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Book Reviews

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ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY, CANYON DE CHELLY NATIONAL MONUMENT, ARIZONA. By David M. Brugge and Raymond Wilson. Washington: National Park Service, 1974. Pp. xiv, 309. Illus., maps, notes, bibliog., index, appendices. No price indicated.

BRUGGE AND WILSON provide a detailed administrative history of Canyon de Chelly National Monument. Their opening chapters utilize the meager sources available to outline the visit of whites to the area from the late eighteenth century until early in the twentieth century. By the latter date, Canyon de Chelly had attracted the attention of scientists, archeologists, and writers who recognized the value of the local prehistoric sites and artifacts. Despite severe vandalism by relic collectors and the threat of erosion damage to the ruins, federal officials waited until the early 1920s before seriously proposing to make Canyon de Chelly a national monument. This was finally achieved in February, 1931 when President Hoover signed legislation setting aside 131 square miles which included not only the canyon system but also the area along the rims.

As the authors repeatedly stress, the Canyon de Chelly National Monument has operated from the first under unique circumstances. The monument is located deep within the Navajo Reservation, and the 1931 legislation permitted the tribe to retain ownership of the land. The National Park Service (NPS), however, has operated the monument, overseen tourist visitations, constructed roads, trails, buildings, and other facilities, and regulated a privately-owned dude ranch located at the mouth of the canyon.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs has also been involved in monument activities, at least indirectly, because of education, medical services, and the other functions the agency provides. Local Navajos—living inside or near the monument—have frequently been affected by and have influenced monument administration. Finally, Navajos in general view Canyon de Chelly as sacred land intimately associated with their tribal religion.

The complex relationships between these interest groups has been central to the administration of Canyon de Chelly National Monument. Sources of friction cited by the authors include the Navajo Tribal Council's periodic disgruntlement with NPS control over the monument, difficulty in drawing an accurate boundary, the tribe's efforts to tax a trading post at the dude ranch, and the construction of roads and trails. Although these matters were important, informal cooperation also frequently characterized the interaction of the interest groups. NPS employees, for example, often provided transportation for sick Navajos, buried their dead, and assisted Indians marooned by blizzards. One gathers from the author's discussion that the benefits provided by NPS have roughly balanced the problems engendered by the unusual administrative arrangements.

The authors convey some excellent insights into Navajo affairs since 1931, the changing attitudes of tribal leadership, and even national Indian policy. Although the canyon was severely isolated by poor roads in the 1930s and visitation was consequently low, the "preservationist" Indian Commissioner John Collier attempted to discourage the attraction of white tourists, and to return the area to tribal control. With the rise of Indian nationalism and the Kennedy administration's encouragement of self-determination, a faction of councilmen demanded that the tribe assume control of the monument in the fall of 1962. NPS responded by returning Meredith Guillet as superintendent and permitting him to shape his administration in ways to assist local Navajos. While relations between NPS and the Navajos improved greatly under Guillet, the authors suggest in their concluding chapter that a tribal takeover remains a strong possibility.

In terms of scholarship, little fault can be found in Brugge and Wilson's treatment. They have used a wide variety of local, regional, and national records and footnoted their sources extensively. Both the bibliography and appendices are useful. While some interviews are cited, greater use of this type of materials might have been productive. The authors' writing style is clear and permits them to compress their information successfully. Their rigorous use of chronological organization creates problems of transition, but their study is far more readable than most government-sponsored publications.

In conclusion, Canyon de Chelly is a well-researched, detailed, and objective study of a national monument that has developed under highly unusual administrative conditions.

Purdue University DONALD L. PARMAN

BORDERLAND IN RETREAT: FROM SPANISH LOUISIANA TO THE FAR SOUTHWEST. By Abraham P. Nasatir. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976. Pp. x, 175. Maps, notes, bibliog., index. $12.00.

