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Book Reviews

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ON THE COVER

CCC ENROLLEES MEASURE ANTLER SPREAD AT HIGHROLLS CAMP, 1939
(Photograph by F. W. Johnson courtesy USDA Forest Service, Southwestern Regional Office, Albuquerque, FS# 388592)

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Sonora in 1771

HARD TIMES OR AN INVESTOR'S PARADISE?

David Yetman

In late August or early September 1771, two Franciscan priests from the Sonoran missions of Cucurpe and Opodepe arrived in the city of Durango.[1] They met there with the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Joseph Faini (or Fayni), probably at his request.[2] Faini was so taken with what the friars had to say about social conditions in Sonora that he requested them to relate their account in the presence of a scribe (see Appendix). First, however, he dictated an introduction to their testimony in which he entreated them to state "whether accounts are true of the state of prosperity in Sonora according to pamphlets being circulated in Mexico on the 17th of July 1771 . . . [and] the actual events that have taken place [in Sonora], even if they are not as grand as those painted by the pamphlets now being circulated [in Mexico City]. They would not have escaped your ears and eyes, you being padres on the ground during the time the events actually took place, and it would help me greatly if you would satisfy my desire and inform me about the events in full detail."[3] The priests, referred to in the documents as Frs. Antonio Canales and Antonio Reyes, agreed most willingly to Governor Faini's request.

The author thanks Fr. Kieran McCarty, O.F.M., who provided several suggestions concerning the background of Franciscans in Sonora, and Abigail Sotelo who assisted in translations. David Yetman is Research Social Scientist at the University of Arizona Southwest Center in Tucson. Among his numerous books is *The Guarijios of Northwestern Mexico: Hidden People of the Sierra Madres*, A University of Arizona Southwest Center Book, ed. Joseph C. Wilder (University of New Mexico Press, 2002).

Faini used the priests' dramatic testimony to underscore what he viewed as the disturbing reality of life in Sonora. Their account differed considerably from the glowing conditions described in printed documents then being circulated by high officials in Mexico. As governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Faini knew that security in Chihuahua and Durango was tenuous. Often documenting the results of Apache and perhaps Comanche raids, he was determined to set the record straight in Mexico City and Havana about the state of affairs in the Northwest. The report of the Sonorans was most helpful to his cause.

Faini appears to have forwarded the priests' testimony and other documents to Julian Arriaga, minister of the Indies, in Havana, Cuba. Apart from José de Gálvez, who as *visitador general* (inspector general) reported directly to Spanish king Carlos III, Arriaga was the top-ranking representative of the Crown in the New World. This was not the first time Faini had gone straight to the top, for, in a similar letter (missing) of 11 July 1771 to Arriaga, he enclosed a testimonial from Pedro Antonio Queipo de Llano, chief magistrate of Chihuahua and also a person of some consequence in Sonora. Queipo de Llano described "the anguish that has been caused by the inexplicable increase of continued outbreaks from barbarians in that part of the land [Sonora] and dreadful damages to miserable mule drivers, vendors of goods and supplies, and other unhappy souls who hoping to find life instead find death."[4]

The document containing the friars' testimony bears a notary's seal, lending an air of authority to the letters and to Faini himself. His preface further notes the many travails suffered by Sonorans in 1771 due primarily to the "apostate Seris, Piatos, and Sibúpapas who for a long time have afflicted this very province."[5] A third document in the folio is an unsigned summary of the second, perhaps written by Faini.

The scribe noted that he was preparing copies and reserving the original for Faini, who apparently sent it to Arriaga. The governor may also have sent copies to his superiors, including Visdr. Gen. José de Gálvez, the symbol of Bourbon Reforms in New Spain. In a separate document, Faini reported an Apache attack near Chihuahua in July 1771: several hundred horses were stolen and at least a dozen colonists killed. Clearly, Faini was on a mission to discredit promoters of speculative investment in the Northwest.[6] The references to the paucity of gold were aimed at profiteers and speculators—hucksters in Faini's view—who spread tales of gold so abundant that it covered the ground.

In 1765 Gálvez had been named by King Charles III as *visitador general de Nueva España*. His principal task was simple: enhance the volume of revenues flowing into the Royal Treasury. To accomplish this charge, Gálvez had to address directly the impediments to increasing the king's income. One of the chief blockages was the seemingly incessant loss of life and property resulting from Native uprisings in northwest New Spain, namely Sonora and Nueva Vizcaya. Once these rebellions were quieted, orderly development could occur, Gálvez believed, especially in the mining sector, which was the most lucrative source of revenue for the Crown.

The documents that Faini forwarded to Arriaga were a direct slap at Gálvez. In a letter written around the same time, Faini described losses to Apache attacks in Chihuahua. His language was blunt and his mission was successful. Arriaga ordered the Viceroy Marques de Croix to find out what was really happening in Chihuahua, a reality "so opposed to what on these same dates Visitador General Don José de Gálvez is saying about the province of Nueva Vizcaya."[7] The visitador general had widely proclaimed that the Spanish had broken the back of indigenous resistance in Sonora and orderly capitalist development could now take place. The only hindrance left was the Apache nuisance. The fact that Faini chose to bypass his immediate superior suggests that the governor, who was widely respected among his contemporaries, smelled a rat and doubted that Gálvez, a known economic promoter, would take his message seriously. In describing the two dreadful months of 1771, the friars Canales and Reyes highlighted Sonoran political and social turmoil that Gálvez appeared either to be unaware of or chose to gloss over.

The two Franciscans had presided over their missions for less than three years. Jesuits were expelled from New Spain in 1767, and it was mid-1768 before Franciscan friars, whom the Crown called on to replace the Blackrobes, arrived in Sonora. Historians know little about Fr. Canales except that he made his way by land from Mazatlán to Sonora and that, by mid-summer 1768, he was comfortably installed as priest at Opodepe. Fr. Reyes, also known as Fr. Antonio de los Reyes and a prolific writer, forwarded extensive reports to Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli in Mexico City. Reyes's correspondence noted the deplorable conditions in the formerly prosperous missions and the continuing attacks by Natives, primarily Apaches. Appalled by Spanish aggression toward peaceful indigenous communities, Reyes complained, "The good lands, which lie some distance to the north, have been appropriated and settled by twelve or thirteen white

families, who are established on a ranch, properly called 'El Realito.'"[9] Later, he would express outrage at the clumsy and inefficient administrative system the Franciscans had adopted.

Visitador General Gálvez, who had been instrumental in ordering the Jesuits' expulsion, had ordered the missions stripped of their lands, limiting their assets to the actual buildings on the property. He put up the former communal lands for grabs by colonists. Deprived of the income from crops and livestock in their mission fields and pastures, the missionaries became desperate for funding to support their work among Native congregations. Gálvez also split the Sonoran missions into two ecclesiastical provinces. The Pimería Alta, roughly northeastern Sonora, which included the Opatan missions of Cucurpe and Opodepe, were henceforth to report to the Colegio de Santa Cruz de Querétaro, while the remainder of Sonora, including the Opatería minus Cucurpe and Opodepe, would lie under the jurisdiction of the Province of Santiago de Jalisco in Guadalajara.[10] This division was based on the ability of the jurisdictions to fill the mission vacancies left by the departed Jesuits. Gálvez's administrative move proved clumsy, and some Franciscan priests in the Opatería offered spirited protests, complaining that they had been instructed to perpetuate the conversion of Indians, but had no tools with which to carry on.[11] The friars Canales and Reyes may have thus joined Faini's axe grinding with Gálvez on this count. A decade later, Fr. Reyes was appointed the first bishop of Sonora, making the story more complicated indeed.

Three decades of indigenous conflicts to 1771

In 1771 the province of Ostimuri bounded Sonoran territory on the south. Yaquis and Mayos, chronic troublemakers for the Spanish, lived mostly in Ostimuri. Although they were proving tough adversaries to Spanish domination, at that time they were not *Sonoran* rebels. The Sonoran frontier in 1771 began in the south roughly at the north and west bank of Río Yaqui and in the north ended somewhere vaguely near the Gila River. Sonora was bounded on the east, as it is today, in the mid-Sierra Madre by the province of Nueva Vizcaya, which included what are now Chihuahua and Durango, and on the west by the Sea of Cortés.

The indigenous Sonorans—*barbarians*, *enemies*, and *rebels* as Spaniards labeled them—involved in challenging Spanish and clerical rule were Apaches, Piatos, Seris, Sibúpapas, and Upper Pimas. Mayos and Yaquis were

celebrated fighters and resisters of Ostimuri, but were not involved in the incidents recounted during the two months of hostilities in 1771. Opatans, though initially Sonora's largest indigenous group, had never offered organized resistance to the Spaniards but only sporadic flare-ups of protest and isolated regional rebellions. Currently, they were preoccupied with helping Spaniards repel Apache attacks that were devastating Opatan towns.

The early colonizers of Sonora included the clergy and a variety of Spaniards and their mixed offspring. The first European priests had arrived permanently in about 1628,[12] and colonists came by 1641.[13] Both groups found much of Sonora to their liking, especially the fertile valleys of the Opatería, which included the rivers known today as the San Miguel, the Sonora, the Moctezuma, and the Bavispe. Some colonists hoped to build small fiefdoms in rich Sonoran soil and pastures. Others sought to pry wealth from the ground in the form of gold and silver, both of which appeared to be abundant.

In Sonora, indigenous resistance to Spaniards, though widespread and often violent, was sporadic and disorganized. Sonora escaped the well-planned violence of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, although Spaniards claimed to have uncovered an Opatan conspiracy in 1681. Had it gone undetected, the uprising could have proved similarly devastating.[14] A revolt of Upper Pimas in 1695 destroyed some villages but was quickly brought under control by Spanish authorities. Beginning in Ostimuri in 1740, three decades of hostilities tested the Spanish will to remain in the region. These uprisings and those of 1771 were thus only the latest episodes in a long history of Native unrest. However, these latest attacks on the settlers and their associates destabilized Sonoran society, delayed the religious agenda of the recently arrived Franciscans, and, worst of all from Gálvez's standpoint, threatened the king's revenues from gold and silver extraction—his royal *quinta* (fifth) of the take and the sales taxes generated by strong economies associated with thriving mining industries.

Some indigenous hostile actions in 1771 may have been coordinated, but most were probably autonomous guerilla-type assaults. Others, especially those of the Apaches, were small raids intended to provision their bands. Other attacks would be considered military or guerilla resistance (from the indigenous standpoint) or terrorist attacks (from the colonists' standpoint).

Sonora in 1771 was already war-weary from several decades of uprisings and armed attacks. The revolt of 1740 against Spaniards, led primarily by Yaquis but joined broadly by Mayos and Lower Pimas, had left more than one thousand Spaniards dead and approximately five thousand Indians killed.

