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Book Reviews

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CORONADO'S FRIARS. By Angelico Chavez, O. F. M. Academy of American Franciscan History: Washington, D.C., 1968. Pp. xxii, 106. Illus., appendix, index. $6.50.

IN THIS HANDSOME volume issued by the Academy of American Franciscan History, Fray Angelico Chavez has given us one of the most important contributions to Borderlands history written in recent years. His work is an excellent piece of textual criticism and methodical analysis. In an illuminating introduction, which is also an historiographical essay, Fr. Angelico poses the problems of the volume and shows how he employed original sources to resolve the questions raised. In a scholarly appendix he reproduces parallel materials from his sources so that the reader may know how he has arrived at his judgments.

For four hundred years the number and the identities of the Franciscan friars who accompanied Coronado to New Mexico in 1540 have been in doubt. The reason for the ambiguous delineation of the missionary side of the expedition lay with vague testimonies of Franciscan writers who contributed data to a report to the minister general of the order during 1583-1585. By painstaking research and textual criticism of the sources Fray Angelico Chavez has arrived at the exact number of friars in the Coronado group and he has provided a biography of each man. Three ordained priests—Fray Juan de Padilla, Fray Antonio de Castilblanco, Fray Juan de la Cruz—together with two lay brothers, Fray Luis de Ubeda and Fray Daniel the Italian, went to Cíbola. Author Chavez once and for all clears up the identities of Ubeda and Juan de la Cruz, hitherto confused by historians.

Minister General Gonzaga issued his *De Origine*, a universal history of the Franciscan Order, in 1587. Fr. Chavez uses this work with the chronicles of Mendieta, Torquemada and Antonio Tello to lay out his narrative. But he corrects the known facts by recourse to three documents which Gonzaga used to write the New Mexico section of *De Origine*. Of great importance to the Gonzaga account was Fray Diego de Muñoz's description of the province of Michoacán-Jalisco prepared during 1583-1585. A second resource document used by Gonzaga was the Oroz-Mendieta-Suárez *Relación*, which is a history of the Province of the Holy Gospel in

Mexico synthesized by Fray Pedro de Oroz from papers in the headquarters of the order in Mexico City and which he sent to Minister General Gonzaga in 1585. Author Chavez pits these data against a 1586 edition of the Oroz-Mendieta-Suárez *Relación* which Father Oroz copied and amplified from the original 1585 compendia. In the 1586 Oroz are included facts which did not appear in the other two documents Gonzaga read. Father Chavez traced a great deal of the information from all of these accounts to the lost writings of the Franciscan Rodrigo de Bienvenida who was in New Spain from the early 1540's until 1575.

With skillful narrative style Chavez traces the origins of the five Franciscans and weaves their story into the civilian-military side of the trip north, the explorations in Cíbola and Tiguex and the return of the expedition to Mexico proper, and he follows his Franciscan brothers until their deaths in New Mexico and New Spain. This volume is a model for researchers in Latin American Colonial history, for on occasion all of us need to return to the original documents to correct, to clarify and to revise previous studies and interpretations. Fray Angelico Chavez has shown us the way.

University of the Americas RICHARD E. GREENLEAF

SPANISH GOVERNMENT IN NEW MEXICO. By Marc Simmons. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968. Pp. xxii, 238. Illus., maps, apps., gloss., bibliog., index. $6.95.

THE SPANISH BORDERLANDS have lost their appeal for all but a few Hispanic American historians. Although Herbert E. Bolton, George Hammond, Abraham Nasatir, France Scholes, A. B. Thomas, Henry Wagner, and a host of others built distinguished scholarly reputations with their research on the Spanish colonial frontier, a new generation has turned to other *seemingly* more relevant presentistic topics. This book, however, puts Marc Simmons among a small coterie of younger borderland enthusiasts such as Jack Holmes, Max Moorhead and Oakah L. Jones, who, happily, have remained in an older tradition.

Simmons focuses on administration and administrative changes in New Mexico primarily for the period from 1776 to Mexican independence in 1822. At the top, a significant innovation occurred in 1776 when Charles III set up a commandant general to head the Interior Provinces. The first and perhaps the ablest of these officials was Teodoro de Croix, who later became viceroy of Peru. It was Croix who found his duties so taxing that he suggested a division of the Interior Provinces into eastern and western districts. Split in 1787, four years after Croix departed, the eastern section

included Nuevo León, Nuevo Santander, Parras, and Saltillo, while the west consisted of the Californias, New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Sonora. Five years later in 1792 the vagaries of Spanish politics dictated the reuniting of the two sections into one jurisdiction of five districts—Coahuila, New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, and Texas. Later, in 1812, the Interior Provinces split once again according to the provisions of a royal order of 1804.

