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SPANISH WAR VESSELS ON THE MISSISSIPPI 1792-1796. By Abraham P. Nasatir. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1968. Pp. viii, 359. Illus., index. $10.00

THE AREA controlled by Spain in the valley of the lower Mississippi was an economic liability in the early 1790's; it did not pay for its keep and had to be maintained by subsidies. Strategically, however, it was an indispensable buffer for the protection of the valuable commandancy-general in the borderlands of the Southwest. Spain's title to the west bank of the Mississippi was undisputed, as was her claim to New Orleans on the east bank and to East and West Florida. The point of contention was the northern boundary of West Florida. Did it extend only as far north as the 31st parallel, as the United States insisted, or to the mouth of the Yazoo River at 32° 28′, or even farther toward the Ohio, as Spain claimed? This question remained unresolved until the Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795.

Also in dispute were the navigation rights on the Mississippi. Great Britain had granted them to the United States in 1783, and the American frontiersmen considered them vital to their economy. Spain, however, maintained that Britain could not convey jurisdiction which she herself did not have and that, consequently, the lower Mississippi was a Spanish waterway.

Spain's problem in 1792-1796, then, was how to assert her rights and defend Louisiana with the extremely limited resources she was able to spare. There were three actual or potential dangers: British invaders, French intriguers, and land-hungry and restless Kentuckians.

The solution to the problem which was proposed by Baron de Carondelet, the governor of Louisiana from 1792 to 1797, was to employ four battalions, one each at New Orleans, Pensacola, Natchez, and New Madrid, supplemented by a naval force of six galleys to patrol the river. The galleys arrived, but Carondelet never received all the troops he requested; and he had to make the best use he could of three battalions, at no time more than 1,800 officers and men. Thus the fresh-water fleet was kept busy and proved to be Carondelet's single effective defensive resource. No potential enemy could bring vessels of equal weight and fire power down the Ohio, so the squadron could check any invasion into the exposed northern part of Louisiana.

Professor Nasatir has translated and edited three diaries of Spanish officials, describing voyages made up and down the Mississippi by Don Pedro Rousseau, commander of the squadron of galleys, 1793; Juan Barno y Ferrúsola, captain of the galley, *La Flecha*, 1794; and Gayoso de Lemos, governor of Natchez, 1795. All are rich in detail; all are graphic; all are valuable. Most of the material in these diaries has already been published in English, but Nasatir's version has the virtue of being a literal translation.

Almost half of this volume is Nasatir's careful and knowledgeable account of Carondelet's administration. It is thorough and well documented. His style has more clarity than grace. It is unfortunate that the editor and publishers did not see fit to include a map, as the reader who is unfamiliar with Spanish place names along the Mississippi may get lost. This is especially true when Nasatir expresses distances in leagues.

Readers familiar with the Mississippi question chiefly from the United States viewpoint will welcome the change of perspective in this volume and find that it adds a new dimension to their knowledge of this period in American history.

The University of New Mexico WILLIAM M. DABNEY

THRILLING NARRATIVE OF THE ADVENTURE, SUFFERINGS AND STARVATION OF PIKE'S PEAK GOLD SEEKERS ON THE PLAINS OF THE WEST IN THE WINTER AND SPRING OF 1859. By Daniel Blue. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1968. Pp. ii, 24. $2.00.

INDIAN TRIBES OF WASHINGTON, OREGON, AND IDAHO. By John R. Swanton. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1968. Pp. vi, 86. Illus. $3.50.

HISTORY OF THE SPIRIT LAKE MASSACRE! 8 MARCH, 1857, AND OF MISS ABIGAIL GARDINER'S THREE MONTH'S CAPTIVITY AMONG THE INDIANS. ACCORDING TO HER OWN ACCOUNT, AS GIVEN TO L. P. LEE. L. P. Lee, Publisher, New Britain, Ct., 1857. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1967. Pp. vi, 52. $3.50.

EARLY VOYAGES IN THE NORTH PACIFIC, 1813-1818. By Peter Corney. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, 1965. Pp. 238. Illus., index. $7.00.

