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Thomas, Forgotten Frontiers

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BOOK REVIEWS

Les Négociations de la République du Texas en Europe, 1837-1845. By Mary Katherine Chase, Ph.D. (Paris, Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1932. 226 pp., 2 maps. \$2.00.)

Miss Chase did her undergraduate work at Stanford and received her doctorate at the University of Brussels. As a result of her research during several years in the official archives in Paris, Brussels; and The Hague, we now have this very interesting study in the diplomatic relations of Texas during the years when she was an independent republic. As the author indicates in her introduction, her work supplements that already done by Prof. G. P. Garrison in the diplomatic correspondence in the Texan archives, and by Dr. E. D. Adams upon the relations between Texas and Great Britain.

The last fifth of the volume is given to an appendix, with the text of official correspondence selected from the three archives. In the main part of the book, Dr. Chase discusses, chronologically and in five chapters, the diplomatic negotiations of the Texan envoys: General James Pinckney Henderson from 1837 to 1839; General James Hamilton in 1840, and in 1841; during 1842 and 1843, George S. McIntosh, Ashbel Smith, and William H. Daingerfield were the active agents; in 1844 and 1845, Daingerfield, Smith, and George Whitefield Terrell.

The work done by Dr. Chase is of especial value in giving a comprehensive view of Texan relations with European powers during the years between her break with Mexico and her annexation by the United States, and as the author says, the documentary material which she found "nous ont permis de corriger quelques erreurs courants et de combler certaines lacunes en ce qui concerne l'histoire des relations entre le Texas et l'Europe."

There is no index, but the footnotes are adequate and helpful.

L. B. B.

Catálogo de los fondos Americanos del archivo de protocolos de Sevilla: tomo I—siglo xvi (con xx apéndices documentales). (Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, Madrid, Barcelona, Buenos Aires. 1930. 561 pp.; indices.)

This is volume VIII of the *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-América*, a series of publications being carried forward by the Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América at Sevilla, under the able directorship of Dr. José María Ots Capdequí. Following the brief introduction by Dr. Ots, the bulk of the volume consists of a *catálogo razonado*, or calendar, of 1867 notarial documents relating to the years 1493 to 1577. In the appendices is given the text of twenty of these documents with five photographic reproductions. One of these, for example, is an "I. O. U" given to an English merchant in Sevilla by "Sebastián Caboto, captain of the Queen our lady, citizen of this city of Sevilla." It was the year 1516, and he was borrowing fifty-five gold ducats.

As Dr. Ots indicates, the Archivo General de Indias is the great depository of the documentary material relating to Spanish-America, but here in the Archivo de Protocolos is a great mass of supplementary material "the study of which is indispensable for arriving at any possible reconstruction of the political, economic, and social bases upon which the colonizing structure of the Spanish State was to be erected in the American territories." Perhaps the guiding mind of the Spanish empire was in Medina del Campo, or Valladolid, or Madrid; the throbbing heart of the empire was in Sevilla and "many were the agriculturists and merchants, bureaucrats and adventurers who left evidence of their passage through Sevilla in the notarial writings which they gave just before embarking for the unknown."

Research students in Sevilla today will find the book of inestimable value within the period indicated; and later volumes doubtless will show many leads of interest to our readers.

L. B. B.

Forgotten Frontiers. By Alfred Barnaby Thomas. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1932. 420 pp. With maps and plates.)

Dr. Herbert Eugene Bolton and Professor Alfred Barnaby Thomas have given the eighteenth century Spanish Southwest a native hero in the person of Don Juan Bautista de Anza. True, he had been immortalized in a poem celebrating his victory and that of predecessors, over Cuerno Verde, the Comanche chieftain,¹ and historians of the Southwest had made due note of his explorations and campaigns,² but it is out of the welter of detail in Bolton's five-volume work and Thomas' *Forgotten Frontiers* that Anza emerges from the shadows of a forgotten past and becomes a definite heroic figure worthy of place with Cortez, Mendoza and de Vargas in the annals of Spanish conquest and colonization. "Frontier captain, Indian fighter, and military governor of Sonora; explorer and colonizer, the founder of San Francisco in California; military governor, Indian fighter, peace-maker and explorer" as Professor Thomas characterizes him in his preface, Anza combined in his person rare qualities of statesmanship, diplomacy and generalship, which, perhaps, prevented a calamity such as overwhelmed the Spaniards in New Mexico through the Pueblo rebellion of the century before, only that this time, the so-called nomadic tribes threatened to submerge the Pueblos as well. In fact, the entire Spanish domain north of the Rio Grande was seriously threatened by Indian attack on every front. By 1776 (the year of the Declaration of Independence by the British colonies on the Atlantic coast) "conditions were so critical that Charles III lopped off these northern provinces, created there practically a new viceroyalty under the Galvez-Croix plan, and commanded El Cavallero de Croix to stave off the impending ruin."