Although the commandant general was on the top rung of the chain of command in the Interior Provinces, the governor was by far the most important single official in New Mexico proper. Like the commandant general he had wide powers over administrative, civil, economic, financial, military, and religious affairs. His duties ranged from collecting taxes and taking the *residencia* of his predecessor to registering cattle brands and attending to royal monopolies on tobacco, gunpowder, playing cards, and stamped paper. His most pressing obligation, his *raison d'être,* was the defense of New Mexico against Indian invaders. With a regular garrison of close to eighty men, the governor defended the province in time of attack, maintained regular scouting patrols, guarded strategic sites, furnished mail couriers, and provided escorts for important personages and caravans plying El Camino Real. The militia, sometimes aided by Indian auxiliaries, complemented the regular garrison.

Administration of local areas in New Mexico was rudimentary, and like administrative policy for the Interior Provinces, was subject to the whim and caprice of authorities in Spain. When the town council (*cabildo*) fell into disuse early in the eighteenth century, local administration in New Mexico passed into the hands of *alcaldes,* a senior and junior magistrate sitting as judges in the first instance in civil and criminal cases. With the promulgation of the liberal Cádiz Constitution of 1812 orders went out to establish *ayuntamientos* or councils in all towns over 1,000 with magistrates and councilors to be elected indirectly. By 1814 Albuquerque, Belen, Bernalillo, El Paso, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, and Santa Fe had all complied with the edict only to have it countermanded almost immediately by Ferdinand VII. When he came to power after the Napoleonic Wars, he ordered an end to the *ayuntamientos* and the reinstatement of the *alcaldías mayores,* ending this brief honeymoon with a more representative system of municipal administration. Not long after, like other parts of New Spain, New Mexico subscribed to the Three Guarantees of the Plan of Iguala and became independent from Spain.

For both local and Spanish imperial historians this is a useful book which describes the bare bones of provincial administration in both structural and functional terms. The problems of governing a frontier area, the jurisdictional disputes, and the refractory nature of Spanish policy all

emerge clearly. Perhaps the author might have risked the charge of being anecdotal by including more life-and-blood examples to implement his descriptions. Also, he too often proclaims the need for further research on topics he himself takes up, and one wonders why he could not have pursued at least some of these avenues himself. For example, a number of accounts are still extant for the Interior Provinces; their use would greatly have strengthened the discussion on finance. Perhaps too—and this is a personal whim rather than a criticism—the author might have put frontier reforms more clearly into the larger framework of Spanish imperial policy generally: What did the Bourbons intend to accomplish on the frontier? In sum, this is a useful, informative, clearly written account of how government functioned in New Mexico in the late colonial period with well-chosen plates and particularly good descriptions of the postal service and military organization in the province.

Duke University JOHN J. TEPASKE

NEW MEXICO'S QUEST FOR STATEHOOD 1846-1912. Robert W. Larson. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968. Pp. x, 405. Bibliog., index. $10.00.

ROBERT W. LARSON has written the definitive account of New Mexico's quest for statehood. As he states in his preface: "A study of the movement in New Mexico to achieve statehood is a particularly challenging one, because, of all the contiguous territories of the Union, New Mexico remained a territory the longest."

The history of New Mexico has been unique in many ways, and its unparalleled quest for statehood stands out as one of the most unusual features of that history. Larson has told this story with clarity and judicious balance, while delving deep into motivations and carefully examining affective circumstances.

During the quest, which covered more than sixty years and spanned parts of two centuries, many persons gave unstintingly of their time and effort to achieve statehood. To assess fairly the importance of the role of each was, perhaps, the greatest single challenge in writing this book, and Larson is to be particularly commended for his gracious and well-reasoned handling of this task. Surely the most obstinate partisan reader cannot but admit that, within reasonable limits, each character in this dramatic story has been given credit where credit was due and gentle censure when the facts made need for criticism apparent.