The roots of the revolt, though complex, involved predictable grievances, primarily Spanish appropriation of aboriginal lands, encroachment into Native fields, and mistreatment of Indians by clerics. The fighting had spilled over from Ostimuri into Sonora, where at Tecoripa (in Pima Bajo [Lower Pima] country) the allied indigenous forces had suffered huge losses. Spain's strategic losses were also massive. Ostimuri, the mineral- and farm-rich region between the Mayo and Yaqui rivers, was virtually cleared of non-Natives, including priests, and its lucrative mines were shut down.[15] Although Spanish authorities had generally put down the rebellion, they had inflicted no decisive defeat and exacted no wholesale surrender of the indigenous forces. Indeed, the Yaquis and Mayos did not view themselves as vanquished. They would live to fight another day, some eighty-five years later, after they had become annexed into Sonora.

The Upper Pima uprising of 1751, led by Luis Oacpicagigua, better known as Luis of Sáric, was a brief and ferocious outburst in which more than one hundred Spaniards were killed in the fighting and associated assassinations. The rebellion lasted little more than a month. Although the revolt appeared to attract little in the way of widespread support among other Upper Pimas, it made Spaniards jittery and caused them to reconsider their overall policies towards Native peoples. They established the presidio of Tubac to keep an eye on the Pimas as well as Apaches. Even with the added military presence, Upper Pimas continued sporadic acts of resistance against Spaniards and colonists.[16]

The Mountain Pimas of Ostimuri (in what is now eastern Sonora) rebelled in 1769, attacking most towns east of the Río Yaqui—Maycoba, Nuri, Ónavas, Tarachi, and Yécora.[17] It is unclear whether their hostilities extended into Sonora, but they were a constant threat at Sonora's eastern borders.[1]

Even more threatening were raids and attacks by Seris and Sibúpapas who holed up in the Cerro Prieto (now the Sierra Libre), a long, convoluted, north-south trending volcanic range south of Hermosillo. The Seris' anti-Spanish hostility had a specific origin: after repeated violent clashes with Spanish forces, they had been relocated from their traditional homelands on the coast to the inland Río San Miguel, where they agreed to farm the lands offered to them in return for renouncing raiding. Once the Seris developed the agricultural potential of these farmlands, Spanish colonists, who generally mistreated the Seris, found their level, fertile fields much to their liking. In 1748 the colonists managed to have Seris forcibly evicted and appropriated their lands for themselves. The Seris, never enthusiastic agri-

culturalists anyway, responded by resuming their raiding on a more intense scale. They found adequate water, edible plants, and sufficient wildlife in the torturously rugged Cerro Prieto, where they were joined by a nearly equal number of Lower Pimas called Sibúpapas. For nearly twenty years from 1750 to 1769, these allies disrupted commerce along the north-south route of Sonora, attacking from their impregnable redoubts in the Cerro Prieto. Their raids made settled life nearly impossible in the Pitic (Hermosillo) region and on the lower Río Sonora. No traffic in the lower part of the province of Sonora was safe from their attacks.

The two groups were dislodged only through the largest military campaign ever carried out in Spanish colonial Sonora.[19] The campaign, which lasted three years from 1767–1769, involved more than one thousand troops under the command of Col. Domingo Elizondo, a favorite of the visitador general, who had ambitious designs for Sonora. After numerous failures and setbacks, Elizondo adopted search-and-destroy tactics and was able to demoralize and eventually dislodge the Seris and Sibúpapas. He undertook lesser actions to the north and appeared to have "pacified" aggressive Piatos and Pimas as well. By late 1770, Elizondo was convinced that his campaign had ended the threat to Spanish domination posed by Sonoran indigenous groups. In early 1771, he returned with his Expeditionary Force to Mexico City.[20] The events of 1771 showed his optimism to be premature.

Apaches were even more of a threat than Seris. During the mid-eighteenth century, they demonstrated their capability of raiding nearly anywhere in Sonora, even as far south as Ostimuri, but their actions were most devastating in the northern and eastern portions of Sonora. By 1742 they had forced the abandonment of the mission towns of Cuchuta and Terucachi in the shadow of the Presidio of Fronteras.[21] In 1751, after seemingly unending attacks, the Sonoran capital at San Juan Bautista, a mining town near present-day Cumpas, was abandoned.[22] Apache attacks during the 1760s forced the abandonment of most mines in the northern and eastern portions of the province.[23] At times Apaches joined Seris in attacking Spanish settlements and travelers.[24] Apaches raided Fronteras itself, stealing many horses and cows. As devastating as these attacks were, the worst depredations by Apaches were to come later.

The outbreak of hostilities in early 1771 seemed not to follow any pattern. In March, only a month before the attacks, Elizondo, flush with victory over the Sonoran rebellions, had announced that the province would now enjoy peace.[25] The spate of violence occurred during a time when heated

discussions were taking place among Spanish authorities as to how best to treat the supposedly conquered Piatos, Pimas, Sibúpapas, and Seris. Some authorities argued for deportation of any Natives who had been involved in uprisings—a measure the Mexican government adopted over a century later during the *porfiriato*.[26] Others wanted to prohibit them from owning any sort of arms or livestock. Colonel Elizondo appears to have counseled a more conciliatory course, arguing against confiscating all arms and horses from the vanquished. Such deportations had been one of the bases of Seri uprisings in the first place. Precluding them from owning horses would simply encourage them to raid and steal in order to obtain horses.

Elizondo's triumph and Sonoran unrest

Elizondo appears to have stood by his preferences for the treatment of conquered indigenous peoples and departed from Sonora with his dragoons, arriving at Mexico City on 12 August 1771. The viceroy Marques de Croix in Mexico City accepted his recommendations and added that the conquered peoples would be furnished with land and livestock, provided that they in turn accepted a sedentary life and accommodated missionaries among them.[27] Half-heartedly at least, the Piatos, Pimas, and Sibúpapas agreed to the terms. For the most part, the Seris did not. Once before, they had accepted Spanish promises only to see their land and livelihood stolen by colonists.

After Elizondo's pronouncements and words of magnanimity, the theft of his horse and saddle must have been especially galling. That the priests Canals and Reyes would mention it in their letter to Governor Faini underscores the political nature of their testimony. Bringing the rather trivial occurrence to the attention of high officials of the Crown could only underscore the tenuous nature of the so-called peace that Elizondo (and his backers Croix and Gálvez) had claimed to achieve. If the rebels were bold enough to steal the horse and saddle of the commander of the Spanish forces, Sonora could hardly be considered a safe place where the Native peoples had been "pacified."

Neither the events of April and May 1771 in Sonora nor those of later months in Chihuahua noted by Faini appear to have shaken the confidence of either Croix or Gálvez, or perhaps they were deaf to them. Gálvez conceived of Elizondo's costly campaign as part of a general Europeanization of Sonora. Now that the Seris and Sibúpapas had been crushed, Gálvez

believed, the Crown could focus attention on defeating the Apaches, and within months Sonora would become safe for investment, development, and full Europeanization. On reaching Mexico City in early 1771, Gálvez went so far as to promote a joint stock company, a partnership of the Crown and private investors, who would purchase shares in developing the mineral wealth of Sonora. In July Croix and Gálvez shored up their sales pitch by publishing a pamphlet, *Brief News of the Military Expedition to Sonora and Sinaloa, Its Happy Success and the Advantageous State in Which as a Consequence of the Expedition Both Provinces Find Themselves*.[2] This hyperbolic document announced the Crown's intention to create an expanded line of presidios designed to protect the province from Apache attacks. The authors boasted that no Apache attacks had taken place in Nueva Vizcaya for three months, a claim that Faini disputed.[29] Indeed, apart from the documents submitted by Faini, the pamphlet made no mention of the numerous hostilities, except for Apache raids. Croix and Gálvez viewed Native resistance as nothing more than a few brief, isolated incidents, the mischief perpetrated by maverick remnants of indigenous forces. As for the Apaches, the Marques de Croix announced the creation of a commandant inspector to counter their raiding, a task assigned to Hugo O'Conor.[30] Responding enthusiastically, he aggressively pursued Apaches for six years, with mixed results.

Faini, Canales, and Reyes seemed intent on undermining the optimism of Gálvez and Croix. Headquartered on the frontier, all three had much closer contact with the realities of life in the northwest of New Spain, and Faini seemed doggedly determined that the Crown should appreciate the grave risks confronting the colonists who hoped to settle there and the financiers who might be lulled into making bad investments based on exaggerated advertising. He made a personal mission of deflating the wave of speculation fever that Gálvez sought to create. Five years later, the apocalypse seemed to descend on Sonora; brutal attacks by Apaches and ongoing warfare from Seris vindicated Faini's pessimism, at least in the short term.

Gálvez's capitalization scheme failed completely. Several years later, Viceroy Antonio Bucareli reported that not a single businessman had stepped forward to purchase stock. Whether word of Sonoran hostilities achieved general circulation, thanks to Faini's and the priests' documents, or whether the plan just appeared unsound, no capital was raised and the company never got off the ground.[31] Bucareli was never convinced by Gálvez's view of Sonora. At Arriaga's urging, he took Faini's warnings seriously and assigned major resources to O'Conor to bolster his anti-Apache campaigns.

The most intriguing aspect of this frontier saga was the role played by Antonio Reyes. After his departure from Durango in 1771, the friar composed numerous and lengthy reports on Sonora. In a 1774 *informe* (report)—quite contrary to his earlier 1771 protestation—he declared: "It is incredible, Your Excellency [Viceroy Bucareli], for all who have not experienced it, the immense quantities of gold and silver that have been and continue to be produced in this province of Sonora. One can say without hyperbole that all of its terrain is one continuous mine of silver and fount of gold, commonly called placers."[32]

The indignant cleric of 1771 was ordained bishop of Sonora in 1782 with the blessing of José de Gálvez, the megalomaniacal inspector general whose plans for Sonora the priest Reyes had helped undo. But why would Reyes testify before a scribe that promoters had exaggerated the amount of gold in Sonora and then only three years later speak as though he were a promoter himself? Reyes proved to be a most ambitious, headstrong, imperious, and vain bishop. Perhaps, consistency was a quality he little valued.[33]

Ultimately though, Elizondo, Croix, and Gálvez were proved mostly right. The expedition of 1767 *had* broken the back of Sonoran resistance. The Apaches were far from vanquished, Seris would re-ignite their conflict, and the wars of the Yaquis and Mayos would keep Sonora in ferment for more than another century. Despite the ferocity of those conflicts, Spanish settlers managed to survive in great numbers. The mine at Cieneguilla revived in 1803, and other gold mines opened or reopened as well, with many Spaniards becoming wealthy. The population of nonindigenous Sonorans expanded while that of Natives shrank. By 1800 two-thirds of the inhabitants of Sonora were nonindigenous, a proportion double that of forty years earlier.[34] The well-intentioned efforts by Faini, Canales, and Reyes failed to slow the imperial momentum of Spain on the northern frontier of New Spain.

Appendix

N.b.: Reprinted below is the document dictated by Gov. Joseph Faini and Frs. Antonio Canales and Antonio Reyes in Durango, Nueva Vizcaya, on 11 July 1771. Faini's ceremonial preface is one long, rambling sentence typical of Spanish bureaucratic style in the eighteenth century. The English translation attempts to capture the flavor of the governor's instructions to the friars, whose dictated account of conditions in Sonora follows his preface.