ONE ALMOST has to be a specialist on Byzantine intrigue to sort out the multitiude of competitors, interests, and plots involved in the history of Spanish Louisiana. As was so often the case in the late eighteenth century, however, Spanish policy was essentially defensive—the events were usually precipitated by others. Whether the current enemy was Britain, France, the United States, Indian tribes, or some private conspiratorial group of fur traders, settlers, or agents, Spain suffered from shortages of troops, lack of funds, outdated policies, and omnipresent bureaucrats. Despite all of these weaknesses, the Spaniards clung to their vast North American territories longer than might be expected given the power of the opposition. Although the frontier from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains was eroded by diplomatic settlements and the harsh realities of trader and settler pressures upon empty lands, Spain was not ejected until the victory of Mexican independence.

Abraham Nasatir brings to this complex subject the depth of experience required to present the broad overview. Half a century of research enables him to transcend the microscopic details which have sidetracked many historians. Here is the continental picture. The seven essays treat different frontiers or borderlands and examine how Spain reacted to increasing pressures between 1750 and 1820. Whether the frontier was located along the Lower Mississippi, the Upper Missouri, or in the land of the Santa Fe Trail, Nasatir stresses a number of common themes. Most important, the Spanish imperial government never really viewed its immense territories as anything but a defensive barrier or buffer to protect the kingdom of New Spain. Yet there were insufficient troops in the Mississippi Valley, Spanish Illinois, or in New Mexico to prevent the incursions of foreign traders and explorers. While foreign settlers were permitted to take up residence in the Mississippi Valley, their allegiance to Spain was often little more than a temporary expedient to gain lands or trading rights. More often than not, commerce fell to the British or American traders who used more aggressive

techniques, sold cheaper goods, and enjoyed the support of their home governments. Equally important, Spain's Indian policy suffered from shortages of funds to pay for gifts. Spanish traders who had to pay high taxes and transportation costs for lower quality goods found themselves in a disadvantageous position. Fortunately, the Indians often recognized the greater dangers posed by land-hungry American frontiersmen.

Without an aggressive settlement plan, Spanish Louisiana was bound to fall. Even with temporary victories resulting from the American Revolution, British traders continued to force the Spaniards out of the Upper Mississippi region. Nasatir describes how St. Louis became little more than a listening post in territory dominated by foreigners. Plans to expel the British and to create a string of forts westward to the Pacific came to nothing. By the 1790s, Spain's position was becoming increasingly untenable. Fear of an invasion from Canada, French Jacobinism, and the growing flood of suspect American settlers renewed anxieties about the safety of Texas, New Mexico, and New Spain. The Treaty of San Lorenzo Real (Pinckney's Treaty) in 1795 opened the Mississippi to American commerce and represented a major victory for the United States. Spain's shoe-string empire along the Mississippi began to crumble.

With the loss of Louisiana to France and then to the United States, the defenses of Texas and New Mexico took on renewed importance. Again, Nasatir combines his own research with that of other specialists to view the broad continental picture. American, British, and French Canadian competitors respected no frontier if there were profits to be made. Despite the explorations of Pedro Vial in opening routes to Santa Fe and exploring the region between New Mexico and Louisiana, Spain failed to implement an adequate defense policy. There was no money to secure Indian alliances, build forts, and hire soldiers. Cheaper trade goods and particularly muskets were available from the English and American traders. Finally, the Lewis and Clark expedition and the explorations of Zebulon Montgomery Pike demonstrated that Spain was overextended and unable to sustain a frontier far to the north of New Mexico.

Nasatir presents his subject in a clear and highly readable form. The use of independent essays adds clarity although there is occasionally some unnecessary repetition. The lack of footnotes will probably please some readers and annoy others. Since several of the essays are based upon extensive primary research, notes would have been useful. At times it is difficult to see whether some recent research has been incorporated into the author's interpretation. For example, Nasatir should have used Warren L. Cook's work when discussing the Spanish attempts to intercept the Lewis and Clark expedition. On more minor points, Luis de Onís is described as a Bona-

partist ambassador (p. 145)—which must have made him turn in his grave. Finally, while the book is well provided with maps and most attractive from the technical point of view, there are a number of typographical errors (pp. 68, 133, 143, 158, 168). These small flaws do not detract from the fact that this well balanced study is a major contribution and will be of great use to students of Borderlands history.