The execution of the plan was entrusted to Anza. "The results were little short of remarkable. He reorganized

1. *Los Comanches*, by Aurelio M. Espinosa, bulletin, University of New Mexico, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1907.

2. Bancroft, Twitchell, Coan.

the towns and pueblos of New Mexico and built up their defense. He opened a route between New Mexico and Sonora for trading and strategic purposes. He carried aid and the offer of protection of Spanish arms to the Moqui, and saved that people from extermination by drought, disease, Utes and Navajos. Finally, he campaigned with brilliant success against the enemies of the frontier. Far up in present Colorado in 1779 he hunted down and defeated the Comanches. Next with kindness and rare political sagacity he won their affection, reconciled them with their bitterest enemy, the Utes, and then bound both to Spanish power by a defensive and offensive alliance against the Apaches. More, with this combined force of Spaniard, Ute and Comanche, he threatened the Navajo, forced them into the compact, required them to dissolve their agreements with the Gila Apaches and to declare war upon these former friends and allies."

Forgotten Frontiers is not a biography of Anza, it is merely a "study of the Spanish Indian policy" of that remarkable governor of New Mexico, a policy which achieved its objective and in the light of later experiences, appears so much more rational than that followed a century later by the United States.

It is true, critical historians will not accept the sweeping generalizations in praise of Anza. In fact, his achievements have been minimized by other writers, but one cannot read the astounding documentary record as it has been brought together by Thomas without coming to the conclusion that Anza, with a paucity of means that is appalling, performed deeds which must have seemed miraculous and justify to this day the annual rendition throughout New Mexico, at Christmas time of the play "Los Comanches." That Anza at the same time suffered from the attack of those whom he sought to benefit, was maligned and unjustly treated by superiors and had to cope with serious internal dissensions, is merely a repetition of the fate of most empire builders and leaders in human affairs.

The Indian frontiers of New Mexico in 1777 were indefinite, with the Indians raiding frequently into the very heart of the province. However, the principal menace was the Apaches on the south and west and the Comanches on the north and east. Thomas reviews the campaigns against the Apaches until "in 1778 a definite policy had been decided upon with regard to Spanish relations with Apaches and Comanches, and Governor Anza, proceeding to take command at the moment in New Mexico, brilliantly attained the principal objectives of this policy in the ten years of his rule."

The policy was one of benevolent participation in the settlement of internal dissensions of tribes, bringing together factions within each tribe under one leader and then binding the tribe through such leader to the Spaniards and their policies. When this unification of tribes was achieved and friendship with the Spaniards established, amicable relations between tribes formerly hostile to each other were brought about by Spanish diplomacy, and finally alliances to help in subduing the Apaches who alone refused to submit to this policy. Thus the Comanches and Utes were brought together in a peace pact during an Indian Fair held at Pecos. Anza, returning from the Fair to Santa Fe, undertook the task, with the aid of the Comanches, of weaning the Navajos from the Gila Apache alliance. He succeeded. A Navajo general was installed as "supreme over his nation and dependent on Spanish friendship"; he "attended three military reviews Anza held in different jurisdictions, and returned greatly impressed with Spanish power."

Thus with the Comanche chief Ecueraçapa, who "because of his docility, knowledge of Spanish customs, obedience and character was undoubtedly the best instrument to establish the king's control over this war-like nation, little difficulty was encountered, for "late in the afternoon, Ecueraçapa himself with a large troop rode into Santa Fe where he was received with great ceremony. He

verified the general establishment of peace and assured Anza that his people had shown every inclination and disposition necessary to recognize him as superior chief and render to him obedience as such. In his turn he swore subordination and recognition of the king. Anza thereupon hung upon the Comanche his Majesty's medal. More, that 'that insignia might be displayed with the greatest propriety and luster, he presented him with a complete uniform and another suit of color. For these Ecuera capa extended many expressions of gratitude.' Meanwhile the Comanches were carrying out their agreement to the Apache war." An inexpensive victory which assured peace with the Comanches for thirty years. Says the author:

"The westward penetration of United States traders after 1800, carrying whiskey, powder and bullets among the Plains Indians, demolished the structure of alliances which an enlightened Spanish policy had built among the tribes surrounding New Mexico." He concludes further: "Apache, Comanche and Ute, riding with the other three horsemen, drought, famine and disease, bade fair to destroy the Pueblo. For them the Spaniards came as saviors. Against starvation the padre's prayer and Spanish grain supported them; barbarian inroads met the steel of Spanish courage. The unwritten record of this heroic defense of New Mexico is limned with Spanish blood that alone saved the distinctive Pueblo Southwest and dulled the edge of surrounding savagery. Indians whose lush lands the English coveted have struck their tipis. Enchanted Zuñi still warms the desert skyline where the Spanish standard lifted."

Governor Anza's expeditions to Moqui and to Sonora in 1780, and his triumph over the Apaches from 1783 to 1787, together with a running narrative of Comanche invasions 1700 to 1776 and Anza's triumphant campaign against this formidable enemy, furnish many interesting incidents of New Mexico history which might well furnish theme for song and story.

The peace finally formulated with the Comanches in 1786 was the climax of anxious years of warfare and wrangling. It justified the Spanish policy and had its effect far beyond the Spanish frontier. The Comanches had made overtures previously. "On July 12, 1785, four hundred Comanches sought amnesty in Taos; simultaneously in Texas, Governor Cabello held council with three Comanche chiefs come to San Antonio with the olive branch. Those at Taos were joined on July 29 by two more chiefs and twenty-five warriors from different rancherías asking if the peace established with the four hundred was general. Consequently, though Anza refused a formal treaty to the Comanche until they united to make the pact effective, he continued to regard them as friends." To bring about this union, Toroblanco, a Comanche chief who stood out against this policy, had to be assassinated. The Utes who feared that peace with the Comanches would displace them in Spanish favor employed obstructionist tactics which Anza overcame through diplomacy. The Comanches held a council on the Rio de Napestle at Casa de Palo which "resulted in the selection of a single individual to represent their rancherías, numbering more than six hundred lodges, in the negotiations to establish satisfactory peace and commercial relations with the Spaniards." The individual thus selected was, of course, Ecueraacapa, "later eulogized by Anza and already famed in both Spanish provinces for his valor and political sagacity."

Thomas having concluded his narrative, gives the greater part of the volume to excellent translations of the "Geographical Description of New Mexico written by the Reverend Preacher Fray Juan Agustín de Morfi" in 1782, the "Diary of the Expedition against the Comanche Nation," the "Diary of the Expedition which the undersigned Lieutenant-Colonel Governor and Commander of the province of New Mexico made from that to the province of Sonora for the purpose of opening a route for communication and commerce from one to the other with greater

directness than that which up to the present is known," and the "Diary of the Expedition to the Province of Moqui," together with voluminous correspondence which passed between Anza and the Spanish authorities. "Editorial Notes and Bibliography" and an admirably arranged and complete index, together with maps and plates, complete the interesting study. It is in no sense a biography, for as the author states in his preface: "this remarkable man yet awaits his biographer," nor is it "a rounded investigation of his administration as governor of New Mexico," but it does place at the disposal of students of New Mexico history a wealth of authentic material and gives the general reader a fascinating story of Spanish colonial annals. The volume is well printed and bound by the University of Oklahoma Press which, like the University of New Mexico Press, is adding mightily to the prestige of the fine institution of learning with which it is connected.—P. A. F. W.

Acapulco en la historia y en la leyenda. By Vito Alessio Robles. (Imprenta Mundial, Miravalle 13, Mexico City. 1932. 16 mo.; 208 pp.; 10 maps and illustrations.)

Sr. Alessio Robles has given us a little book quite different in subject and treatment, but not in charming style, from the scholarly study which he brought out a year ago. *Francisco de Urdiñola, y el Norte de la Nueva España* (v. vol. VI, 304) took us to the ancient city of Saltillo and the northern borderlands of old "Nueva España"; this little volume takes us to the south and shows how intriguing a guide-book may be made. It would be hard to imagine a more delightful *vade mecum* for the visitor who enjoys "history and legend" with his travels, and who decides to try the magnificent national highway of some 300 miles now connecting the Valley of Mexico with the ancient harbor of Acapulco, lying almost due south, the "key of the Pacific" and the "knot in the communications between Europe and Asia" since the middle of the 16th century:

The chapter titles indicate the wide range of gleanings which Sr. Alessio Robles has brought together under the above title. After brief chapters on "The Road to Asia," "The Origins of Acapulco," and its harbor, the author discusses Acapulco in relation to geographical discoveries; Christianity in Japan, and diplomatic dealings with the Japanese; navigation, commerce, corsairs, contraband trade; the annual fair which was held after the arrival of the Manila galleon and to which merchants came from all parts of New Spain, from the isthmus, and even from Perú. A chapter is given to the great patriot Morelos; and another to famous visitors of earlier times. Here, for example, in 1592 came "the illustrious conqueror and explorer don Gaspar Castaños de Sosa, loaded with chains and condemned to a long imprisonment which he must expiate in the Philippines," because of his *entrada* into New Mexico. The malice of those who had denounced him was later established by the Council of the Indies, but by that time Sosa had been killed by Chinese seamen on a galley in the Moluccas.

It may be of interest to students of our Southwest to know that at least three of the early governors of New Mexico were acquainted with Acapulco. Shortly after his retirement as governor, Don Pedro de Peralta, the founder of Santa Fé, was appointed *teniente general de castellano y alcalde mayor* of the port of Acapulco. Of especial interest, therefore, is the view of Acapulco as it was in 1618, drawn in colors by the Dutch engineer, Adrian Boot, and reproduced at the close of this volume.

Again, on July 21, 1609 (while Peralta was completing the preparations for his departure to New Mexico) Don Bernardino de Zavallos was named "*por almirante del descubrimiento de las yslas Ricas de oro y plata,*" and from then until May, 1610, he was engaged in going to Guatemala to arrange for the ships which were to make the voyage, and in transporting to Acapulco the tackle and other equipment and the provisions which had been allotted

for the purpose. But meanwhile, over in Spain, a royal appointment for this discovery was given to Sebastián Vizcaino, and this took precedence over the viceroy's appointment of Zavallos; and as the record says, the latter "*no tubo heffeto.*" It was Vizcaino, therefore, who went as ambassador of the viceroy to the Japanese court and in search of the mythical islands; Zavallos (retaining his title of admiral) became governor of New Mexico in 1614.

Another who passed through Acapulco before he was appointed to New Mexico was Don Felipe Sotelo Ossorio. After twelve years of service in Italy and on the Barbary Coast, as soldier and ensign, in 1614 he had gone from Naples to Spain, and from there to New Spain. The viceroy made him *sargento mayor* of the troops in the presidio of San Juan de Ulua; and in 1623, corporal and *comissario* of the infantry which was being sent to relieve the Philippine Islands. He conducted the force to Acapulco, and was appointed by the viceroy to be admiral of the ships which went that year to the Philippines. Apparently he went around the world, for in November, 1624, he was in Cordova, Spain, asking for royal recommendation to the viceroy of New Spain. The king gave ear to his petition, and in consequence he became governor of New Mexico in 1625, —like Zavallos, retaining the title of admiral.

But we have wandered from our book. As a fitting conclusion, the author describes the transformation of the ancient trail into a modern highway. In this work the Mexican government had expended, up to the end of 1931, a grand total of nearly \$17,500,000 and is planning to use \$4,500,000 more to complete the bridge-work, resurfacing, and oiling. A map and itinerary showing distances and altitudes are appended.—L. B. B.

Fighting Men of the West. By Dane Coolidge. (E. P. Dutton and Co., 1932. 343 pp. \$3.75)

Dane Coolidge is a Stanford University graduate who has rambled over the West for nearly forty years, gathering

material, first as a naturalist and field collector, then as a photographer, and finally as a novelist. He has written some forty novels, dealing with the West. In his *Fighting Men of the West*, Mr. Coolidge has turned historian, and has attempted to record as accurately as possible the lives of twelve of the more prominent men who figure in his novels. The author seems to have gotten most of his material from the men themselves and from those who knew them well. He does not claim to have achieved the exactness of a professional historian, but only that his sketches approximate the truth. Many whom he interviewed were reluctant to discuss the past, and when he found others who would talk, he had to rely upon his memory, since taking notes would have immediately shut up these old-timers.