The problem of basic organization was relatively simple, but within this structure are many details which could not be overlooked in order to present a complete and cohesive portrayal of the complexities involved. The

reader will, consequently, be required to pay careful attention in order to gain full comprehension of the subject matter presented. Within this context the writing is clear and understandable. The final summation (pp. 301-304) is especially well written.

With a subject as vast in scope as this one, it is understandable that there should be minor errors. Among those detected by this reviewer, most apparently resulted from accepting erroneous statements of past historians. So much of doubtful veracity concerning New Mexico has been written in the past that present-day historians must be very wary about accepting certain traditions as fact.

T. B. Catron did not move to New Mexico in 1867 (pp. 98, 143). He arrived in Santa Fe in July of 1866. Likewise, S. B. Elkins moved to New Mexico in 1863, not 1865, and did not form a partnership with Catron (p. 98) until January 1874.

It is true that in February 1890, William L. Rynerson wrote to Max Frost, editor of the *New Mexican,* from Washington urging that a delegation be sent from New Mexico to press for statehood (p. 162), but Catron was not in Washington with Rynerson at the time. In fact, Rynerson wrote a similar letter to Catron in Santa Fe. Catron was fully as responsible as Frost for the resulting delegation appointed by Governor Prince.

T. B. Catron did not nominate Rynerson for delegate to Congress at a rump council in 1884 (p. 170). D. M. Easton made the nomination which was seconded by Albert J. Fountain. It is true that L. Bradford Prince, the regular Republican nominee for delegate at the time, later singled Catron out as being responsible for Rynerson's nomination. Prince was somewhat confused in his accusation. While stating that Catron caused the split, he also asserted that Catron could have stopped the Rynerson bid short had he chosen to do so. If any one person must be named as engineering the Rynerson defection, it would have to be J. Francisco Chavez.

The alleged intervention of T. B. Catron in behalf of the Murphy faction in opposition to McSween followers (p. 139) is over simplified. Basically, Catron's lifelong practice of lending money in situations where he was forced to take collateral in payment involved him in the struggle that was shaping up. Edgar A. Walz, T. B. Catron's brother-in-law, was directly responsible for Catron's affairs in Lincoln County at the time and was reasonably successful in protecting his employer's interests without taking part in the controversy. It is true that Catron, in his official capacity as United States district attorney, recommended to Governor Axtel, as well as army personnel, that the military be instructed to keep the peace. While it is apparent that this move would have helped protect Catron's property, it was evident that this was the only force respected by warring factions in the neighborhood. Had Catron's recommendation been

followed prior to the June 18, 1878, Act of Congress prohibiting the use of federal troops in civil matters in the Territory without the express permission of the President, much of the following bloodshed might well have been averted.

John G. Riley (p. 139) should be John H. Riley.

But this type of error seems to be mostly confined to background information. In the development of the statehood theme, Doctor Larson evinces sound judgment and careful scholarship.

The book is voluminously documented with footnotes appropriately placed at the end of the text. Editing is skillful and the index fulfils all requirements. The bibliography is extensive and reflects thorough research. The book is printed in the usual able style of the University of New Mexico Press.

While many persons interested in the history of the Southwest will find this volume a welcome addition to their library, readers everywhere may well take note that here is a historical delineation which transcends regionalism and is worthy of the attention of a widespread audience.

Eagle Nest, N. M. VICTOR WESTPHALL

HISTORICAL ATLAS OF NEW MEXICO. By Warren A. Beck and Ynez D. Haase. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969. 62 maps, preface, bibliography, index. $4.95, hard back, $2.95, paper.

A PUBLICATION of this nature is always useful, and New Mexico has long needed a reference book of this type.

The use of state outline maps, with each topic treated as a unit on one or several maps, each with its own key, allows for quick reference and an uncluttered appearance. The subject matter of each map is briefly described on the page opposite. Reference material used to compile data for each map is listed in the back by map number, and the index follows.

The individual maps and topics cover broadly the usual subjects of geography, economics, history, and the like contained in most atlases of this type. For the most part, the data presented are factual and general in nature. Unfortunately, for interested readers of the *New Mexico Historical Review,* several of the historical maps present outdated or erroneous material. Cabeza de Vaca's escape route of 1536, from Texas to Sonora, is shown on Map 13 as passing through southern New Mexico, which many historians no longer accept. Map 14 portrays the routes of the Chamuscado-Rodríguez and the Espejo expeditions along the west side of the Rio Grande instead of through the Jornada del Muerto on the east side and shows the first of the two going too far to the north.