Your reverences Antonio Reyes and Antonio Canales:
Dear sirs: We have received notification of the arrival of Your Reverences to this city on returning from the missions of the Province of Sonora to the College of faith of Santa Cruz de Querétaro and needing to be informed by Your Reverences, due to the length of your stay in the abovementioned missions, and deeming you well informed of the progress of the might of our Lord King against the barbarous Indians and principally the apostate Seris, Piatos, and Sibúpapas who for a long time in those parts have caused such distress in that very Province, if those peoples have truly been reduced and pacified and, if consequent to this and to the [military] operations which the troops assigned to this [Elizondo] expedition have carried out, fabulous riches in gold placers have been discovered in line with all the admirable details with which the public has been furnished in a pamphlet printed in Mexico City the seventeenth of June of this year, which I suppose Your Reverences have heard about, making a fair comparison of these reports with the actual events, which, although they may not be so high sounding as those painted by the published documents, will not have been hidden from Your Reverences' ears and eyes, being as you were on the ground at the time these things were happening, if you can endure the bother of satisfying my desire, informing me about everything in great detail. Let your news provide all, with the candor that I know I perceive in Your Reverences' zeal and religious love. In doing so you will serve both our King and our God, and will fulfill my intentions as well. May God our Lord grant Your Reverences many years in accordance with your desires.

Durango, third of September 1771.
Your faithful servant, Don Joseph Fayni.

[Frs. Canales's and Reyes's account]

It is not possible in this brief letter of response to satisfy perfectly the desire of your grace. The 17th of May of the present year [1771] when we departed from the missions of Cucurpe and Opodepe,[35] the most interior and frontier towns of Sonora gentility, the inhabitants were experiencing the most unfortunate and unhappy times, ever harassed by rebellious Pimas, Seris and ferocious Apaches. In the month of April when the Expeditionary Troop was arranging its withdrawal and return to Mexico City,[36] a party of Pimas attacked some Spaniards, vecinos, and Indians en route from the gold fields

of Cieneguilla[37] to their homes in Opodepe and Nacameri[38]; the enemy killed four of ours, who were then buried in the church of Opodepe, and two days earlier they buried two others whom the enemies killed near the town of Nacameri. In the same month of April Pimas attacked and killed two vecinos of the mission and town of Cucurpe near the spring called Arituava[39] who were returning from the same placers. On the 24th of May, one day before our arrival at the pueblo of Tónichi,[40] Pimas or Seris killed an Indian [probably an Opatan or Nébome][41] near Tónichi, and in nearby San Antonio de la Huerta[42] they carried off all the livestock, while in Tecoripa[43] they stole the mission oxen.

Even the Expeditionary Troop was not free of attack in those days of rebel invasions. In Carrizal de San Marcial[44] the rebels [presumably Sibúpapas and Seris] mounted a surprise attack on the troop. They stole the troop's herd of horses and even stole the saddled horse of the distinguished Comandante Don Domingo Elizondo.

The enemy Apaches never have been more arrogant and bloody than in those two months of April and May. On the road up and down the Río de Sonora five or six leagues from the town of Ures[45] and twenty or twenty-five leagues from the garrison at Pitic[46] where the troop was stationed, Apaches attacked a platoon of riflemen of the company of Don Antonio Pol, who was escorting the King's herd of horses. The enemies killed the sergeant and two riflemen, carried off two muleteers, and made off with sixty-six mules. At around the same time they [Apaches] assaulted the parish priest of Ququiárachi[47] who was traveling to administer confession. They killed three of the party and made off with four of his escort and the padre sustained two arrow wounds. A few days earlier they killed three Spaniards who had departed Bacanuchi for the town of Chinapa.[48] In the presidios of Fronteras[49] and Tubac toward the end of April and early May they stole two herds of horses and killed several soldiers and vecinos. Finally, sir, it would be a bothersome narrative to relate all the misfortunes that took place in the Province of Sonora in the referred to months of April and May that were the last of our stay in that Province.

Of the placers and discoveries of gold at Cieneguilla we must relate that the first who made possible this discovery were Spaniards, vecinos, and Indians from the missions and towns of our administration, and after three weeks or a month [the prospectors] came saying they had recovered [only] some fifteen pesos, others thirty, some eighty, another one hundred, and some none, one or another lucky one who found one or two grains of sixty

and eighty pesos and one of nine marks. When we departed people were returning to their towns because there is no water at Cieneguilla to work the land, not even any to drink. The placer mine of Cornelio, at some distance from Opodepe, has, to our knowledge yielded only a half or one real, that with a mining pan, and for others, nothing. Of Aguas Frías we have no information, nor have we heard during our years of residence, any report of discovery [of gold] in our absence. It is true that a lot of gold has been taken from Cieneguilla, but not in the abundance and ease that we have heard about here.[50]

Notes

1. Cucurpe and Opodepe were Eudeve (Opatan) towns. They still flourish on the Río San Miguel, which lies east of Mexico route 15 and roughly parallels it from south of Santa Ana nearly to Hermosillo, where it joins the Río Sonora.
2. Nueva Vizcaya was the Spanish name given to the territory roughly equivalent to contemporary Chihuahua and Durango.
3. Gov. Joseph Faini, Preface to account by Frs. Antonio Canales and Antonio Reyes, notarized document, Durango, 11 July 1771, Guadalajara 512, Archivo General de Indias, Seville [hereafter AGI].
4. Pedro Queipo de Llano, Testimonial, [n.p.], [n.d.], Guadalajara 512, AGI.
5. Archival documentation of the correct pronunciation of Sibúpapas is unclear. Franciscan historian Fr. Kieran McCarty has assured me that the antepenultimate accent is correct. Governor Faini to Min. Julian Arriaga, Durango, 11 July 1771, Guadalajara 512, AGI. Piatos were Upper Pimas living in the vicinity of Pitiquito and Caborca. Friars Canales and Reyes suggest that the name is a contraction of Pimas Altos. See Frs. Antonio Canales and Antonio Reyes, Testimony, Durango, 4 September 1771, Guadalajara 512, AGI. Luis Navarro García, *La sublevación del Yaqui de 1740*, Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, no. 168 (Sevilla: [Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas],1966) simply considers them Pimas. Other writers distinguish between Pimas and Piatos. Sibúpapas were a group of Nébomes or Lower Pimas who lived in the towns of Cumuripa, San José de Pimas, Suaqui Grande, and Tecoripa, but who were mostly from Suaqui. Although Piato language has no discernable connection with Seri, the two groups formed an alliance and proved to be devastatingly competent raiders.
6. Luis Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez y la comandancia general de las provincias internas del norte de Nueva España*, Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, no. 148 (Sevilla: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1964), 202.
7. Ibid., 204.
8. Fr. Kieran McCarty has admirably documented the arrival of Franciscans in Sonora in *A Spanish Frontier in the Enlightened Age: Franciscan Beginnings in Sonora*

and Arizona, 1767–1770, Monograph Series, vol. 13 (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1981).

9. Antonio de los Reyes, Report 1772, transcr. and trans. Kieran McCarty, MS 227, University of Arizona Special Collections, Tucson.
10. Insp. Gen. José de Gálvez, Signatura, [n.d.], Guadalajara 559, AGI. This document is virtually entirely dedicated to Gálvez's proposed ecclesiastical administrative changes.
11. Unsigned letter to unnamed recipient, Guadalajara 559, AGI.
12. For this date, see Andrés Pérez de Ríbas, *History of the Triumphs of Our Holy Faith amongst the Most Barbarous and Fierce Peoples of the New World*, ed. and trans. Daniel Reff, Maureen Ahern, and Richard Danford (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999), 412–13. Pérez de Ríbas chronicled the Jesuit arrival in the northwest of New Spain in the early seventeenth century, when Jesuits made permanent contact in Sahuaripa and began mission building. Europeans had passed through on several occasions over the previous century. Attempts at founding a farming settlement at the place called Corazones at the time of Coronado's expedition in the early 1540s failed when the settlement was razed and leveled by Opatans. See Richard Flint, *Great Cruelties Have Been Reported: The 1544 Investigation of the Coronado Expedition* (Dallas, Tex.: Southern Methodist University Press, 2002): 91–92 ff. for archival accounts of the first Corazones.
13. Ana Maria Atondo et al., *De la Conquista al estado libre y soberano de Sonora*, vol. 2, *Historia General de Sonora*, 5 vols. (Hermosillo: Gobierno del Estado de Sonora, 1985), 79. Capt. Pedro de Perea with twenty-five soldiers founded the first Spanish colony near Tuape on the Río San Miguel.
14. Luis Navarro García, *Sonora y Sinaloa en el siglo XVII*, Publicaciones de la Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos de Sevilla, no. 176 (Sevilla: [Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas], 1967), 265.
15. The most comprehensive accounts of the revolt of 1740 are found in Luis Navarro García, *La sublevación del Yaqui de 1740*; and Edward Spicer, *Yaquis: A Cultural History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1980), 39–50. Navarro García comments, "The rebellion of the Yaquis and their allies in 1740 placed in danger Spanish domination, and therefore the civilizing and evangelizing efforts that in that remote Northwest were developing." See *La sublevación del Yaqui de 1740*, 1. The indigenous people would undoubtedly have agreed. Endangering Spanish domination seemed to have been precisely their aim. They might have taken serious issue, however, with Navarro García as to what constituted "civilizing" and "evangelizing."
16. For a detailed description of the Pima Uprising of 1751, see Edward Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest: The Impact of Spain, Mexico, and the United States on the Indians of the Southwest, 1533–1960*, drawings by Hazel Fontana (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1962), 129–30.
17. The difference between Lower Pimas and Mountain Pimas is confusing. Timothy Dunnigan provides the most useful distinction in "Lower Pima," *Southwest*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, vol. 10 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, 13 vols., ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 217. He

includes as Lower Pimas all Pima speakers south of the Pima village of Nacameri on the Río San Miguel, meaning that both Lower Pimas of Ónavas on the Río Yaqui, whose language was thoroughly documented (see Campbell Pennington, ed., *Vocabulario en la lengua névome* [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1979]) and Mountain Pimas of such settlements as Maycoba and Yécora should be considered Lower Pimas. Most researchers refer to Mountain Pimas as those living in the Sierra Madre to the east of the Río Yaqui, while Lower Pimas include those of Ónavas, Movas, and Nuri on the east bank of the Yaqui or its eastern tributaries, and the Ures on the Río Sonora. Nébomes, also considered Lower Pimas, lived in the villages of San José de Pimas, Suaqui Grande, and Tecoripa. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Spaniards also referred to the latter as Sibúpapas, although this reference may have been limited to an apostate group of Lower Pimas from those villages, who joined Seris in the Sierra Libre in the mid-eighteenth century. Thus Lower Pimas, Mountain Pimas, Nébomes, Sibúpapas, and Ures all spoke closely related dialects of a common language related to contemporary Pima/Papago or O'odham. Present-day O'odham report that they can converse with Pimas of Yécora and Maycoba, but only with difficulty.