YE GALLEON PRESS of Fairfield is the private preserve of the ambitious and industrious Glen Adams, postmaster of that small city of central Washington. These four recent publications from his press are as different one from the other as one could imagine. The first three are facsimile reprints, while the Corney book is reset and has considerable material added. All except the first are hard bound in attractive covers and in no case is the price excessive.

The now very rare Daniel Blue *Narrative of Adventures, Suffering and Starvation* is typical of a round of such thrilling accounts emanating from the gold periods of the West. In these tales heroic men battled against seemingly superhuman odds and some lived to tell the tale.

John R. Swanton's listing of the Indian Tribes of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho is a straight reproduction of the Bureau of American Ethnology *Bulletin* 145, entitled *Indian Tribes of North America.* Though in large measure the material has been superseded by more recent studies, the convenience of having available only those portions concerning the Pacific

Northwest makes the book handy by providing cultural and linguistic identifications and brief histories of regional groups.

Abigail Gardiner's account of the Spirit Lake Massacre takes the reader to the lonely frontier of pioneer Iowa. It has little to distinguish it from the remainder of the captivity genre, which was once so popular that there are now bibliographies devoted to this type alone. The 1857 account presented here has the disadvantage of being an ex post facto version as told to an interested party.

By far the most important of the four titles of the Galleon Press is the *Early Voyages in the North Pacific, 1813-1818*. The author, Peter Corney, was a British seafarer who made some eight trips to the Pacific Northwest Coast, particularly connected with the British North West Company. When not on the Coast, the vessel which he sailed aboard, the *Columbia,* was engaged in other maritime pursuits throughout the Pacific Ocean area. Most interesting of his activities was as commander of one of two vessels engaged in privateering under the direction of the Argentinian patriot Hypolite Bouchard. Corney met and joined "the father of the Argentinian Navy" in 1818 in Hawaii. Accompanying his superior, and commanding the armed merchant vessel *Santa Rosa,* the English mercenary participated in the famous sack of Monterey, capital of California. Corney was active later in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company, married a young lady, and died while bringing his family from England to Victoria, B.C., in 1835. We are indebted to this account for many significant details and insights into the maritime history of the Pacific and particularly of primitive Hawaii in the early years of the 19th Century when the entire area was still an object of international contest.

The University of New Mexico DONALD C. CUTTER

NEW MEXICO IN 1850: A MILITARY VIEW. By Col. George Archibald McCall. Edited and with an introduction by Robert W. Frazer. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968. Pp. xiv, 229. Illus., bibliog., index, $5.95.

A SOMEWHAT COMPRESSED, dehydrated analysis of the military situation in New Mexico during summer, 1850, is afforded in this three-part report by Colonel George Archibald McCall. A career officer attached to the 3rd Infantry, McCall had the advantage of four months' duty in Santa Fe when, in July and in obedience to instructions, he reported to Secretary of War Crawford on the territory's "probable numbers, habits, customs, and pursuits of life." Shortly afterward, again in compliance with orders, McCall visited and reported on the condition of the eleven military posts or forts in the 9th Military Department.

Having earlier professed a dislike for the country and low regard for its people, he was happily back in his native Philadelphia in December when he submitted his third report, to Adjutant General Roger Jones, on the defensive needs of New Mexico. Of the three, the last report may have been of greatest value to the War Department; it also is likely to be of most interest to present students of Southwest history.

As a companion-work to the earlier *Mansfield on the Condition of the Western Forts, 1853-54,* and *Forts of the West,* this volume, as its predecessors, gains appreciably from an introduction and liberal annotation by Robert W. Frazer. Frazer's sources for the most part are published government documents and thus often familiar, but his selection is highly discerning and his scholarship sound. In this instance his introduction begins with a useful literary and cartographic bibliography of early New Mexico, and from there proceeds to a summary study of social, economic, and military conditions prevailing in the territory during the first years of American occupation. The brevity of his treatment, which is intended to clarify and amplify McCall's observations, may leave something to be desired but he does offer a provocative range of views which future students might well pursue.

