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Book Reviews

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Book Reviews

- JACKSON, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, with Letters and Related Documents*, by Dabney 76
- JONES, *Pueblo Warriors and Spanish Conquest*, by Chavez 77
- GOETZMANN, *The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*, by Utley 79

THE JOURNALS OF ZEBULON MONTGOMERY PIKE, WITH LETTERS AND RELATED DOCUMENTS. Edited and annotated by Donald Jackson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966. Vol. I, pp. xxviii, 464; vol. II, pp. xiii, 450. Illus., maps, app., bibliog., index. \$20.00.

ZEBULON PIKE lived in a trying time in our country's history. The Union was new and, in the opinion of some, an artificial and illogical combination of peoples who did not belong under one blanket of laws. Sectionalism was rife, and powerful centrifugal forces were continually threatening to tear the United States apart. In 1806 standards of national loyalty were not what they are today. We are apt to be outraged by the separatist intrigues of James Wilkinson, Aaron Burr, and some of their contemporaries. And perhaps we should be; but if we judge them we should make an effort to do so in their context, not our own.

Pike chose for himself the difficult career of an army officer. In those days ability and determination were not always rewarded by advancement in rank, nor were incompetence and venality always punished. To Pike the prime virtue of a soldier was loyalty. But loyalty to whom or to what? To the country, or to one's superior pursuing treacherous objectives?

Here are the complete journals of Pike's 1805 expedition up the Mississippi to find its source, of his 1806-07 trip westward up the Arkansas, and of his arrest by the Spanish. His maps and papers are here, and also pertinent correspondence of Spanish officials, which is translated and published for the first time.

Just what was Pike doing west of the Mississippi in 1806? Was he seeking the sources of the Arkansas and Red Rivers, tributaries of the Mississippi and thus indisputably within the United States, and nothing more; or was he acting as General James Wilkinson's tool in carrying out espionage in Spanish America? And if he was the general's agent, was he aware of it? Did he knowingly abet the deceitful Wilkinson? Is there foundation for the charge that he was implicated in Aaron Burr's plot?

Some of these questions can be answered directly from the letters and journals. There is no doubt that Wilkinson intended Pike to do more than find the river sources, and that the young lieutenant knew well what he was doing. His feigned surprise that it was the Rio Grande and not the Red River which he had reached fooled nobody except some future historians. The answer to other questions cannot be given with such certainty, but the editor draws some reasonable inferences. There is no clear evidence of Pike's implication in Burr's plot. As for his knowing involvement with Wilkinson's shady activities, Jackson is inclined to absolve the young officer. Pike was loyal to the general as long as he lived, but his loyalty appears to be that of a military career officer who was determined to succeed in the army. There is little reason to suppose that he felt any genuine affection or admiration for the "tarnished warrior."

Here, then, is a superbly edited work. The annotation by Donald Jackson of the University of Illinois Press, who previously edited the journals of Lewis and Clark, is clear and thorough. The handsome pair of volumes is a real treasure, and it will be invaluable to students of the American West in the early nineteenth century.

The University of New Mexico

WILLIAM M. DABNEY

PUEBLO WARRIORS AND SPANISH CONQUEST. By Oakah L. Jones, Jr.
Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1966. Pp. xi, 225. Illus.,
bibliog., index. \$5.00.

EVER SINCE a professor in history at the University of Oklahoma referred to me in his *The Southwest Old and New* as an "Indian painter" (no matter if I might perhaps have a drop of the one and a dab of the other), I subconsciously suspect the qualifications of any history issuing forth from Norman. In spite of this, I do find the present work by Major Jones an excellent bringing together of scattered military facts throughout Hispanic Southwestern history. For it really takes a military man, one trained in the strategics and logistics of our military and naval academies, to have both the interest and the ability to ferret out and assemble such specialized material. In this he has done a wonderful service to southwestern historical literature.

It seems to me, however, that he plays too much upon the theme of "divide and conquer" throughout the book, beginning with the conquest of Mexico. Actually, this European political and military strategy presupposes a basic unity in the people to be conquered. There was no such effective unity, ever, among the indigenous races, nations, or tribes which fell before Spanish arms. The phrase is more applicable to the Spanish forces sent to stop Cortés, whom he won over to his side by playing upon their assorted greeds. The powerful Tlascalans, and other groups, without whose fidelity and help Cortés could not have vanquished the Mexicans, had long been bitter enemies of the latter. Had Cortés been able to split up the brave, closely knit Mexicans, this would have been such a case of division followed by easy conquest, and he would have been spared the agonies of the *Noche Triste*. The same may be said of the gradual conquest during the rest of that century of the northern Chichimecas who fought more fiercely than the Mexicans, but were an assortment of smaller diverse and disunited tribes unable to cope with the steady advance of the Spanish military-mission-colony combine.