University of Calgary CHRISTON I. ARCHER

THE NAVAJOS AND THE NEW DEAL. By Donald L. Parman. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976. Pp. xx, 316. Illus., bibliog., index. $17.50.

MOST HISTORIANS of American Indian policy (as well as many Indians), consider the tenure of Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier (1933-1945)—the period of the so-called Indian New Deal—as one of the bright spots in recent race relations. But to the Navajos, then and now, the name John Collier is almost a swear word. The reasons for this enigma make up the body of this well-written book.

Parman has successfully undertaken the task of reviewing one of the most neglected aspects of modern Indian history. By analyzing both the Navajo experience during the New Deal and the actions of the reform-minded commissioner he has compiled an excellent narrative of the interactions of government and tribe. The result is an account of how Collier, a man extremely sympathetic to the preservation of Indian life and the author of the Wheeler-Howard Act (1934), attempted to bring the New Deal to the Navajo by reorganizing tribal government, improving education and medical care, encouraging arts and crafts, and beginning a program of soil conservation through stock reduction. Yet, Collier only succeeded in arousing the ire of the Navajo; because, as author Parman states, the idealism and passion for changing reservation life failed to take into account Indian sentiments on such issues as schools and their attachment to the stock-raising economy.

Although early opposition to the New Deal program came from the "progressive" Navajo leader J. C. Morgan, a man resenting any attempt to slow the old forced assimilation program, the real crux of the problem came with the stock reduction effort, an issue which Morgan eventually combined with his own anti-government stance to obtain the tribal chairmanship. The stock reduction still arouses bitter memories. Parman contends that the Collier plan was justified—the unregulated grazing of too many Navajo sheep severely harmed the range. Moreover, Collier planned to make up for the lost sheep by providing federal jobs and promising an increase in livestock prices once the range improved. However, the government

bungled the affair, causing most Navajos to react with a feeling that they were being forcibly deprived of their main source of livelihood. Collier seemed bent on destroying their traditional way of life. The reduction consequently had the effect of turning the Navajos against any government program, effectually crippling other plans for reservation improvement. This event destroyed the New Deal for the Navajos.

The book is well researched and organized, with chapters concerning all the New Deal programs. It is as fair as possible to both sides. Parman's sympathy is clearly with the government—he sees Morgan's opposition as an unfortunate event that worked against the best interest of the Navajos. Still, Collier emerges as no saint. He was a reforming idealist convinced his solutions would be readily accepted by the Indians. He gravely miscalculated by attempting a rapid change in the status quo and compounded his error by forcing unpopular programs. Like many reformers he discovered the large difference between theory and reality.

There are few problems with the book. Some might disagree with the defense of stock reduction, prefer to see more comparisons with tribal situations during the New Deal, or like more clarification of the operation of tribal government prior to 1934. Still these are very minor points and do not detract from this significant work. It is a must for all interested in Southwestern history.

Arizona State University ROBERT A. TRENNERT

FRIARS, SOLDIERS, AND REFORMERS: HISPANIC ARIZONA AND THE SONORA MISSION FRONTIER, 1767-1856. By John L. Kessell. Tucson: The University of Tucson Press, 1976. Pp. xvi, 347. Illus., maps, bibliog., index. $14.50.

THIS IS ESSENTIALLY the story of the continued invasion of Indian lands during the later period of Spanish Empire expansion, Mexican consolidation, and early American (United States) occupation. The official invaders were religious, military, and governmental administrators who represented the imperial aims of the Spanish metropolis. Mingling with them were prospectors, stockmen, farmers with their livestock and food plants; and ever present were the hidden invaders, disease germs and viruses.

The invaders could not fail ultimately to triumph because of their advantages in weaponry, through the power of their religious and political bigotry, and with their overall superiority in numerical strength which through the years would far exceed the Indian population of the vast, sparsely populated

region, especially when the factor of disease is considered. The wonder is that Indian resistance, covert and overt, could endure as long as it did. The tenacity and élan of the Apaches was especially remarkable. Yet, when one examines the victory of the "civilizing process" it is still true that traces of the original human and environmental nature of the region have survived.