All of the nomadic tribes of 1541 shown on Map 15, with the exception of the Apaches on the Canadian River, whom Coronado's chroniclers referred to as Querechos, were not seen, referred to, or named until later in the 16th century. A number of the Pueblos visited in 1541-42 are not shown. One group in particular, the Jumanos, are always referred to as having lived on the Plains, not west of the Pecos as shown on this map. Map 16, showing the Indian pueblos of the period 1598-1692 and an inset covering the Pueblo Rebellion, lacks several Indian villages known to have been occupied during this period or to have taken part in the Pueblo Rebellion.

Map 17, the first towns established by the Spaniards, is quite misleading in that all shown, with the exception of Santa Fe, were existing Indian pueblos where the Spanish friars set up missions. Map 18, dealing with Spanish and Mexican Period expeditions of the late 1700's and early 1800's, fails to include those of Pedro Vial, several major expeditions into Navajo country, and campaigns into the Mescalero country and against the Comanches. Map 20, principal towns and roads about 1800, exhibits pueblos (not all of them) and only a few of the then occupied Spanish villages.

There obviously is need for correction on these as well as other maps where place names are incorrectly located, army camps omitted, roads not properly shown, etc. Better reflection of New Mexico's precipitation could be obtained by showing both the summer and winter, rather than the average annual, rainfall. If the principal towns and Indian pueblos as of 1847, based on the map drawn under order of General S. W. Kearny by Lts. W. H. Emory, A. W. Abert, and W. G. Peck, were shown between maps 24 and 25, the extent of settlement up to the American period would be more fairly portrayed.

If this atlas goes through another printing, it is to be hoped that it can be corrected and expanded to serve as a dependable reference. The occurrence of many errors in the current edition suggests that the University of Oklahoma Press could make use of some competent readers before publishing such material.

National Park Service ALBERT H. SCHROEDER
Santa Fe, New Mexico

MAURICE GARLAND FULTON'S HISTORY OF THE LINCOLN COUNTY WAR. Ed. by Robert N. Mullin. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1968. Pp. vi, 433. Illus., maps, index. $8.50.

THE LATE Maurice Garland Fulton, long-time Professor of History of New Mexico Military Institute, Roswell, gained a permanent place in New Mexico's Hall of Literary Fame when in 1927 he edited and annotated

The Macmillan Company edition of Pat Garrett's "The Authentic Life of Billy the Kid." Now, some forty years later Robert N. Mullin has achieved like stature following the publication of the Fulton manuscript, "History of the Lincoln County War." After his work on the Macmillan publication had terminated, Fulton continued independently to follow on the trail of Billy the Kid and attempt to find the answers to questions which had been raised in the course of editing the Garrett book. He followed Billy the Kid and the story of the Lincoln County War relentlessly and intelligently, deferring publication of his findings from time to time to run down one more clue, or to interview just one more old-timer while still living. The result was that Fulton gathered bushels of material, some reduced to written form, much of it in temporary notes. Death overtook Maurice Fulton before he finished his work. Fortunately for Fulton's stature as a historian and for posterity, the work of editing and annotating Fulton's manuscript was undertaken as a labor of love and devotion by Robert N. Mullin, long-time personal friend and correspondent of Professor Fulton, presently a resident of La Jolla, California.

Bob Mullin has been a student of the Lincoln County War for many years, the best informed man living today, in this writer's opinion, of the Lincoln town of 1887 and the Lincoln County War years. With a profound knowledge of Billy the Kid days and all their many ramifications, Bob Mullin went to work on the Fulton manuscript, not sparing the pruning knife or pliers where required. The result is a superb achievement, reflecting great credit on both Fulton and the editor of the manuscript. No definitive life of William H. Bonney now seems necessary, but if one is ever written it will be imperative for the author to refer to the Fulton-Mullin manuscript many times.

Albuquerque, N. M. WILLIAM A. KELEHER

NEW MEXICO IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, A PICTORIAL HISTORY. By Andrew K. Gregg. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968. Pp. viii, 196. Illus., bibliog., index. $7.50.

THIS is a comprehensive collection of nineteenth-century prints depicting New Mexico's landscapes, peoples, and assorted miscellanea, as folks back East saw them in the books and magazines of those times. They are most interesting and valuable in themselves, and certainly worth preserving in one volume. This book, however, contains too many faulty captions to make them accidental; what is worse, a WASPish flavor pervades the editorial comment throughout, negating the scholarship of Hispanists Bloom, Bolton, Hammond, Scholes, and others, which once raised high the standards of our State's main University Press.