18. Atondo et al., *De la conquista*, 215.
19. For a comprehensive account of the Spanish campaign against the Seris, see Thomas Sheridan, ed. and comp., *Empire of Sand: The Seri Indians and the Struggle for Spanish Sonora, 1645–1803* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999). Sheridan's volume includes transcriptions of all relevant and extant archival sources.
20. Frs. Canales and Reyes, Testimony, Durango, 4 September 1771, Guadalajara 512, AGI.
21. Anonymous letter to Insp. José Rodríguez Gallardo, 1742, 278:20, Archivo Histórico de Hacienda, Mexico City.
22. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 238.
23. Fr. Juan Nentuig in *Rudo ensayo: Descripción geográfica, natural y curiosa de la provincia de sonora, 1764*, intro., notes, appendix, and index by Margarita Nolasco Armas, Teresa Martinez Peñaloza, and America Flores, Colecćion Científica, no. 58 (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1977), states the following: "The old mine of Nacozari, at 14 leagues north of Cumpas is very rich but much reduced by the depredations of Apaches. There is only one vecino left . . . plus a few close to razón and a few Ópatas. There are many good mines in the direction of all winds, but they are little and poorly worked due to the risk run to those who work the mines, of Apache attacks. To the north were two other mines, Chunerovavi at five leagues, with a rich mine and two smelters . . . whose lands, with the smelters . . . [were] . . . abandoned the 5th of March of 1742 when the nearby mine of Aguaje was attacked by Apaches. The latter was maintained, even as late as 1744, when it was attacked for a second time by Apaches, resulting in the death of various Christians and the burning of houses, and remains abandoned even today. The same is the case with the Viejo mine of Nacozari, deserted since 1742. The mine of Peña . . . , that of Hacienda Vieja . . . that of Barrigón, [are] all depopulated due to the cruelty of the Apaches a few years earlier, not for lack of

precious metal. . . . among others [are] the Pinal (silver and gold . . .) and Huacal, somewhat more distant. Closer by, the Pinal mine was the old town of Toaportzi; San Juan del Río, deserted due to said enemy, along with another near Óputu, called Nori." The translation is by the author.

24. Spicer, *Cycles of Conquest*, 239
25. Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez*, 183.
26. The *porfiriato* refers to the time of the Mexican dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, roughly 1880–1910.
27. Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez*, 184–85.
28. This printed pamphlet, authored by the Marques de Croix and José de Gálvez, survives in excellent condition in the Archivo de Indias in Seville. It might be construed as the forerunner of promotional real-estate pamphlets.
29. The source of this material is Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez*. The work is directly derived from archival sources, primarily the Archivo de Indias in Seville.
30. Croix and Gálvez, *Brief News of the Military Expedition to Sonora*, 201–204. See also Hugo O'Conor, Diaro, 1773, 87, Guadalajara 513, AGI. O'Conor was apparently appointed with a nudge from his uncle, Alejandro O'Reilly, governor of Louisiana and a distinguished general. O'Conor proved to be an indefatigable and canny opponent of the Apaches. As commander of the northern forces he adopted a strategy of pursuing them with large numbers of troops, including a preponderance of the indigenous enemies of Apaches, especially Opatans. Embarking on long, exhausting campaigns, O'Conor experienced some success but not as much as he believed. After his death in 1779, Apache attacks in Sonora and Nueva Vizcaya resumed with a vengeance.
31. Croix and Gálvez, *Brief News of the Military Expedition to Sonora*, 203.
32. Fr. Antonio Reyes, Informe del estado de las misiones, 1774, Durango, LC 105–1-24, Guadalajara 586, AGI. Manuscript ed. and trans. by Fr. Kieran McCarty.
33. See Albert Stagg, *The First Bishop of Sonora: Antonio de los Reyes, O.F.M.* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976). Francisco R. Alamada, *Diccionario de historia, geografía y biografía Sonorenses*, 3d ed. ([Hermosillo]: Instituto Sonorense de Cultura, 1990); and Charles W. Polzer, *Kino Guide II: A Life of Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., Arizona's First Pioneer and a Guide to His Missions and Monuments*, cart. Donald Bufkin, photo. Thomas H. Naylor (Tucson, Ariz.: Southwestern Mission Research Center, 1982).
34. Peter Gerhard, *The North Frontier of New Spain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 285. In the year 2000, aboriginal Sonorans (including Ostimurans) constituted about 5 percent of Sonora's population. Today, only Seris remain a cohesive indigenous group in the area that was pre-1825 Sonora. They are involved in frequent clashes, some armed, with non-Seris, usually over fishing rights in Seri territory and matters relating to Seri sovereignty. In 2005 the federal government dispatched Mexican troops to quell the Seris' ongoing armed attempts at asserting their autonomy.
35. The trip from northern Sonora to Durango required about three months. During the rainy season many arroyos were impassable and roads were washed out. Priests would also take a day or two to rest and recover at missions along the route.

36. The expeditionary force led by Capt. Domingo Elizondo was charged with dislodging Seris and Sibúpapas from the Sierra Libre (Cerro Prieto).
37. Cieneguilla was one of the most productive gold strikes in Mexico's northwest. It is located in especially inhospitable desert some thirty miles southeast of Pitiquito. A soldier searching for a rebellious Seri struck gold there in February 1771. Word spread quickly, and by June the two thousand prospectors digging for gold had made Cieneguilla the largest town in Sonora. Seven months later, the population had reached seven thousand, at least one half of whom were Indians, many of them veteran miners from such depleted ore bodies as those at San Antonio de la Hüerta. When the easily accessible gold suddenly petered out, Cieneguilla became a veritable ghost town. After a second strike occurred nearby in 1803, Cieneguilla once again boasted a population of five thousand in two years. However, there was no water to support the population, irrigate farmland, or assist in placer mining. Prospectors had to haul the ore on foot for several leagues to a spring where it could be panned. The summers were insufferably and unrelentingly hot. Once the visible gold ran out, Cieneguilla was once again abandoned. See Atondo et al., *De la Conquista*, 277–79; and Navarro García, *Don José de Gálvez*, 254. Today, enough placer gold remains in the area that local prospectors occasionally make rich finds. During the 1990s, one storeowner in Pitiquito reported financing the construction and opening of a business with proceeds from his gold prospecting.
38. Nacameri, renamed Rayón in 1825, was an Upper Pima town on the Río San Miguel. It is now a prosperous but isolated town of fifteen hundred.
39. A small village along the railroad near Trincheras, Arituava appears to have been abandoned.
40. A village on the east bank of the Río Yaqui, some three kilometers north of the Highway 17 bridge over the river. Tónichi was an important town in eastern Sonora until the mid-twentieth century.
41. I use the term *Opatan* to refer to members of the groups loosely labeled Tegüimas and Eudeves by Spaniards. They spoke different languages but were ultimately grouped under the name Ópata by Spaniards. Nébomes were Pima-speakers who lived south of the Opatería in such present-day villages as Ónavas, Movas, and Yécora. They came to be known as Lower Pimas or Mountain Pimas, and some of them, as Sibúpapas.
42. A mining boomtown on the west bank of the Río Yaqui some six kilometers north of Tónichi.
43. A Nébome or Sibúpapa town on Arroyo Tecoripa, a tributary of the Río Yaqui. Mexico Highway 17 passes through Tecoripa.
44. A town on the Río Mátape some seventy kilometers northeast of Empalme Bay near Guaymas, where the Río Mátape empties into the bay. San Marcial was often an incarceration point for rebellious Sibúpapas. Today, it is a tiny, somnolent hamlet on a seldom-visited dirt road.
45. A former capital of Sonora, now upstream (northeast) from Hermosillo about sixty kilometers. Ures is a bustling and handsome small town of five thousand inhabitants.

46. Pitic was an important settlement of military and civilian Spaniards, and of relocated Seris. Its location is now within the limits of the Sonoran capital city of Hermosillo.
47. Cuquiárichi was a mission town near the Presidio of Fronteras, some thirty miles south of Douglas on the U.S.-Mexico border. Cuquiárichi now has fewer than two hundred inhabitants.
48. Bacanuchi and Chinapa were mining villages in the Río Sonora drainage north of Arizpe. The latter is sometimes confused with the town of Chínipas on the river of the same name, a tributary of the Río Fuerte in northern Sinaloa.
49. Fronteras lies in a broad valley of northern Sonora, some fifty kilometers south of the border town of Douglas, Arizona. The presidio was founded in 1690 to ward off the increasingly frequent attacks by Apaches and other indigenous groups. The presidio at Tubac, now in Arizona, was founded in 1752 for the same reason and to oversee the sometimes rebellious Pimas.
50. The account of Frs. Antonio Canales and Antonio Reyes, Durango, 11 July 1771, notarized document, Guadalajara 512, AGI.

Lessons from the Rio Abajo

A COLONIAL PATRON'S CONTESTED LEGACY

Melissa Payne

Pedro Chávez, a distinguished New Mexican gentleman, did not die peacefully. He suffered a long and torturous illness, which taxed his family. To the dismay of the surviving Chávez family members, however, their struggles were only beginning. The legal tangles don Pedro left behind in 1735 were so wracked by dissension that even the priest assigned as his estate executor soon quit in frustration. Unraveling the confusion and animosity surrounding this case yields a penetrating view into New Mexican colonial households, which could be torn apart by internal feuds and rivalries, during the first half of the eighteenth century. Just as importantly, an analysis of Chávez's movable property illustrates the material culture available to, or at least recorded by, the upper strata of local frontier society. Luxury materials, occasionally emphasized in regional colonial studies, definitely appear in the records of Chávez's property. Yet the mundane and patched-up items that form the backbone of Chávez's "chattels" may be a more realistic barometer of everyday comfort levels within the land-locked fringes of northern New Spain. As the case of Pedro Chávez demonstrates, a prominent citizen might be well off in terms of land or livestock without necessarily accumulating large amounts of hard currency or material refinements.

Life in eighteenth-century New Mexico was challenging at best. During the 1730s and 1740s, the citizenry of New Mexico numbered approximately

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ten thousand people.[1] Apaches perpetrated raids that took many lives and depleted the flocks of estates both large and small, as they hit the Rio Abajo or "lower" Rio Grande with ferocious regularity.[2] Most colonists supported themselves precariously by some combination of farming and stock raising. The *colonos* (colonists) sought premium fertile lands adjacent to river systems, along which they scattered their homes. These households sprouted into extended family enclaves or even microvillages tucked within burgeoning communities such as Albuquerque.[3] Colonos typically raised large numbers of children, and, in spite of agonizing difficulties, certain conspicuous dynasties emerged. A few, like the Chávezes, dated back to the seventeenth century, this stormy clan situating itself along the Rio Grande at the far southern tip of what would become Albuquerque within the area of Atrisco.[4]

These family names have remained familiar in New Mexico. Some clans—the Chávezes among them—managed to build successful operations and leave substantial legacies by frontier standards, as revealed in the testaments and related documents collected into files by colonial officials. Estate inventories from the Rio Abajo, however, have been neglected by historians. Inventories with exact monetary assessments for the itemized contents of an estate do exist, but they are not commonplace. Finally, not all estates were bitterly fought over. Producing many children was usually a labor advantage in agricultural societies, but it could also create problems. Despite cultural precedents that dictated equitable asset distribution amongst heirs (called partible inheritance), property dispersal might become a literal battleground when a prominent patriarch died.[5] The eruption of a vicious dispute sometimes generated a paper trail of epic proportions.