Eight of the men whose strange, wild lives are sketched here were professional fighters—either officers of the law, or outlaws. Two were cattlemen; and two, mining men. Of the cattlemen, the sketch of "Charles Goodnight the trail-maker" follows familiar lines, much emphasis being placed on his fight against cattle thieves. In this fight he is said to have been aided by three powerful marine-glasses which were kept a secret and which gave Goodnight the reputation of being able to "smell a rustler further than you can see one." Nothing is said of his services as the founder and dominating force in the first Panhandle stockmen's association which practically revolutionized the Panhandle cattle country.

The chief novelty in the sketch of John Chisum is that the cattle-king is described as a thief who stole cattle by the herd because he had the power. *The Dictionary of American Biography* says there is no evidence that Chisum used his power in the Pecos Valley for unworthy ends, and that his friends and the community generally regarded him as an honest man. Mr. Coolidge says that Chisum began stealing cattle about the time he moved to New Mexico. The Apaches got the cattle which he was driving through

to deliver to Goodnight, so Chisum went back to Texas and gathered up the first animals he saw. Goodnight refused to take the mixed brands, and thus the partnership between the two men came to an end. Chisum then went from bad to worse, and gathered such a hard bunch of cowboys around him that they intimidated the whole country, and finally, by their aggressions upon their neighbors, brought on the Lincoln County War. Other accounts put the major share of the responsibility for "the war" on alleged thefts of cattle from Chisum and others by employees of Major Murphy, the leading cattleman of the town of Lincoln. As Chisum became the largest individual owner of cattle in the United States, it is to be regretted that there are no footnotes to support this striking difference in interpretation.

The two mining men rival each other in interest. "Colonel" Bill Greene is represented as a natural-born gambler who was unusually successful in getting Eastern capitalists to invest their money in his copper mines in Arizona and Mexico. "Death Valley Scotty" was also successful in getting first one capitalist, and then another to grubstake him while he was searching for his lost gold mine in Death Valley, Nevada. After he lost his job riding broncos in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, Scotty devoted years to prospecting. When others tried to follow him and learn the secret of his mysterious mine, this desert-rat became a dangerous man, using nitro-glycerine to blow up the trail after him, and putting out bear-traps for the Indians and poison for the bloodhounds that had been set on his trail. Scotty seems to be the author's favorite character, as he appears more frequently in his novels than any other historical character.

Of the six officers of the law, three are outstanding in interest. Captain John Hughes, Texas Ranger, is said to have gone after more bad Mexicans than any other officer in Texas. Having started in business raising horses, he ran down a gang of thieves who had stolen horses from him and his neighbors, and soon became a ranger. Hughes got

the reputation of being quite a Solomon, after he had captured some thieves and 140 cows which they had stolen from lonely ranches. When a dispute arose among the owners who had come to claim their stock, Hughes observed the children calling their pet calves and bossies in the corral, and divided the cows accordingly. Colonel Emilio Kosterlitzky was the efficient commander of the rural police in northern Mexico, who, like the rangers in Texas and Arizona, had to contend with the outlaws along the border. Kosterlitzky was often assisted by Burton C. Mossman, who was raised in New Mexico around San Marcial, but who won his fame in Arizona. As a ranch manager, he made such a successful war on the cattle thieves who were overrunning the territory, that the governor made him the first captain of the Arizona Rangers. Mossman's greatest single achievement was the capture of Chacón, a typical Mexican bandit who was said to have killed about thirty men. Chacón was in Mexico, and, as Colonel Kosterlitzky was unwilling to turn a Mexican citizen over to an American jury, Mossman fell back on Bert Alvord, an officer who had turned train robber. With the assistance of this sharp outlaw, Mossman kidnapped Chacón and brought him across the line. Resigning his position because of the numerous enemies he had made, he came back to New Mexico, where he became a successful cattleman.

Two outlaws complete the roster. Clay Allison was a fighting Texas cowman who took special delight in getting drunk and shooting up the town. Especially Dodge City, Kansas, reputed to be the toughest town in the world, and whose fighting marshal had sworn to kill Allison but who seems to have absented himself when the opportunity came. Allison came into fame in Cimarrón, New Mexico, in the early '70's, when he started a ranch near the headquarters of the famous Maxwell Grant. This man-killer once intimidated a sheriff and a whole detachment of soldiers who were taking him to Taos to stand trial for the murder of six negro soldiers. Allison was a wealthy cattleman and his

killings were taken lightly, but Colfax county finally elected a sheriff who could get the draw on him, so he moved to Texas. Bert Alvord is an interesting character, although much of his story is given in the sketch of Captain Mossman.

Of the twenty illustrations in the book, four are from photographs by the author.—MARION DARGAN.