pp.)

An addition to the author's two volume *Bandelier-Morgan Letters* (printed by the University of New Mexico Press) and his *European Travel Journal of Lewis H. Morgan* (a publication of the Rochester Historical Society), this booklet tells of the exploration trip which resulted in the publication in 1881, shortly before Morgan's death, of his classic *Houses and House Life of the American Aborigines*. The latter volume was published at the request of

the Archaeological Institute of America which had asked him to prepare for them a plan of archaeological exploration and research in the American field. Comments White: "It was Morgan who first undertook to interpret these ruins and to place Pueblo culture in the large perspective of New World history and ethnology."

The Journal begins under date June 21, 1878, Canyon City, Colorado, after a visit with Adolf Bandelier at Highland, Ill. The trip was made by way of Kansas City, Topeka, and Pueblo, traveling thence on a freight train to Canyon City. There Morgan met two Indians from Taos who said they were Mescaleros but not Apaches. From Canyon City the journey, in a wagon train, proceeded to Leadville and thence southward via Ponca Pass to the Animas, Mancos, Chaco and other tributaries of the San Juan. Under date of July 22, on Animas River, fifty-six miles from Animas City Morgan writes:

The ruins are remarkable for their size and present condition. There are the remains of four large pueblos, quite as large in accommodation as those on the Rio Chaco. * * * It is very much a copy of Hungo Pavie and nearly of the same dimensions. * * * The main building was very plainly five stories high, as there are six rows of apartments, and the side buildings four stories.

His deduction that these pueblos were built by the tribes of Cibola after Coronado captured their villages have been proven erroneous. A curious notation is that the ruins on the Mancos were first visited by Mr. John Gregor and Samuel Beach Axtell, governor of New Mexico, 1875-1879. The cliff houses in McElmo canyon, Montezuma Valley and other sites in the proximity of the "Four Corners" where the boundaries of New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and Utah meet were visited. On the return trip, 250 Utes were encountered on the Navajo river. Of Taos he noted:

The two edifices are connected on one side by a wall, and on the other not. The cacique is old and blind. He and the governor received us kindly.

Pa

There are three estufas connected with each building. They are round and below ground. We entered one of them by descending a ladder. * * * It is now evening. * * * We hear the boys singing, dancing. They are Iroquois all over. * * * The Taos Indians have fifteen dances and more (Nineteen are listed.). * * Men do all the field work. Women and men go to town together but the women do the trading. We met a man and woman this morning four miles from the pueblo, the man on horse and the woman on foot. * * * We have purchased quite an amount of pottery. * * * It is not made at Taos at present but at San Juan and sold to them.

Descriptions of mountain scenery throughout Colorado are vivid, of the pueblo ruins accurate, and altogether the monograph should arouse much interest because of the later and far more extensive exploration and research work in the same region. Footnotes and a brief biography of Morgan as well as a bibliography by Professor White, add to the value of the publication to present day students of southwestern archaeology.—P. A. F. W.

The Flag of the United States. By Milo Milton Quaife. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1942, xiv+210 pp.; illustrations, index. \$2.00.)

Strange indeed is it, as the author comments, that "the true story of the Stars and Stripes is known to but few. In its stead, a volume of myth and tradition has developed, which by force of frequent repetition has impressed itself upon the public mind as actual history." This misinformation "is found even in such publications as the Boy Scout *Handbook* and the publications on the Flag issued by the U. S. Marine Corps and the United States Flag Association."

Dr. Quaife has written a book which will doubtless be provocative to many readers,—as when he shows that the "Betsy Ross" yarn is impossible historically; that it is a legend which started as recently as 1870. Beginning with the evolution of flags in early times as national symbols and

the story of the British flag, he goes on to describe the flags which were used by Spain, France, Holland, and England in colonial times, and the strange battle flags which were used in the American Revolution. The "Great Union Flag" raised by Washington during the siege of Boston had no stars; it was simply the British flag (with the "union" in the upper corner next the mast), the red field of which had been broken by six horizontal white stripes.

By act of the Continental Congress, June 14, 1777, the "union" was changed for a blue field with thirteen stars; but the flag created by that act was not intended for the use of land armies—it was needed by our ships on the high seas! In one or two cases during the Revolutionary War a flag may have been used which might be regarded as an early "Stars and Stripes," but the evidence is conclusive that there was no general use of such a national standard until long after that war had been fought to a finish.

Of course the main part of the book gives the history of our flag as it is today. It closes with two chapters on "fictions and myths," and a final inspirational chapter on "the meaning of the flag." Fifty illustrations in color add greatly to the fascinating and informative account.—L. B. B.