Researchers of colonial New Mexico have an opportunity to obtain insights into the machinations of venerable familial lineages, various property management issues, and the spectrum of goods carefully documented by elite households. Scholars can also glean a yardstick of perceived value, for accrued chattels were listed in precise peso amounts by the legal appointees charged with that delicate and perhaps reluctantly accepted responsibility. Such appraisals provide an exceptional window into the socioeconomic history of colonial society. The following case offers the assessment of a presumably fine house, elucidates how different kinds of animals were comparatively evaluated, identifies the accoutrements that were imported versus items procured from regional sources, and reveals the extent to which even "better" households depended on the basic equipment to build, fight, farm, herd, and survive in a rugged environment, in which dependence on and access to workable land was critical.

One of the more complex legacies recorded in colonial New Mexico was that of don Pedro Chávez, who died in December 1735. Chávez left an estate that was probated.[6] The value of his effects amounted to over four thousand pesos.[7] This computation was only two thirds of the amount left by the well-dowered Juana Luján of the Rio Arriba (upper river zone) in 1762, one of the richer and more carefully analyzed inventories for this era. Chávez's estate, however, if not necessarily the largest was certainly among the most furiously contested in eighteenth-century New Mexico. Its evaluation seems to gloss over his land for a variety of reasons (which could have made the overall peso amount much higher), while emphasizing itemized goods.

The Chávez name derives from a noble Spanish line with Portuguese roots. The family established itself near Bernalillo and then closer to Isleta in the Atrisco region by roughly the mid-1600s. Here they became successful producers of wheat, growing enough to warrant a mill on their property, while also running livestock.[9] As a result of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the Chávezes, along with other Spanish colonists, left New Mexico and journeyed south back into the heart of New Spain. Pedro Chávez was a son of Fernando Chávez II, who returned to New Mexico in 1693 with don Diego de Vargas during the Reconquest.[10] Fernando II would abide in Bernalillo for over a decade after the reconquest, moving back into the fertile Atrisco valley as of 1707. After helping to establish Albuquerque during 1706, he lived another seven or eight years.[11] His many beneficiaries now lived on the Atrisco tract. Atrisco, in the meantime, was organized into a fledgling community by 1703, budding into as many as four plazas or recognizable population nodes as the century progressed.[12]

By the 1730s, the Chávezes were once again important ranchers in the Rio Abajo, occasionally signing protests against embargos that prohibited sending limited sheep reserves out of the colony.[13] Meanwhile, in 1703 Chávez had married Juana Montoya by whom he had ten children (Manuela, Mónica, Josefa, Efigenia, Francisco Xavier, Quiteria, Juana, Diego Antonio, Ana María Luisa, and Eusebio). He wed a second time in 1728 and produced at least four more children with Gertrudis Sánchez. In between stints at home, Chávez had led an active life. He acted as a squadron leader of a militia force that escorted former Gov. Felix Martinez back to Mexico City in 1713, although he did not complete the journey due to an illness. He also executed campaigns against the Hopis and served as the alcalde mayor of Zuni, Acoma, and Laguna Pueblos.[14]

When Chávez died, Friar Joseph Irigoyen filled in as temporary executor of his will. Geronimo Jaramillo, a captain of war for Albuquerque and

Chávez's lieutenant alcalde mayor, had suggested the appointment of fray Joseph. Joseph was a notary public as well as a priest, a Franciscan of the Province of the Holy Gospel, and a pastor for the main church of San Felipe de Neri in Albuquerque, where he served intermittently for over two decades. Chávez had met with Father Irigoyen in Atrisco to make his will some time during 1735. Father Juan Antonio Cuesta approved the action to make fray Joseph an executor, but this arrangement was not to last long. As the turmoil and acrimony attendant upon carving up Chávez's estate gathered momentum, Joseph discovered so many incongruities and found himself in the middle of so much controversy that he rapidly resigned his office both as testator and will executor. He declined even to offer any decisions. News of his disgust floated back to the governor by way of Lt. Gov. Juan Páez Hurtado.[15] Although Joseph wisely removed himself from the maelstrom, he was unsure of how to engage a substitute to implement the proceedings.

It fell to Páez Hurtado to assume this responsibility. In late 1735 and early 1736, the lieutenant governor, in order to settle the affairs of the deceased Chávez, assembled multiple petitions and testimonies from many *vecinos* (residents or neighbors). The official records total dozens of folios of archived material, or almost a hundred pages in the original Spanish, dramatically longer than most property assessments or will inventories for private citizens.[16] A series of attached affidavits shows the array of contenders eagerly vying for their share of Chávez's estate.

By New Mexico standards, Chávez's legacy was a moderately wealthy one, if not grandiose when compared to testaments left by affluent personages from interior Mexico that could easily be fifty to a hundred times larger in value.[17] The will of one Spaniard who governed New Mexico in the eighteenth century, Tomas Vélez Cachupín, apparently rose into the many tens of thousands of pesos and included elaborate bequests, one of the few examples extant representing a former governor of the province. Upon returning to Spain, Cachupín composed his testament with the aid of a scribe in Madrid shortly before his passing.[18] Another exceptional example with a slightly more regional flavor was the estate of Antonio Valverde y Cosío near El Paso, originally part of New Mexico. His estate was one of a tiny few local legacies that were conspicuously impressive in terms of net worth. According to one estimate from the 1720s, Valverde's holdings were calculated at some forty thousand pesos, with thousands of *fanegas* (multi-acre parcels) under cultivation and a herd of over eighteen thousand animals.[19] This evaluation was exceptionally high. By comparison, a more typical com-

fortably-sized estate in New Mexico might be appraised at around thirty-five hundred pesos, as shown by the patrimony of Cristóbal Baca from the Santa Fe area.[20] To give one or two examples from Latin America for contextural purposes, the incomplete inventory of the middling estate left by José Prudencio de Cuervo, dated 1811 from Tequila in rural Mexico, listed a house worth eight thousand pesos—a fine sum by New Mexican standards. In the 1700s near Guadalajara, the wills of farmers of slightly lesser but established means emphasized the tools of their trade, while affluent women in Mexico City sometimes bequeathed to their families jeweled religious icons. Though the estate totals are not always mentioned, gifts of diamonds and pearls to adorn statuary suggest conspicuous wealth beyond the means of most New Mexicans.[21]

Gov. Gervasio Cruzat y Góngora, supported by Albuquerque mayor Juan Gonzales Bas, formally authorized Páez Hurtado to conduct whatever investigation was necessary to resolve disputes among the Chávez heirs.[22] Páez Hurtado interviewed members of the Chávez family and others in an attempt to sort out diverse claims and counterclaims. With the backing of Bas, he also amassed not one but several illuminating—but partly inconsistent—inventories. Debts, relevant purchases of animals, potential dowries from Chávez's two wives, grisly tales of stock depletions, testimony from the priests attending Chávez's estate and funeral services (for which there were a variety of fees), and discussions of gifts, rentals, or sales, among other things, were all considered in the appraisal of Chávez's effects.

Out of this perplexing melee a roster of issues coalesced. One salient theme was the condition of Chávez's mind when he died. Doña Manuela Chávez, a daughter of Pedro, set the tone of the interviews when she fired an opening salvo insisting that her father was completely insane. Manuela did not elaborate on the nature of her father's infirmity. She believed that the estate settlement would be further complicated because some of the children were grown while three were still minors. Manuela inferred that Francisco Xavier Chávez, the eldest son, should shoulder some of the responsibility of an executor, but she accused Francisco of being both incorrigible and intolerable (without saying why) and therefore incapable of handling the estate without annihilating it—a stern allegation.[23] Manuela's sisters concurred that Francisco was a wastrel.[24]

A second issue emerged from a contentious interview with Jacinto Sánchez, the husband of Chávez's daughter Efigenia. Impressed with himself for having married into the Chávez dynasty, the ambitious Sánchez was

to engineer one of the more notorious legal imbroglios in the Rio Abajo during the mid-1700s. The incident involved the misrepresentation of property boundaries to secure extra land, but the judge eventually figured out the real estate deception and ordered Jacinto and Efigenia to pay court costs.[25] The incident typifies the ongoing battles within this group. Sánchez may have been practicing for this later debacle when he declared that Efigenia did not receive her just inheritance or a decent dowry, attesting that Chávez accorded fifty ewes, ten cows, and one bull to his other feminine offspring as part of their nuptial gift. Sánchez blamed Chávez's illness for the unfairness and requested a mayordomo to oversee the property. He would ultimately clarify his complaint by saying that he had obtained the ten cows but only twenty-five sheep, and his vehemence was enough to inspire the first of several chattel catalogues, a list of everything Chávez owned.[26]

Sánchez's claim was partially affirmed by Antonio Baca who testified to receiving fifty ewes, ten cows, and a few goods (such as a little furniture) from his father-in-law when he married Monica Chávez, a daughter of Pedro and Juana Montoya.[27] The disclosure demonstrates what a comfortable dowry might consist of in eighteenth-century New Mexico. It is possible that Sánchez magnified his vexation to sway Páez Hurtado's sympathies, especially since most of the other sons-in-law seemed satisfied with the way family matters concerning the dispersal of goods had been dealt with, even if their wives' dowries were a little less. Yet Sánchez's insistence that he was slighted out of some property, whether appropriate or exaggerated, would simmer enough to rankle the family for decades—Sánchez's conflict symbolizes a common source of legal grist for the court-related confrontations of the period.

A third issue involved straightening out the dowries brought into the community property of Chávez by his two wives. Nicolas Chávez, Pedro's brother, noted that along with oxen and furniture, Juana Montoya had in her original possession sundry cattle and sheep eventually amounting to 350 cows and 1000 sheep. The animals were presumably bred after her marriage but the sequence of events and precise extent of her purported dowry are vague.[28] These statements were germane, in as much as Páez Hurtado had to adjudicate between the separate claims of Pedro's two distinct broods of heirs. This process required some comprehension of the status of Pedro's holdings at different times in his acquisitive career. Another of Pedro's brothers named Francisco (as was Pedro's son) modified these numbers in his interview, while exhibiting a keen interest in securing a portion of the estate.[29]

More dowry-related consultations followed. Baltasar Romero, a prestigious Albuquerque citizen summoned for assistance, added the nuance of an Indian servant given to Juana Montoya by her father because Juana was lame. He pared the stock she allegedly brought into the marriage down to nine hundred sheep and two hundred cows.[30] Later muddying the waters, he claimed that Juana brought only a small dowry into the marriage. He alluded once again to the Indian servant acquired from Juana's father, as well as a second Native retainer from Picuris Pueblo, eventually sold for seven cows to don Diego Martín. These cattle and a few oxen Chávez evidently turned over to his father-in-law for breeding purposes. At the time Chávez was preoccupied with his work as a soldier. If Romero was correct, neither of Chávez's two wives augmented his overall property, and he may have even handed a few items over to his father-in-law, in contradiction to testimony by Chávez's brothers. In another exchange, Diego Padilla essentially corroborated Romero. He commented that Chávez kept a few cows when his father-in-law was occupied on a military detail, but these animals were eventually returned. In a second interview Pedro's brother Francisco dismissed the notion that Juana brought in any dowry. He insisted that Juana contributed not so much as a chicken, and that her cow herd was really bought by Pedro from a resident of La Cañada to the north.[31] The elder Francisco may have been right, or he might have assumed that his share of the Chávez family property would somehow be minimized, if perceptions of Juana's dowry were too generous.