The author has done an impressive job in detailing and organizing a century of developments in the northwest Mexico–southern Arizona–New Mexico region. He regrets the fact there are virtually no native sources for his account, but because he has so carefully examined and organized the contents of the documents left by the invaders it is possible for the reader to understand the overall sense of what happened after the Jesuit expulsion through to the beginning of the United States presence in the northern section.

The author has emphasized a biographical approach to his analysis; individuals until now nameless emerge as personalities. The detail is immense, sometimes overpowering; but such a use of facts is perhaps the way the author viewed his responsibility to the reader. The account is refreshingly free of the romanticism which has often created an aura of unrealism about the Southwest. As the author suggests, "nothing knocks a stereotype in the head so soundly as a dirty, eye-gouging fight among friars" (Preface, xiii).

The book is beautifully printed, and its content includes numerous maps and illustrations and extensive footnotes on the pages where they belong. A splendid bibliography and a detailed index complete the volume.

Berkeley, California THEODORE E. TREUTLEIN

PANHANDLE PILGRIMAGE: ILLUSTRATED TALES TRACING HISTORY IN THE TEXAS PANHANDLE. By Pauline Durrett Robertson and R. L. Robertson. Canyon Texas: Staked Plains Press, 1976. Pp. 369. Illus., maps, notes, bibliog., index. $12.50.

AS DEFINED in the book the Panhandle of Texas is composed of the twenty-six most northerly counties of the state. Comprising an area of approximately 25,000 square miles, the Panhandle is just about the same size as the state of West Virginia. Even so, this area, as large or larger than ten states of the union, represents less than ten percent of the land area of Texas.

As a small part of Texas located far from the population and power centers of the state, the Panhandle has received relatively little attention from professional historians. This neglect has been compounded by the fact that the Panhandle has only about one hundred years of recorded

history, making it a relative newcomer in comparison with other areas of the state. Professional historians have, in recent years, been giving more serious attention to the area as evidenced by the valuable book, *The Texas Panhandle Frontier*, published in 1973 by Professor Frederick W. Rathjen of West Texas State University.

Most of the history of the Texas Panhandle has been written by amateurs with an interest in local events. As is true in all areas, such history is very uneven. Some of it is as good as any professional could produce; some of it is so bad that it should not be mentioned.

This new book on the Panhandle was written by a husband-wife team that would be classified as one of the best of amateur productions. The authors' special training is in photography, but as this book proves they are also capable local historians.

Especially valuable is the very large collection of photographs in the book. Very few historical works have brought together so many illustrations on all phases of a region's history while, at the same time, providing a very thorough and complete narrative.

Weaknesses that might be mentioned are those usually associated with works by non-historians. Although the book includes a very complete bibliography, the text is not footnoted, thus limiting its use for scholars. Also, non-professionals are inclined to include material that may not be verifiable or to give equal credence and space to stories that are difficult to verify. Like so many books on the Southwest the emphasis is on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with only a modest amount of space devoted to the more recent part.

Despite the minor limitations, anyone interested in the Texas Panhandle or the Llano Estacado should consult this book. It will be useful to researchers and interesting to the general reader interested in the history of this region.

Eastern New Mexico University DONALD W. WHISENHUNT

SPANISH COLONIAL TUCSON. By Henry F. Dobyns. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1976. Pp. xi, 246. Illus., maps, notes, app., bibliog., index. $5.95 paper, $11.50 cloth.

AS A BOOK REVIEW is hardly the ideal place to discourse on the long debated relationship between form and content, Henry Dobyns' scholarly *Spanish Colonial Tucson* would hardly be an expected stimulus for such a discussion. Nevertheless, it is so. Dobyns admirably has brought together much hitherto unpublished material. He has contributed analysis and interpreta-

tion of his sources. The publisher has enclosed Dobyns' work between pleasingly colored covers. Left to the reader is the rest; a good deal of organization, interpolation, and adjustment before full understanding or appreciation possibly can be reached. Form mars content.