In his report to Secretary Crawford, McCall's emphasis was upon the weight a constant Indian harassment exerted upon a backward or handicapped frontier population. Virtually all peaceful pursuits, whether mining, stock-raising, or cultivation of arable lands (here estimated at 124,760 acres, or less than one-half of the suitable land available), he found halted or reduced by "the Nabajoes and Apaches [who] are the most formidable as enemies." Unless the government would undertake to feed them, he predicted the Apaches would continue incorrigible. The Navajos, whom he described as less warlike and believed to number 10,800 (p. 99) or 10,000 (p. 110) he would pacify and (as Governor Calhoun and other dreamers, before and after) settle in pueblos. The total of overall population he regarded as uncertain but probably less than the 100,064 reported by Governor Mariano Martínez de Lejanza, in 1844.

For purposes of superficial reference, McCall's inspection reports are adequate but scarcely more. For the average reader (a person Bernard De Voto once said did not exist), McCall's listing of personnel and comment upon arms, quarters, clothing and equipments and so on, cannot be more than dull or less than frustratingly uninformative. The specialist will have to go deeper: to post returns and muster rolls—easily available now on microfilm at the National Archives.

In his report to the Adjutant General, McCall observed at once what historians have since learned painfully on their own: that it was extremely difficult to obtain explicit or reliable information of Indian depredations from citizens, and perhaps little more than one-half of these depredations was

ever reported to military department headquarters. He found it impossible to learn accurately the losses in lives and livestock to Indian raiders, and the numbers reported to him he admitted probably should be increased from 15 to 50 per cent. McCall says nothing at all of Indian losses to New Mexican raiders during the same period, nor does he comment on a point soon apparent to other military observers: warfare on the frontier had been continuous for nearly three hundred years, and as long as New Mexicans were permitted to engage in slave raids and other forays for booty, Indian reprisals were inevitable.

McCall believed that Pueblos might be used to greater advantage as auxiliaries than the New Mexicans, and recommended that the present army force of 987 officers and men be increased to 2,200, of whom 1,400 should be mounted, as "the nature of the service in this country requires mounted troops almost exclusively." Colonel Edwin Vose Sumner, who assumed departmental command the following summer, sharply disagreed with McCall on this point—perhaps to the astonishment of everyone—but did, in part, implement another McCall recommendation by establishing Fort Defiance in Navajo country and Fort Fillmore as a deterrent to Apaches. A third fort which McCall advocated be built in Apache country waited four years more and then was realized in the construction of Fort Stanton.

As Robert Frazer has now staked clear claim to this field, it might be hoped that he presently will mine similar but considerably richer ore – to be found in the more detailed 1862-64 inspection reports of Major Henry Davies Wallen.

North Woodstock, Connecticut FRANK MCNITT

WAH-TO-YAH AND THE TAOS TRAIL. By Lewis H. Garrard. With an Introduction by Carl I. Wheat and Illustrations by Mallette Dean. California: American West Publishing Company, 1968. Pp. xvi, 289. Illus., maps. $8.95.

ALTHOUGH LEWIS GARRARD spent only ten months in the West, and that at the tender age of seventeen, the account he wrote of his activities has become a classic of Western Americana. Partly this was due to Garrard's good fortune in traveling the Santa Fe Trail in the eventful year of 1846, and in being at Bent's Fort and Taos at the time of the Taos revolt of January 1847. More important, though, the book has endured because Garrard wrote with sensitivity and enthusiasm for the people he met – particularly trappers and traders – and of the scenes he witnessed.

Attesting to *Wah-To-Yah*'s enduring popularity, this American West edition marks the fifth time that the book has been reissued since its first appearance in 1850. The most useful of these editions appeared in 1938 as

volume VI of the *Southwest Historical Series,* which contained Ralph P. Bieber's introduction and annotations, and was indexed in the final volume of the *Series.* Bieber's edition has become scarce, however, and up to now the most available printing of *Wah-To-Yah* was that of the University of Oklahoma Press, published in 1955 and still available at $2.95. Since the Oklahoma edition contained no index or annotations there was still room on the market for a volume of *Wah-To-Yah* which would reflect current scholarship and furnish an index. Regrettably, the American West Publishing Company has provided neither.