These issues were not the only subjects requiring scrutiny. A fourth topic of discussion concerned raising the minor children of Chávez. Manuela Chávez wanted a salaried guardian *ad litem* to be appointed to instruct the children as well as to steward their inheritance. She considered brother Francisco Xavier for the job but thought him unfit. Manuela seemed to be fostering her own interests, since her husband Sebastian Marcelino was commissioned to this task. Sebastian was to receive ten pesos a month in compensation, a solution that elucidates how such problems might be addressed.[32]

Over time Marcelino carried out his protective duties but protested that Apaches were taking stock from the corrals. He struggled to maintain the children's portion of the sheep herd, begging for the promised money and obviously fearing that he would be disregarded.[33] Alcalde Juan Gonzales Bas handily shifted the burden of Marcelino's complaints to the governor, who agreed that Marcelino should be paid.[34] Nevertheless Marcelino apparently

abdicated this responsibility, probably because the expected salary did not come swiftly enough. Pedro's brother Francisco was soon assigned guardianship of the three minors in question and their portion of the chattels. Although Francisco was allowed to keep some wool from the children's allotted flock, he was ordered to use another portion to dress the children and attend to their education. Francisco was not given a free hand; he was expected to render a thorough accounting of his administration, with the possible drastic exemptions of either enemy invasion or being struck by lightning.[35]

Another problem arose when Gertrudis Sánchez, the second wife of Pedro Chávez, began to voice her grievances. She specified three surviving children, a fourth having died twenty-four days after baptism. She challenged the notion that Chávez ever left a valid will. Granted, he had ostensibly started one with Father Irigoyen, but it may have never been completed, given Chávez's deteriorating mental state during 1735. Perhaps Gertrudis was simply preparing a position statement in the event that the will excluded her. She anxiously appealed for protection from the governor as a representative of His Catholic Majesty. Although she had not contributed a dowry, she contended that Juana Montoya had not either. Sánchez went on to argue that she only wanted a portion of the stock raised during the previous eight years—from the point when she joined the family in wedlock. She added that the progeny from the first marriage inadequately stewarded the flocks, neither did they contribute much toward the care of their mentally disturbed father. Gertrudis gingerly conveyed the idea that if the children of adultery are entitled to support in general, she too should be provided for, since her children were legitimate and she aided Chávez during his illness. Governor Cruzat y Góngora took the petition seriously to the extent of attaching it to the file in January 1736 and appointing a defender on her behalf.[36] Gertrudis was reacting realistically. Chávez's adult offspring from his first marriage dominated most of the discussion and failed to consider this second family with any consistency, despite grudging acknowledgment of her care during Pedro's infirmity.

Other events and deliberations were pertinent. For example, witnesses referred to the number of animals in Chávez's herd extant at various times on several occasions, possibly to clarify the relative obligations the court had in considering the needs of Chávez's first family versus the claims of his second family and only surviving wife. Evidently, as Chávez's fortunes waxed and waned, the benefits inheritable by each set of his heirs changed. The flocks had suffered from gradual but very serious attrition. An interview

with itinerant goatherd Marcelino de Guevara revealed a few reasons why the tally of stock had dwindled. Guevara recounted that the quantity of sheep had been reduced over the years because of mistreatment or illness. Witness testimony also revealed specific incidents that dramatically decreased the stock. For example, at least fifty-eight head of sheep and goats had been consumed by the family, with son Francisco Xavier helping himself to fifty-one head along with twenty-six cows for his wedding—a sumptuous celebration indeed. At least one ox was strangled from being yoked too tightly at the cart, and four horses had been carried off by Apaches. Guevara suspected that one of the other horses, supposedly injured at the stock, had been loaned out instead by Francisco Xavier, even as another horse died serving at the hacienda. Guevara also divulged coyly that Francisco Xavier Chávez had given livestock from his father's herd, such as a he-mule, in exchange for a cutting of petticoat material made from serge.[37]

Additionally, money was removed from the estate (presumably by Chávez while he was alive or by those acting on his behalf) for innumerable reasons. Various sums were out on loans that would have to be collected. Thirty pesos were due from Antonio Chávez, for instance, as a fee for mule rentals (providing a clue into one method for facilitating travel, and anticipating the transportation rental market of the twentieth century). Ignacio Barrera owed some fifteen pesos, a Corporal Trujillo owed about twenty pesos, soldier Tomas Tapia owed another twelve pesos, and so on.[38] At the same time, Chávez left a few outstanding debts, among them 130 pesos borrowed from Francisco Romero, for which Romero had received a few skins and hides in partial payment.[39]

Certain costs had been incurred because of Chávez's funeral, no small affair. A shroud amounted to thirty pesos; thirty-four wax candles cost thirty-four pesos; and two separate novenas said by Friar Joseph Irigoyen tallied at eighteen pesos each, leading to one hundred pesos in basic funerary expenditures as calculated by Father Cayetano de Otero. In addition, the gravedigger tapped the estate for five pesos, the grave costing four pesos and one for the "goblet" (perhaps a tax), whereas Isidro Sánchez extracted four pesos for having sung at the service. There were other expenses as well. Fray Joseph received from Páez Hurtado, on top of all the other charges, six cows and a calf for the funeral ritual (the equivalent of 127 pesos, the agreed upon rate for duly officiating). The package included the mass and corresponding holy services performed with the utmost solemnity, the sermon and vigil, and no less than three bells tolling each day for the duration of the novena.[40] While

Figure 1
Items Listed in Chávez Inventories Nos. 2 and 3

Item Description	Pesos
House: four rooms with lodging room, doors, windows, arched porch, padlock	600
Images or paintings: Crucified Lord and St. James on elk hide	8
Plow, worn or in use	8
Old copper pan	7
Another copper pan in use	6
Large pan, much handled or patched up and old	4
Two spits, new but broken	6
Other roasting spits, one worn and the other old	4
New stirrup	12
Pair old spurs	4
Small digging stick	1
Large flat griddle	8
Branding iron	6
Ax in use	6
Two horses	30
Four mules	120
Red Puebla woolen-cloth doublet [a close-fitting jacket], new, lined in linen and with black buttons	10
An armor [probably armament or cuirass listed in figure 2]	6
Four hides	4
A cart with two yokes and three yoke straps	28
A cart trace [leather strap or attachment between the wagon and horse collar]	15
Cart wheels	6
Harness without trappings	12
Mule rentals taken outside [perhaps to Mexico] by Antonio Chávez	30
Debts owed by Diego Borrego	20
Debts owed by Ignacio Barrera	15
Debts owed by José Trujillo	20
Debts owed by Tomas Tapia	12
A cloak	16
Three metates and manos [grinding stones]	6
Ten oxen, tame or broken to the cart	250
57 large breeding cows	1140
16 heifers	192
22 large bulls	352
18 bulls of two years	216
18 calves	108
14 calves	84
250 ewes	500

Figure 1
Items Listed in Chávez Inventories Nos. 2 and 3 *(continued)*

Item Description	Pesos
58 goats	116
Herd of mares	undisclosed
Door	2
Adz	2
Harness or packsaddle rentals by Nicolas Gallegos	4
Buckles of spurs fashioned as silver lions	8
Chisel	2
Five fruit trees, apple and quince	undisclosed
Saddle irons left by Bernabe Baca	4
Two silver spoons sold [or given] to daughter Manuela	10
Farming lands	undisclosed

the actual treatment of a corpse during this period might be less than reverent, such sonorous public displays affirmed the rank of affluent citizens. Páez Hurtado eventually turned in a liberal estimate of 314 pesos siphoned off from the estate to subsidize the whole observance.[41]

There were five inventories amassed during the course of the Chávez case. Two particular inventories organized by Páez Hurtado lie at the heart of this review of Chávez's effects. The first discussed in this article reveals how certain items were assessed in specific peso amounts (see figure 1). To round out these catalogues, a few intriguing details must be added from several places in the file, while trying to avoid or reconcile contradictions, evident omissions, and repetitions. Editorial remarks or explanations are added in brackets under the column titled "Item Description" in figure 1. A synthesis of the chattel catalogues, however flawed, does supply a meaningful glance at the elements an elite homestead might accumulate for this period. Material culture is one way to approach a reconstruction or understanding of everyday life. One sees the equipment necessary to run not only a functioning household, but also a largely self-sufficient working estate.

Páez Hurtado invoked special expertise when he called upon rancher Luis García of Alameda and Nicolas Durán, described as a mason, to aid the evaluations.[42] Figure 1 is derived primarily from Inventory no. 3, with one or two phrases grafted on from Inventory no. 2 to enhance detail.[43]

Figure 2 describes items catalogued in Inventory no. 2. Unlike figure 1, various entries are not necessarily assigned a specific peso amount. In the case of servants, their exact legal status might have been cloudy. Such

Figure 2
Items Listed in Chávez Inventories Nos. 2 and 4

Item Description
Indian servant called Agustina
An Indian woman called Brianda born in the house
An Indian man called Antonio born in the house
An Indian boy called Andres born in the house
An old red doublet, satin, without sleeves
A close-fitting shirt of scarlet woolen cloth without sleeves
A colored-cloth cloak
Dress coat [or knee-length coat or military coat], blue, used
Two shirts and some stockings
An old hat
An old armament or cuirass [a breastplate or vest used in battle] and saddle-packs and old hide
Some old trousers or breeches of fine cloth
Old, small cushions or saddle cushions
Pair of old boots
Padlock on pantry door
Eight hides [perhaps includes the four already inventoried in figure 1]
Three yokes [perhaps includes two mentioned in figure 1]
Two carts [perhaps includes cart mentioned in figure 1]
Two dress coats, one new and the other old one in the possession of Francisco Chávez
Household furniture [assessed at 246 pesos]

omissions can result from a page having been folded or torn as well. A few of these possessions may have been inherited from Chávez's father Fernando. The house is reported at four rooms in some instances, and other times at five.[44] Also, the brief mention of furniture and household possessions (including *alhajas*, meaning prized objects or showy furnishings), in this case with a precise peso amount, comes from Inventory no. 4. It has been tacked onto figure 2 for the sake of convenience.[45] Personal inventories that actually discuss furniture do exist, but these are perhaps more easily demonstrated by Spanish colonial examples outside of New Mexico.[46]

Assuming many of the goods in figure 2 could have been assigned monetary value, Chávez's estate might have been worth even more than the reported total. As Páez Hurtado worked through multiple inventories, adding and subtracting for various qualifications, he came up with different figures, with a final sum discussed below. Just as important, the lesser catalogues offer a few passing glimpses of Chávez's other assets. There is a fleeting depiction of Chávez's land, on which he supposedly planted a fanega of wheat, and

half a fanega of corn.[47] Agrarian activity as stated in testaments or land grants was seldom absolutely precise, either in terms of the types or the amounts of the crops being farmed, or in how animals fit into overlapping production cycles, but these phrases still yield useful information. The brief denotation of fruit trees speaks of seasonal resource availability. The trees were probably located near the site of Chávez's home.