Reading historians rely on footnotes, the purpose of which is to provide readily information that is inappropriate to the text. In *Spanish Colonial Tucson,* notes are arranged in Part IV of the book, which is rather peculiarly entitled "Supplementary Data." Further listing indicates that such added attractions are the appendix ("Tables, Inventories, and Charts"), notes, bibliography, and index. Are any of these, but the praiseworthy compendium of statistics included in the appendix, supplementary?

Once the reader locates the "Notes to the Chapters" (following thirty pages of appendix), he is more than likely unable to find the information he seeks, if it be simple citation. Dobyns has chosen to use a footnote style seemingly devised to obfuscate rather than clarify. For example, a translated document on pages 118-119 of the text signed by Friar Pedro de Arriquibar on March 6, 1806 is noted with the number 30. On page 207 near the back of the book, note 30 appears. It reads "Arriquibar 6 de Marzo de 1806a." Repetition reinforces but does not edify. The persistent reader flips pages to the Bibliography, which is divided into sections called "Printed Works" and "Manuscripts." Arriquibar's name is located alphabetically, beneath which is found a chronological listing of his "manuscripts." The reader distinguishes between "Marzo 6 de 1806a" and "Marzo 6 de 1806b" (observing that dates are not written in Spanish in this manner), and finally arrives at the information sought some time ago. The document is to be found in "AGEMS," quickly deciphered through use of the abbreviation key. While searching for the location of the translated document, the reader cannot help but note that various notables wrote documents included in the Bibliography, such as "Carlos III, King of Spain," and his son, "Carlos IV, King of Spain," both of whom wrote many "manuscripts."

There are, then, numerous eccentricities to be found in the notes and bibliography, as well as in the other "Supplementary Data." Furthermore, there are stylistic traps in the text which ensnare the reader by detracting attention from content. The reader is assaulted by a minefield of expository explosives, such as one sentence in a chapter introduction (page 106) which contains no fewer than a dozen prepositional phrases. Translations tend to be awkward, Spanish surname usage is inconsistent, Native American-Indian terminology suffers confusion.

Dobyns' research has contributed to knowledge of the development and demography of Spanish Tucson. The University of Arizona Press has made possible the dissemination of Dobyns' valuable work. It is lamentable

that myriad typographical, grammatical, syntactical, and stylistic faults were not skimmed from the top of this quantitative study, so that the full flavor and quality of the cream might be savored.

Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History JANET R. FIREMAN

DESERT DOCUMENTARY: THE SPANISH YEARS, 1767-1821. By Kieran McCarty. Arizona: Arizona Historical Society, 1976. Pp. viii, 150. Illus., maps, index. Cloth, $9.50, paper, $5.00.

THIS short volume contains translations of Spanish documents related to the history of Southern Arizona from 1767 to 1821. Included in the collection are Juan Bautista de Anza's service record, an account of the 1781 Yuma Revolt by a woman survivor, and an interesting piece describing Sonora's contribution to the American Revolution as well as other military reports and records related to Tucson and Tubac. One of the most diverse items included is titled "Tucson's First Murder Trial," a fascinating account rich in social history. In general McCarty has produced a fine set of readable translations.

Lack of continuity between these assorted documents is the main weakness of the collection. Moreover, little thematic linkage exists among the selections, which are bound by their relationship to the history of Pimería Alta. Another small, but important, omission appears in the disregard for the Spanish form of letter writing. Missing from the translations are such essential elements as salutations, complimentary close phrases, abstracts of official correspondence, and indications, at least, of rubrics which graced each signature. Such elements not only serve to distinguish the Hispanic style but reveal much about Spanish culture and protocol. In addition to such paleographic problems, "modern Mexican–Americans" will not be pleased with McCarty's well–intentioned, but unnecessary, prefatory comments on what he believes to be the meaning of Aztlan. Still, despite these shortcomings, which are incidental to the translations, this volume is recommended.

University of Arizona JOSEPH P. SANCHEZ

CITIES ON STONE: NINETEENTH CENTURY LITHOGRAPH IMAGES OF THE URBAN WEST. By John W. Reps. Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1976. Pp. iv, 99. Illus., maps, notes, app. Softback $9.95, hardback $14.95.