In New Mexico, finally, the conquest was generally the same, if under somewhat different circumstances. The various linguistically different Pueblos, never a unity before, not only fell an easy prey to Spanish domination, but subsequently united with the conqueror in fighting their age-old enemies, the marauding nations of the plains and deserts surrounding the Pueblos. In this connection, I must also take exception to the term *genízaro* being applied to Indian auxiliary troops. Whatever the word's ultimate derivation, by eighteenth-century New Mexicans it was applied as a strictly generic designation to the Spanish-speaking descendants of various Indian tribes living in their midst. As a body they never acted as auxiliary troops. As the author shows, it was the Pueblos who furnished auxiliaries for Spanish incursions against the nomadic tribes, and they were never called *genízaros*.

The author also states that the position of "protector general" of the Indians was apparently created for New Mexico in 1706; but I know of at least three references to such an office existing in the preceding century.

The above general, and two particular, exceptions taken do not in any way minimize the value of the excellent research work that went into this book, not to mention the expert assembling of the material. In fact, I very much regret that the author, while rummaging through the Coronado Room of the University of New Mexico Library, skipped a certain thick volume of photographs from the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico—*Tierras: Civil, tomo 426*. Most of the tome has to do with the ancestors and descendants of one José Naranjo who figures prominently in his book.

The pages are replete with auxiliary troop actions, terminology, trickery, etc. Certain items even open new vistas on the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, which I am now studying for a new interpretation of that momentous event.

Peña Blanca, N. M.

FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ

EXPLORATION AND EMPIRE: THE EXPLORER AND THE SCIENTIST IN THE WINNING OF THE AMERICAN WEST. By William H. Goetzmann. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1966. Pp. xxii, 656. Illus., maps, bibliog., index. \$10.00.

EXPLORATION, writes William H. Goetzmann in the introduction to this book, "is something more than adventure, and something more than discovery." In this comprehensive work, he has set down in thorough and readable detail all the adventure and discovery of the exploration of the American West. But he has also shown how it was much more than an erratic sequence of revelations about an unknown land, how in truth it was a "meaningful activity" that significantly influenced the evolution of national institutions and policies.

For those unconcerned with larger patterns and meanings, this book will still prove rewarding. It would be difficult to name an explorer or expedition of consequence whose adventures, routes, and accomplishments have not been chronicled here in satisfying detail. The story begins with Lewis and Clark, Pike, and Long and follows the mountain men along the beaver streams of the West. Condensing much that Goetzmann covered so admirably in an earlier work, it tells of Army topographical engineers probing, even in the process of conquest, the Nation's territorial legacy of the Mexican War. And finally, it spans the often neglected "great surveys" of Wheeler, King, Hayden, Powell, and others in the post-Civil War decades. Nowhere is nineteenth-century exploration of the American West so inclusively covered in a single volume.

For all its wealth of detail, the book's principal contribution is in placing exploration in a larger context of purpose and consequence. Goetzmann points out that the exploration of the American West was, even for the individualistic mountain men, a purposeful activity—indeed, to borrow a modern bureaucratic term, a "programmed" activity. Implicitly or explicitly, the goals and findings of exploration were fixed by "the previous experiences, the values, the kinds and categories of existing knowledge, and the current objectives of the civilized centers" of the East. What the explorer looked for and what he reported were shaped by these forces, and

what the West was and how it ought to be managed were thus in turn shaped by these forces. The impact on the state of scientific knowledge about the West, on government policy toward the West, and on the emerging social, economic, and political institutions of the population that flowed west in the wake of exploration is a theme that runs through the narrative from Lewis and Clark to John Wesley Powell. Vastly consequential in this theme as "programmers" are the Eastern scientific community and the Federal Government, which are here given a large but often overlooked role in opening the West, projecting its public image, and molding its institutions.

Adding meaningfully to Alfred Knopf's handsome bookmaking are three portfolios of illustrations buttressed by introductions and captions that make each a pictorial essay in itself. Somewhat marring the content are twenty-two maps that suffer from overcrowding and excessive reduction and, in the text, a few unfortunate errors of fact (e.g. Fort Laramie was not on the Sweetwater; Colonel Washington's 1849 campaign did not break the power of the Navajo). These, however, are minor objections indeed to a volume that represents a major and lasting contribution to the historical literature of the American West.

National Park Service

ROBERT M. UTLEY