At one point the Chávez houses were clumped adjacent to each other next to the Rio Grande and irrigation arteries.[4] This arrangement was more or less the usual one, though oftentimes domiciles were strung out in a staggering line fairly close to and paralleling the waterway.[49] Farming plots were typically organized along streams, and grazing was accomplished on the surrounding grassy plains, hillsides, or sierra slopes. Another cursory reference in the inventories touches upon Chávez's irrigation ditches, water rights, and diverse accesses to the river, no trivial matters in an area of low rainfall where irrigation was the key to successful cultivation and thus a very serious priority.[50]

The inventories and contextual documents suggest several conclusions. Even with cultural guidelines in place, the problem of divvying up land and water rights often kindled disagreements in New Mexico. Access to such resources was crucial to an economy based on ranching and agriculture.[51] Nevertheless, the extent of Chávez's actual territory was not well described, nor was it featured as the center of the debate. The inventories and the arguments accent movable property, at least to the extent that it could be tabulated. For example, elegant goods and clothing, like a coat from Puebla, were commonly brought to the region from Mexico.[52] The coat, labeled a *chupa* in the chattel lists, may be translated as a doublet, a Renaissance term for a tight jacket. Other kinds of clothing appear in the inventories, like the *casaca* (a knee-length or dress coat), of which Chávez owned three, along with the *almilla*, a close-fitting shirt or undershirt worn beneath.[53] The trousers or breeches were made of *tripe*, a fine cloth similar to velvet.[54] The silver lion spur buckles contribute a little status-related conspicuous consumption or selective opulence.

At the same time, such refinements are scarce rather than plentiful. Practical objects or assets (simple implements like plows, pans, carts, flocks, etc.) dominate the inventories. As an example, the mention of *medias* (stockings) demonstrates that, despite the fledgling sheep and weaving industries, which would grow steadily in the Rio Abajo, modest attire was important enough to be respectfully catalogued along with various other assets. Supplies on the frontier or "semi-periphery" of the empire were

curated carefully, even within august households such as Chávez's. To underscore this point, the inclusion of Indian-derived *metates* (stone slabs used to grind corn) proves a dependence on objects of regional indigenous manufacture. The distance from wealthy trading centers in central Mexico encouraged the use of Pueblo-inspired conveniences in everyday routines. Still, there was a tendency to underreport or ignore Native pottery or materials like stone-derived tools in colonial wills, though Pueblo ceramics were used to a remarkable degree.[55] Moreover, a few of the listed objects were worn out or old. Such realities counterbalance the occasional temptation by modern researchers to focus on status goods too heavily in an overarching assessment of how the colonists managed on a day-to-day basis.

The byproducts obtained from animals, from clothing to furnishings, were also significant to colonos' lives. Pictures painted on hides seem to appear frequently as one way to ornament an interior space.[56] A variety of animals offered distinct resources or advantages, including wool, leather, food, or labor.[57] Probably owing to their continued usefulness in transport, mules, notably enough, were appraised more highly (30 pesos each) than sheep (2 pesos), bulls (12–16 pesos), horses (15 pesos), cows (up to 20 pesos), or even oxen (25 pesos).

Thorough inventories must have been viewed as necessary to arbitrate this type of an estate. After much deliberation, Páez Hurtado eventually worked his way toward a "division schedule" in order to finalize Chávez's affairs. He chose to downplay Chávez's land, the precise worth of which was unclear, and to emphasize his movable property to derive both an operating guideline for decision making and an adjusted evaluation, some 4,390 pesos. He then subtracted several expenses. These subtracted sums included expenses such as the fees for the funeral (314 pesos). Curiously, he allotted fifty-two pesos to Francisco Xavier Chávez for the betterment his father had agreed to give him. The nature of this self-improvement program was undisclosed and leaves much to the imagination. In addition, Páez Hurtado did not fail to weigh his own efforts. For his role in the adjudication process, the time of the alcalde plus a clerk, and the paper required to orchestrate the decision, he deducted one hundred pesos. Other minor deductions included twenty pesos that Chávez owed to a woman in Cochiti, and ten pesos for five ewes bestowed upon various minors.[5]

These extra sums totaled 496 pesos. When Páez Hurtado subtracted these figures he arrived, finally, at a net amount of 3,894 pesos as a basis for estate subdivision and distribution.[59] Upon framing his decision, he continued to

weigh multiple factors. He mulled over sufficiently the fact that each of the married children had been given clothing, livestock, etc., at the time of their nuptials, the ceremonies likewise involving assorted costs which should be taken into consideration.[60] Chávez had already diverted 1150 pesos from the estate in the past, allotting three hundred pesos each to three emancipated or married sons or sons-in-law. (Jacinto Sánchez received only 250 pesos, conceivably another assault upon Jacinto's sense of justice.[61]) Although he wavered, in the end Páez Hurtado favored the progeny of Chávez's first marriage, with the implication of some material benefit from first wife Juana Montoya, despite lingering controversy concerning the dowry.[62] Páez Hurtado was probably looking for a way to rationalize putting aside the second marriage. He was savvy enough to realize that the first group of heirs would be the most vociferous and influential if a resolution could not be reached.

Páez Hurtado then assigned specific peso amounts to the heirs. Ultimately, he apportioned 389 pesos and a few reales to each of ten beneficiaries including the three minors (Diego Antonio, Ana María Luisa, and Eusebio) from the first marriage. Since the circulation of hard currency was limited in New Mexico, these peso awards were partially disbursed as an equivalency in animals or household goods; the guardian of the minors acted as interim recipient of their shares. Pursuing the topic of the land a bit further, Páez Hurtado declined to split up the immovable property in any firm manner. His reason for this decision was that he did not have the will of Fernando Chávez (who had apparently partitioned territory among his offspring), since the person in possession of that crucial document, Pedro's brother Antonio, was then out of the kingdom.[63] Ordinarily, land might be parceled out in equitable chunks to each heir. Families usually divided up the agricultural portion of large grants into ever-narrowing pieces over succeeding generations.[64] It is highly probable that the Chávez heirs had already executed some informal distribution and that different family members were already farming specific sections, particularly if Chávez was too ill to make these lot assignments or work the land himself. Sebastian Marcelino had previously acquired a fanega of land, seeded for wheat production, on which he built a house. He received another unfarmed fanega or multi-acre tract as part of the dowry from his wife Manuela Chávez.[65] On the other hand, Páez Hurtado may have been too cautious to undertake this additional hurdle, leaving the heirs to work out a compromise for themselves.

Not even the children of Gertrudis Sánchez were completely left out. Several members of Chávez's first family soon appeared before Páez Hurtado

and relinquished a few breeding cows, a large bull, and three heifers to this second cluster of heirs, with the hope that they would begin their own herd.[66] This parsimonious indulgence might have assuaged a sense of guilt or headed off a further suit.

As the case was winding up in 1736, Páez Hurtado continued to issue documents, with the signatures of various witnesses, for the record. He claimed in one instance that Jacinto Sánchez, Sebastian Marcelino, and Francisco Chávez stood before him, happy with his decisions but unable to sign off on that occasion because they did not know how. If anything of value was missing from the assessments but turned up later, Páez Hurtado suggested it be pro-rated among all. In conclusion, if anyone was dissatisfied, that person should pledge to inform him.[67] Páez Hurtado, like anyone caught in bureaucratic quicksand, was careful enough to anticipate contingencies. He left ample evidence that the execution of his legal duties had the approval of the parties concerned, at least among those who could raise the loudest objections.

Still uncertain from the historical record is whether the immediate outcome of the judgment pacified family members enough to insure genuine calm, at least for a time. Nor do the documents indicate the relief Páez Hurtado may have experienced when his adjudication was complete. Those who study colonial New Mexico can learn much from case examples such as Chávez's concerning how society handled daily problems, and how authority was relegated to make tough decisions. One can also observe patterns of property acquisition and distribution amenable to interregional comparison. Something of funerary ritual and marriage-related activities or mores for this period can be learned as well. Although protective clothing is mentioned, it is interesting that Chávez did not own more weapons (which do appear sporadically in colonial testaments), given the occasional need to participate in defensive forays. Perhaps family members had already divided up these defensive items. Colonial governor Tomas Vélez Cachupín's most prized possession was his sword.[68] Still, the utilitarian nature of many of the objects from the inventories supports the picture of a demanding existence tethered to, and defined by, a largely self-reliant, agro-pastoral lifeway, even if life was spangled with some treasured embellishments.

The Chávez family would remain prominent in the Rio Abajo throughout the eighteenth century and even later.[69] The population of the Albuquerque region, meanwhile, despite waves of disease, internal dissension, floods, raids, droughts, and other obstacles, hardships, or calamities—not to mention family feuds—grew slowly and endured.

Notes

1. Oakah L. Jones Jr., *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers of the Northern Frontier of New Spain* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979), 123.
2. Marc Simmons, *Albuquerque: A Narrative History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 97–102.
3. Fray Angélico Chávez, "The Albuquerque Story: The First Century," *New Mexico Magazine*, February 1956, 50–53. For a roster of the Albuquerque plazas listing in detail individual citizens, see Virginia Olmsted, trans., *New Mexico Spanish and Mexican Colonial Censuses, 1790, 1823, 1845* (Albuquerque: New Mexico Genealogical Society, 1975), 1–17.
4. Richard Greenleaf, "Atrisco and Las Ciruelas 1722–1769," *New Mexico Historical Review* 42 (January 1967): 5.
5. Examples of premodern disputes from the Santa Fe region are described in Melissa Payne, "Valley of Faith: Historical Archeology in the Santa Fe River Basin" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1999), 181–95, 210–11, 219–32, 354. Partible inheritance is mentioned in Alvar Carlson, *The Spanish American Homeland: Four Centuries in New Mexico's Rio Arriba* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 70. For a more general approach to land and water issues see note 50.
6. Fray Angélico Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period* (Santa Fe: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1954), 161.
7. "Pedro de Cháves, Settlement of Estate, Alburquerque, 1736," microfilm roll 8, frames 362–457, T-177, Series I Bound Documents, Spanish Archives of New Mexico, 1685–1912, Albuquerque Public Library Special Collections, Albuquerque [hereafter frame numbers, roll number, SANM I]. For the specific amount of the estate, see f. 419.
8. Richard Eighme Ahlborn, "The Will of a Woman in 1762," *New Mexico Historical Review* 65 (July 1990): 323.
9. Chávez, "The Albuquerque Story," 20–23; Fray Angélico Chávez, "Don Fernando Durán de Chávez," *El Palacio* 55 (April 1948): 103–12; Alan Oppenheimer, *Historical Background of Albuquerque, New Mexico* (Albuquerque: City Planning Department, 1962), 11; and Boyd Pratt and David Snow, *The North Central Regional Overview: Strategies for the Comprehensive Survey of the Architectural and Historic Archeological Resources of Northern New Mexico* (Santa Fe: New Mexico Historic Preservation Division, 1988), 168.
10. Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families*, 160–161.
11. Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families*, 161.
12. Greenleaf, "Atrisco and Las Ciruelas 1722–1769," 6; and Olmsted, *New Mexico Spanish and Mexican Colonial Censuses*, 14–17.
13. John Baxter, *Las Carneradas: Sheep Trade in New Mexico 1700–1860* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press and Historical Society of New Mexico, 1987), 27.
14. Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families*, 161; and "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 395–96, r. 8, SANM I.
15. Fray Angélico Chávez, *Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe 1678–1900* (Washington, D.C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1957), 249; and Ralph E. Twitchell doc. no. 177, SANM I.