As the dust jacket tells us, the 1936 Grabhorn edition "is the basis for the present volume." Actually, it *is* the present volume, save for a shortened title and a map printed on the end papers. Thus, this reprint inherited all of the liabilities of the Grabhorn edition, which had no index, no annotations, and departed somewhat from the original edition. Grabhorn, for example, dropped the table of contents, which makes the book particularly difficult to use. Carl Wheat's well-written introduction is now out of date, containing several errors which ought to have been corrected, and the introduction should have carried a 1936 date in fairness to Mr. Wheat.

Clearly, however, the American West's rationale for reprinting the 1936 *Wah-To-Yah* (in addition to an obvious profit motive) was not to bring out a useful book, but a beautiful book. Grabhorn's handset edition, illustrated with block engravings by Mallette Dean, is unquestionably handsome — a pleasure to read and hold. Those who seek such a book will be pleased by this reprint. Those who simply want to own a copy of *Wah-To-Yah* which is faithful to the original will find it for two-thirds less at the University of Oklahoma Press.

San Diego State DAVID J. WEBER

MEXICAN MILITARISM: THE POLITICAL RISE AND FALL OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY, 1910-1940. By Edwin Lieuwen. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1968. Pp. xvi, 198. Illus., map, app., bibliog., gloss., index. $6.95.

EDWIN LIEUWEN has been one of the trail blazers in regard to research on the historical evolution of the role of the military in Latin America. In his pioneering volume on *Arms and Politics in Latin America,* Professor Lieuwen devoted a chapter to the almost unique role of the military in Mexico which had evolved out of the twentieth-century revolution in that country. Now, in the first of half a dozen studies resulting from his seminar at the University of New Mexico and funded by the Rockefeller Foundation, he has published a brief, but more detailed examination of the Mexican experience.

Against a very short introductory chapter on the Porfirian dictatorship, Professor Lieuwen traces the political problem of the development of professionalism in the revolutionary army and the introduction of civilian control from the outbreak of the revolutionary movement in 1910 through the election of 1940. There is appended a brief epilogue summarizing developments since 1940.

For the initial decade there is heavy reliance on published sources, and it is in this section that a disturbing number of factual errors turn up. As far as this reviewer is aware, Francisco Vásquez Gómez never held military title, in 1912 General Reyes' armed band was non-existent and he surrendered rather than "was overcome and imprisoned," and Alvaro Obregón lost his arm during action related to the battle of León and not Celaya. More significant is the questionable assertion that the Constitutionalists, avoiding open battle, never attacked strongly defended positions, but rather wore down the federalist forces fighting for Huerta. The battles of Torreón, Saltillo and, most significant of all, Zacatecas, suggest the need for a more carefully defined evaluation of the nature of this military struggle. Some of the author's estimates of the military strength of the *rurales*, federal units and revolutionary forces—based quite frequently on military estimates made by United States officers across the frontier or by consular officials—seem excessively large to this reviewer. James Wilkie's recent study of Mexican federal expenditures underscored the danger of taking projected budgetary allocations rather than actual expenditures as a basis for drawing conclusions about Mexican policy. Professor Lieuwen's own estimate that the 1923 de la Huerta rebellion cost in excess of one hundred million pesos which was not reflected in budget projections for the years in question confirms the danger of using one rather than the other type of statistic.

It is this very period, in the chapters dealing with the Obregón and Calles periods, that the Lieuwen monograph reveals extensive original research and makes a significant contribution to our understanding of the process by which the revolutionary army was professionalized and the forces that were to subject it to civilian control began to emerge. The author documents very well the efforts by Ministers of War Serrano and Amaro to achieve the former goal and the gradual development of expression and power by other social sectors. In discussing the manifestations of political militarism of the twenties—particularly in 1923, 1927 and 1929, the author concentrates so heavily on military and political considerations that economic matters and diplomatic influences go virtually unnoticed.

This reviewer shares Professor Lieuwen's view of the present status of the military in Mexico. One might add the recent re-enforcing development—the designation of Martínez Domínguez to head the official party

organization—vitiating the argument advanced by some scholars of differing persuasion that the PRI head tended to be a general. However, recent developments in Mexico give one reason to pause before writing the Mexican military off as a political force. Professor Lieuwen wisely suggests that if the consensus of support enjoyed by the PRI and the Mexican government were to break down, "the resurgence of the military in politics would seem probable." However, he adds that he doubts that they would "emerge as the political arbiters. Rather, they could only be participants. For the Mexican military institution is small and weak." Be that as it may, the military still represents the principal organized force in Mexican society.