JOHN REPS continues to enhance his reputation for quality contributions in presenting us with this genuine visual feast. Indeed, anyone interested in western urban history will cherish this attractive and important book. Over fifty of the finest nineteenth century lithograph images of the urban West grace its pages along with an informative introduction detailing not only the history of the process of lithography but also the lives and times of the artists and publishers involved.

Colorful panoramic views of many of the significant cities of the West are exhibited, including Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Sacramento, San Jose, Los Angeles, Dallas, Omaha, Butte, Fort Worth, Tacoma, Billings, San Antonio, Galveston, Houston, Tulsa, Santa Fe, Phoenix, Salt Lake City, and Portland. Many of the views include local scene vignettes around their edges, making them even more appealing. Reps points out that these city views were often used to publicize and promote the cities they depicted. Western railroads and city boosters in general, public and private, were quick to use them as advertising aids in speeding up the settlement of the urban West. Proud local leaders also prized them as "ornaments" for home, office, and official buildings.

Reps also notes that there were occasional mistakes and misrepresentations, but overall the views were quite accurate. They were subject to careful examinaton by local residents who wanted authentic portraits of their city and their property, one reason being their desire to protect themselves and their city from any error or exaggeration which could bring harmful criticism from irate newcomers or rival towns. Equally important was the reputation of the artists and their awareness that they would be judged by potential subscribers to their views in one city by past performances in other towns. Reps made comparisons with photographs of the time and he found that "even in the tiny buildings on the prints such matters as fenestration, roof types, porches, signs, chimneys, and dozens of similar architectural minutiae are rendered with faithful accuracy." There is no doubt, he concludes, that the views "truly convey the look of the urban West when the region was young and every town could dream of a glorious future."

The Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, should also be commended for the superb way in which it presented this delightful book. It is a work of art in every way, and hopefully it will find the admiring audience it deserves.

Arizona State University BRAD LUCKINGHAM

CHEROKEE SUNSET: A NATION BETRAYED. By Samuel Carter III. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976. Pp. xii, 318. Illus., maps, notes, bibliog., index. $9.95.

THE CHEROKEE INDIANS, a people native to the southern Appalachians, have attracted as much scholarly and journalistic attention as any North American tribe. The broad outlines of their history between 1787 and 1839, as a consequence, are reasonably well-known. During these years the Cherokees made remarkable religious, linguistic, literary, legal, economic, and political progress. Despite these accomplishments, they were pressured by Georgia and national officials to remove from their homeland. Early on the tribe was united in its efforts to resist removal, but a series of dramatic circumstances prompted a minority led by the Ridge and Boudinot-Watie families to sign in December, 1835, the Treaty of New Echota which committed the tribe to migrate west of the Mississippi. Thereafter in 1838 occurred the Cherokee "Trail of Tears" and in the following year the brutal assassination of three of those who had signed the removal treaty. Based upon secondary and some well-known primary sources, *Cherokee Sunset* retells this largely familiar story, presumably from the Indians' point of view. It is a well-written account, and for those who seek a general introduction to Cherokee history, it can be read with a good deal of profit.

Yet the book should be approached with some caution. Restricted to the Cherokee alone, it leaves the erroneous impression that they were the only native peoples to make civilized advances and that the removal policy was fashioned for their special benefit. In fact, however, the Cherokee syllabary was not "unparalleled in American Indian history (p. ix)" nor was the treaty of New Echota the "most outrageous (p. 190)" of its kind. Moreover, the book's unrestrained sympathy for John Ross and his resistance to removal reinforces a popular misconception concerning the chief's bigger-than-life image. The 4,000 deaths—25 percent of the emigrant population —resulting from removal must, of course, be ultimately attributed to the government. Yet it is also true that other tribes suffered an equally traumatic removal without the high casualty rate. The difference was that their chiefs did not resist the inevitable, insist that the date of departure be postponed from Spring to Fall, or reject the good offices of the government in organizing the actual removal process.

If *Cherokee Sunset* is read an introduction to the tribe's history, then, it is recommended. If it is viewed as an authoritative account of those years preceding removal, however, it should be read only in conjunction with other recent studies of the tribe.

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville W. DAVID BAIRD