Peña Blanca, N. M. FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ

NAVAJOS IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH RECORDS OF NEW MEXICO, 1694-1875. By David M. Brugge. Research Section, Parks and Recreation Department. The Navajo Tribe *Research Reports No. 1*: Window Rock, Arizona, 1968. Pp. xvi, 168. Illus., bibliog. $2.50.

ACCURATE AS IN ONE SENSE the title may be, David Brugge's monograph essentially is an analysis of the Indian slave trade in New Mexico, with especial attention to the Navajo nation, based upon some seven thousand baptismal and burial records gleaned from parishes in New Mexico and southern Colorado. More precisely, his study of the slave trade is so placed in context with other historical records that what he has achieved in fact is possibly the best and most penetrating ethnohistorical treatment of the Navajos that has seen print.

Research for this work was done while Brugge, an anthropologist, was associated with J. Lee Correll in the Land Claims division of the Navajo Tribe. The parish records, which he believes may represent a seventy per cent residue of a once available total, were indexed, variously sorted and coded. Because efforts of Franciscan fathers to gain converts on journeys among the so-called "wild tribes" were largely a failure, baptismal records of the various parishes very nearly all were of captive Indians—4,321 altogether, of various tribes which Brugge categorizes as "free" rather than wild. At the outset he admits a bias which, to any who may regard his findings and conclusions unpalatable, could be accepted as a challenge: it is his premise that Spanish and American colonizers were the aggressors in land disputes, and he rejects as not worthy of consideration any concept that Indians were bloodthirsty savages with innate desires to steal and kill. Having stated a position that one hundred years ago would have been sufficient cause to have hanged him, Brugge proceeds to document it.

The documentation, so important here, deserves a few words more. In addition to baptismal and burial records, Brugge has drawn mainly upon civil and military records of the Spanish and Mexican governments, found in the State Records Center and Archives at Santa Fe, and upon similar materials of the United States government obtained on microfilm from the National Archives in Washington during the land claims hearings. Although no mention of this is made in the monograph, the important translations from archaic Spanish are his own. A greater dependence is placed upon parish records (which in some cases are less specific than Brugge might have wished but which he seems to regard generally as reliable) than upon civil and military records; the three sources are compared and then correlated to achieve certain conclusions. Treaties are examined for what they might tell of release or exchange of captive slaves and these findings then related to baptismal records. Records of military

campaigns and sporadic slave raids (when documented) similarly are employed, although their use is limited pretty much to summary and synthesis, to chronological sequence and to causative factors—the *when* and *why* of aggression in the context of past and future—and end results: captives seized, persons killed, understanding lost.

Not surprisingly, a correlation is found between periods of hostility and baptisms of captives. Navajos accounted for most of these—1,623 from the 1690's through the 1870's, the 1860's alone showing 790 captives baptized and of these 159 in the peak year (1864) of the Carson campaign. Because parish priests frequently neglected to identify captives by tribe, and because of other discrepancies, Brugge offers a "conservative" estimate that 2,457 Navajos were held as captive servants in Spanish-American households during the 1860's. To this number he would add 1,000 more held either by non-Catholic whites or by other Indian tribes.

Brugge observes that acquisition of land was the principal cause of aggression during the Spanish period, motivating the Navajo wars of 1773-75 and 1804-05; that the taking of captives became a major objective during the Mexican period when "the whites had decided to conquer the Navajos as well as their land." He concludes, as others have done, that the system of seizing and selling Indian captives as slaves was a cumulative irritant that doomed any effort for peace. Attempts by American authorities to end the slave trade were never more than inept or half-hearted (Carson, with three Navajo captives, was in modest step with governors and other U.S. officials), and the traffic continued until about 1876.

In the final chapters Brugge examines the social attitudes determining the status of Indian captives, and from evidence available tells what is known of Spanish-Americans and Indians of other tribes held captive by Navajos. Some striking similarities are found, with exceptional Navajo willingness to permit eventual roles of significant importance to some Spanish-American males, Juan Anaya and Jesus Arviso most notably.