The recent use of the army to suppress student disorders poses the question of what might the consequences be of repeated use of the armed forces to control dissidence by elements of Mexican society. If the division widens between those committed to the *status quo* and the aspiring and critical segments of the population, may not the Mexican army reappraise its non-political professionalized role?

University of Texas at Austin STANLEY ROBERT ROSS

THE INDIAN HERITAGE OF AMERICA. By Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1968. Pp. xiii, 384. Illus., maps, bibliog., index. $10.00.

ONCE IN A VERY GREAT WHILE there appears a wholly satisfactory book for the general reader and beginning student concerning the archaeology, ethnology, and history of the American Indians. For this reviewer, Josephy's book would be a valuable complement to any of the current popular texts on this subject, but not quite adequate alone for the serious student of anthropology or American Indian history.

Some of the virtues of this latest text are: its organization by culture areas, which makes it easy to read and fits easily into most course outlines for beginning students; its concern with materials that exemplify anthropological and historical principles and theories as well as "facts;" and its bibliography, which is arranged categorically in sections dealing with prehistory, the ways of life of particular tribes or groups of Indians, the history of Indian-white relations in the Americas, and with works pertaining to Indians in recent times. One of the flaws that could be mentioned is uneven coverage of the various areas (perhaps inevitable in a book dealing with such a broad range of material).

The volume begins with a discussion of the stereotyped views of the Indian as a symbol of the naturally free and noble red man and proceeds in Chapter 2 to demonstrate the diversities of Indians, both racially and

linguistically. In the discussion of aboriginal populations Josephy does not include Willey's (1960 Darwin Centennial) "History and Evolution of American Indian Cultures" and Wissler's (1914) epic work "North American Culture Areas." No mention is made of Kroeber's 1934 statements on aboriginal population, and no opinions are expressed concerning the number and validity of American Indian races. Languages are covered by recapitulating the Powell (1891) classification, unconformably followed by Swadesh's 1960 assertion that all languages may derive from a single source. Sapir's six phyla are ignored entirely.

In Chapter 3, a mere seven pages, Josephy tries to explicate "Indianness" and follows in Chapter 4 with an all too short narrative on the vast contributions made to contemporary life by the Indians. Inasmuch as the main thesis of this book is the Indian heritage of America, the white man's debt to the Indian in the fields of music, art, drama, dance, medicine, foods, craft-arts, political arts and institutions (to mention a few) are deserving of a great deal more commentary.

Succeeding chapters are introduced by materials concerning the antiquity of man in the New World. Josephy uses Krieger's (1964) stages of development through which early man advanced and proceeds to delineate the origins of agriculture. Chapters 7 through 24 reconstruct the culture history of peoples in both North and South America; unfortunately, statements dealing with the ethnology of modern peoples are generally restricted to a single paragraph at the end of each chapter.

The final chapters of the book concern the impact of the white man on Indians, and the white man's conquest of the Indians of the Americas. One of the best chapters in the book, Chapter 26, covers a great amount of historical material relating to the white man's conquest of the Indians of the United States and Canada. Starting with the Norsemen, Josephy systematically discusses the Spanish, French, British, and American incursions into Indian lands and the gradual displacement of the people, which was accompanied by the loss of cultural identity and livelihood. Chapter 27 evaluates the Indians of today in terms of their fight for survival but fails to utilize Kelly's 1962 description of the present Indian socio-economic conditions, McNickle's history of Indian-white relations, and Havighurst's material on Indians' education.

Despite the deficiencies of *The Indian Heritage of America,* Josephy has written a fairly comprehensive, authoritative account of the Indian in the Western Hemisphere which will be read for information and enjoyment by the layman and student alike. However it is to be hoped the publisher will issue an inexpensive edition which will be accessible to more readers.

University of New Mexico RONALD R. SWITZER