Several errors of interpretation or use of historical documentation were noted by this reviewer, but their importance is far overshadowed by the positive contributions of new materials and new insights that Brugge brings to an understanding of Navajo relationship to other tribes and other peoples in this period of Southwestern history. Possibly he is right when he suggests in his preface that no good history of the Navajos, other than a mere recounting of Navajo-White relations, will be written until a Navajo ethnohistorian comes along. But until such time Brugge's first major monograph will do; not nicely, not adequately, but admirably. This is an important work.

North Woodstock, Connecticut FRANK MCNITT

THE ALBUQUERQUE NAVAJOS. By William H. Hodge. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1969. Pp. viii, 76. Maps. $4.00.

THE CITIES of the United States have grown in large part as the result of receiving immigrants from most parts of the Old World, peoples of diverse nationalities, religions and races, some coming directly to the cities and others indirectly after initial settlement in rural areas or other parts of the New World. Often these immigrants have congregated in certain areas of the cities, forming segregated sections, ghettos, or, as in one New Mexican town, a "Chihuahuita," maintaining thereby a great deal of their original culture and ultimately enriching the cultural heritage of the entire nation. Only recently has the lure of the city attracted any significant number of American Indians, however. Compared with other migrations, this involves a very small number of people, for the total Indian population is only about a half million. The Indian migration is particularly interesting for social scientists, for most of the migrants are from tribes which have no urban tradition within their own cultural backgrounds. The increasing Indian populations and the limited economic potential of the reservations suggest that more Indians will have to choose city life in the future.

Hodge found that a study of the Navajos who have settled in Albuquerque involved simple physical obstacles. His subjects were scattered throughout the city and in nine months of work he drove over 10,000 miles. His map (Figure 3) clearly shows the scattered Navajo settlement pattern in the city, a pattern that would not be out of place on a similar map of a reservation community, even to the tendency for some clustering near the Indian school. The Albuquerque Navajos do not consider themselves a discrete community, however, and no single guide to all their dwellings could be found as would be true in a reservation community. Hodge describes a group of immigrants who do not fit many of the generalizations that might be applied to peoples of Old World backgrounds. The effort required by this study has been prodigious, but the results have been commensurate.

Hodge limits this study to a consideration of Navajo migrants to urban areas, having searched the literature for data on Navajo populations in other towns and cities and historical data on the development of Navajo settlement in Albuquerque for his comparative material. The most significant findings are those resulting from his own field work, for which he analyzed information relating to his informants' backgrounds and their lives at the time of his interviews.

The migrants could be divided into three categories on the basis of cultural orientation: permanent-resident, Anglo-modified, and traditional. Those in the permanent resident group formed a distinct minority. Most Navajos in the city maintained such strong ties, real or emotional, with the reservation that Hodge was able to define an "urban-reservation system"

as a more logical organizing principal than any based on group cohesion within the city. He describes in some detail the problems, successes and failures of various Navajos in each category in adapting simultaneously to an alien culture and an urban environment. The degree of success was considerably greater than might be expected under such conditions, but it is apparent that few of the migrants were very well prepared for the challenges they encountered. Navajo dissatisfactions seem often to have been the result of cultural orientations rather than lack of material success.

This monograph and Hodge's two earlier papers, which are listed in his bibliography, provide much basic data that will be of interest to students of urban and Indian matters and some stimulating theoretical problems worthy of further research. In addition, they contain solid observational reports that could guide BIA and tribal officials, particularly in education, in helping Indian children prepare for a way of life that many of them will be forced to choose. If the Navajos ever build cities of their own, as their current efforts to attract industry imply, the experiences of these pioneers in city life will be of great value to their people. Hodge's study provides an excellent record of their pioneering.

In conclusion, I should add a personal note. The study revives many memories of my own pleasurable associations with Albuquerque Navajos about a decade prior to the time Hodge did his field work. His data fit well my very informal observations of an earlier date, but also indicate progress by the Navajos in their urban locale and suggest that there are good grounds for optimism regarding whatever the future may bring.

Ganado, Ariz. DAVID M. BRUGGE

PASS OF THE NORTH. FOUR CENTURIES ON THE RIO GRANDE. By C. L. Sonnichsen. Texas Western Press: The University of Texas at El Paso, 1968. Pp. xiv, 468. Illus., bibliog., index. $10.00

ANY NEW BOOK by Dr. C. L. Sonnichsen is always welcome, and the present volume is up to his usual high standards of research and writing. For Dr. Sonnichsen, long-time resident of El Paso and distinguished professor at The University of Texas at El Paso, this book was undoubtedly a labor of love. El Paso is a unique city, with a long and varied history.

The ford across the Bravo del Norte, as the Spaniards called the Rio Grande, was visited by 16th-century expeditions several times before 1598, when Oñate and his colonists stopped there on the way to New Mexico. In the mid-17th century a mission was established near the river, and a Spanish-Indian community arose around it. Travelers between Mexico City and Santa Fe visited the mission, but the major event of El Paso's early

history was the arrival of the families that had survived the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

At El Paso the refugees met Fr. Francisco de Ayeta, who was bringing supply wagons to New Mexico. Ayeta had made a tremendous effort to save the province from destruction by the Indians. He brought horse herds from Durango to replace the cavalry mounts the Apache had stolen, and he had conducted several wagon trains to Santa Fe, but his efforts were in vain. With the aid of the Apache and Navajo the Pueblo tribes staged a carefully planned uprising. The two thousand survivors headed south, and Ayeta's supplies saved them. They settled in three towns not far from the mission.

Through its first three centuries of existence the community of El Paso was harassed by Apache and other Indian tribes. When Indian troubles subsided there was strife between the regular and secular clergy, and between military and civil officials. "The Indians were in the middle, pulled one direction by the civil authorities and pushed in the other by the priests" (p. 75). For Spaniard and Indian alike it was a hard life, a daily struggle for survival.

In the second half of the 18th century efforts to curb the Apache intensified. In the third quarter of the century about four thousand people were killed by enemy tribes in the northern provinces. For a time the Apache were dealt with by a Spanish officer named Hugo Oconor, so that by the early 19th century they were relatively peaceful.

The Indian menace was so great in the northern provinces that Spain invented a special administrative organization to cope with the tribes. This was the Commandancy General of the Interior Provinces. Unlike the captain general, whose duties and responsibilities were similar to those of the viceroy, the commandant general confined his attention to military affairs. The new organization could not overcome difficulties caused by lack of sufficient men and arms, but it made some progress toward pacifying the Apache.

The settlement at Paso del Norte grew slowly. Even before 1800 it boasted such harbingers of civilization as schools and a bridge across the river. In 1832 the first public school was established, and at the same time El Paso was elevated to the rank of villa.

In the first half of the 19th century the Apache swarmed over the northern settlements once more. The Mexican government began paying bounties for Apache scalps, and "barbering," or scalp-collecting, became a profitable if hazardous business, and Chihuahua became the "hair capital" of the Western Hemisphere.

In the decades between 1800 and 1850 El Paso became a well-known stopping place for East-West as well as North-South travelers. As a cross-

roads as well as a meeting place of different cultures, it became rapidly more cosmopolitan in character. "Its inhabitants," says Dr. Sonnichsen, "cut off from the rest of mankind for two hundred years, were conquered by foreign troops, inundated by gold seekers, tempted by the wares of Missouri traders, and infiltrated by marrying Americans. It was a revolutionary fifty years" (p. 100).

In 1807 Lt. Zebulon Pike saw El Paso when he was being conducted to Chihuahua as a prisoner. He noted that it was the "most flourishing" town he had seen. Soon there was a stream of Americans from the Missouri settlements, and El Paso's location at the main crossroads of travel in the Southwest soon gave the city a unique flavor. Unlike other Southwest towns where Anglo and Spanish Americans mingled, there were two constant streams into and through the town at the ford, and these newcomers meant that elements that had not yet been assimilated were always present. At the same time there were many Anglos who married local girls and happily became integral parts of the patriarchal society. Doniphan's Missourians occupied El Paso briefly during the Mexican War. Some men deserted to remain there, and others returned when the war ended. "After this there were two El Pasos, one Mexican and one American, but in spite of irritations and misunderstandings, the relations of the two peoples after 1846 were on the whole good, and sometimes warm and close" (p. 123).

The rest of the story—boom, bust, and bad men, then civilization—is equally fascinating. Life in El Paso has always been eventful, for if Apache Indians or bad men were not keeping things stirred up, the Rio Grande was changing its course. In 1867 it handed the United States a generous slice of Mexico, the Chamizal, which was finally returned nearly a century later. The story of El Paso is a special chapter in American urban history as well as in cultural amalgamation. It is a story well worth reading.

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