16. "Pedro de Cháves," ff. 362–457, r. 8, SANM I.
17. John Kicza, *Colonial Entrepreneurs: Families and Business in Bourbon Mexico City* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), 16–18.
18. Malcolm Ebright, Teresa Escudero, and Rick Hendricks, "Tomás Vélez Cachupín's Last Will and Testament, His Career in New Mexico, and His Sword with a Golden Hilt," *New Mexico Historical Review* 78 (Summer 2003): 285–321.
19. Rick Hendricks, "A Documentary History of Socorro," in *El Valle Bajo: The Culture History of the Lower Rio Grande Valley of El Paso*, ed. John A. Peterson and David O. Brown, vol. 2 (El Paso: Archeological Research and the El Paso County Lower Valley Water District Authority, 1992), 12.
20. "Christóval Baca, will, Santa Fe, 1739," f. 659, r. 1, SANM I.
21. Eric Van Young, "Material Life," in *The Countryside in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Louisa Hoberman and Susan Socolow (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 69–73; and Brian Larkin, "The Splendor of Worship: Baroque Catholicism, Religious Reform, and the Last Wills and Testaments in Eighteenth-Century Mexico City," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 8 (Fall 1999): 405–42.
22. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 367–75, r. 8, SANM I.
23. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 364–65, r. 8, SANM I.
24. Chávez, *Origins of New Mexico Families*, 162.
25. Greenleaf, "Atrisco and Las Ciruelas 1722–1769," 7–21.
26. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 366–71, 386, r. 8, SANM I.
27. "Pedro de Chávez," f. 383, r. 8, SANM I.
28. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 376–77, r. 8, SANM I.
29. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 377–79, r. 8, SANM I.
30. Twitchell doc. no. 177, f. 109, SANM I.
31. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 406–12, r. 8, SANM I.
32. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 364–66, 372, r. 8, SANM I.
33. Twitchell doc. no. 177, f. 112, SANM I.
34. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 392–93, r. 8, SANM I.
35. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 426–29, r. 8, SANM I.
36. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 432–35, r. 8, SANM I.
37. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 399–400, r. 8, SANM I.
38. "Pedro de Chávez," f. 414, r. 8, SANM I.
39. "Pedro de Chávez," f. 430, r. 8, SANM I.
40. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 435–39, r. 8, SANM I.
41. Martina Will de Chaparro, "From Body to Corpse: The Treatment of the Dead in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 79 (winter 2004): 1–29; and "Pedro de Chávez," f. 445, r. 8, SANM I.
42. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 412–19, r. 8, SANM I.
43. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 401–5, 412–19, r. 8, SANM I.
44. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 401–5, 454, r. 8, SANM I.
45. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 444–45, r. 8, SANM I.
46. For example, see John Hahn, "Inventory and Auction of the Estate of Captain Don Francisco de la Rua, Deceased in 1649 in St. Augustine, Florida," in *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks 25: America's Ancient City Spanish St. Augustine*, ed. David H. Thomas (New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1991), 492–540.

47. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 370–71, r. 8, SANM I.
48. Greenleaf, "Atrisco and Las Ciruelas 1722–1769," 4.
49. Carlson, *Spanish American Homeland*, 23–44.
50. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 370–71, r. 8, SANM I; Marc Simmons, "Spanish Irrigation Practices in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 47 (April 1972): 135–49; and José Rivera, *Acequia Culture: Water, Land, and Community in the Southwest* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), xviii, 1–5.
51. Numerous cases can be examined in a variety of contexts. For examples, compare the articles and chapters in Malcolm Ebright, ed., *Spanish and Mexican Land Grants and the Law* (Manhattan, Kans.: Sunflower University Press, 1988), with those in Malcolm Ebright, *Land Grants and Law Suits in Northern New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), or in Charles Briggs and John R. Van Ness, eds., *Land, Water, and Culture: New Perspectives on Hispanic Land Grants* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987). See also Ira Clark, *Water in New Mexico: A History of Its Management and Use* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987). Simmons, in *Albuquerque*, mentions such disputes in passing in several chapters that are relevant to colonial studies, as does Myra Ellen Jenkins in "Spanish Land Grants in the Tewa Area," *New Mexico Historical Review* 47 (April 1972): 113–33; and Richard Greenleaf, "Land and Water in Mexico and New Mexico, 1700–1821," *New Mexico Historical Review* 47 (April 1972): 85–112.
52. David Snow, "Purchased in Chihuahua for Feasts," in *El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro*, Cultural Resource Series, no. 11, Gabrielle Palmer, Project Director (Santa Fe: Bureau of Land Management, 1993), 133–46.
53. Larry Miller, Spanish Colonial Research Center, telephone conversation with author, 2004.
54. Real Academia Española, *Diccionario de Autoridades*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Gredos, 1990), 358.
55. Payne, "Valley of Faith," 259–348.
56. E. Boyd, *Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1974), 118–36.
57. Carlson, *Spanish American Homeland*, 71–82; Dan Scurlock, *From the Rio to the Sierra: An Environmental History of the Middle Rio Grande Basin* (Fort Collins, Colo.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1998), 96–100; and Marta Weigle and Peter White, *The Lore of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 266–82.
58. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 445–46, r. 8, SANM I.
59. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 445–46, r. 8, SANM I.
60. Twitchell doc. no. 177, f. 129, SANM I.
61. "Pedro de Chávez," f. 445, r. 8, SANM I.
62. Twitchell doc. no. 177, ff. 129–133, SANM I.
63. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 446–50, r. 8, SANM I.
64. Payne, "Valley of Faith," 175–78, 186–88, 227–42.
65. "Pedro de Chávez," f. 385, r. 8, SANM I.
66. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 450–51, r. 8, SANM I.

67. "Pedro de Chávez," ff. 451–53, r. 8, SANM I.
68. Ebright et al., "Tomas Vélez Cachupín's Last Will," 287.
69. Baxter, *Las Carneradas*, 76, 135–40.

Leonard W. 'Si' Porter's Memories of Life in the Civilian Conservation Corps Camps of Southern New Mexico, 1936–1939

Richard Melzer

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal included a long list of programs designed to assist the United States in its recovery from the darkest days of the Great Depression. Begun in Roosevelt's famous first hundred days in office, the New Deal offered hope for millions of Americans left destitute from the ravages of abject poverty.[1]

But Roosevelt's "alphabet soup" of federal programs provoked negative as well as positive public reaction. Some programs were reportedly rife with inefficiency, corruption, wasteful spending, and petty politics. While nearly every New Deal program received its share of criticism, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was probably the most berated. To its harshest critics, the initials WPA stood more for "We Putter Along."[2]

In sharp contrast, one New Deal program received considerably more praise and far less criticism. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was undoubtedly the most popular New Deal program of the 1930s. Few found fault with the CCC's primary goal: to put poverty-stricken young men to work conserving some of the country's most endangered natural resources. Americans overwhelmingly admired a program that helped salvage the nation's poorest youth, while teaching them a strong work ethic in the spartan environment of isolated Army-run camps.[3]

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The CCC was especially popular and appreciated in the Southwest, one of the hardest hit economic regions of the nation. Unemployment among skilled New Mexican workers ran as high as 25 percent even as early as April 1930; unemployment for unskilled labor ran much higher. New Mexico reportedly had the highest percentage of citizens on relief in the entire United States. An already poor state prior to 1929, New Mexico grew even poorer in the 1930s.[4]

I had an opportunity to interview nearly one hundred former members of the CCC while researching my book, *Coming of Age in the Great Depression: The Civilian Conservation Corps Experience in New Mexico, 1933–1942*. With few exceptions, these men stated that their enrollment in the CCC was so important to their personal growth and development that it was considered to be the turning point of their individual lives. My conversations with CCC alumni often ran for hours at a time. While all interviews were interesting, some were especially memorable and valuable. This was certainly true of my 1990 interview with Leonard W. "Si" Porter (1919–1992) of Belen, New Mexico.

Si Porter's experience in the CCC was typical in many ways. He came from a large, poor, rural family. He had dropped out of high school, but could find no meaningful employment in his small town of Corona, New Mexico. Porter, nevertheless, strove to be accepted and hoped to be useful, as all adolescents do, regardless of time and place.[5] Once a part of the CCC, Porter sought the approval and respect of his supervisors, particularly those he admired most. He learned how to work hard and to take great pride in each finished product, be it a sturdy wire fence, an accurate surveyor's map, or a spotless kitchen plate. In short, Porter matured as a man and as a worker, despite hard economic times when the odds of finding a job, no less keeping it, were slim.

But Porter's memories of CCC life were less typical in other ways. Two years shy of the required admission age, the sixteen-year-old could not join the CCC as an enrollee and did not enroll even when he turned eighteen. Instead, he worked in CCC camps as a Local Experienced Man, or LEM. Porter's CCC life was also different because his older brother, Earl, was one of his direct supervisors, a situation that often brought additional demands and unwelcome pressure on the younger sibling, nicknamed "Little Porter."

Finally, Si Porter was different from most CCC workers because he later took the time to write about his experiences in the New Deal program, reflecting the importance he placed on the CCC in those formative years

of his life. His memoirs are compelling in their self-effacing humor, frank honesty, and often keen observations.[6] The result is a candid look at the CCC from the unique perspective of a participant who rose from the ranks of the corps to become what President Roosevelt wanted all young males of the 1930s to be: loyal, hard-working, responsible American citizens.

LEONARD W. "SI" PORTER IN HIS CCC UNIFORM, LATE 1930S (*Photograph courtesy the Leonard W. Porter family*)

Editorial note

In the following transcription of Porter's unpublished manuscript, the original text has been reproduced with minor editing. The text has not been edited for incorrect grammar. Where necessary, explanation or definition of Porter's language has been provided in brackets and punctuation has been added to clarify his meaning. The headings are not original; they have been added to provide context and ease of reading.

A Miserable Life

There were nine kids in the Porter family tree: four girls and five boys. I was number seven, a tall skinny guy, sixteen years, but not old enough to get a job even if there had been one in or near our small town of Corona. We had a small farm, but we couldn't make a living on it anymore. I had no experience with anything except dry land bean farming and trapping skunks. I couldn't catch any other kind of fur-bearing animals. I had caught our family dog a few times, but no coyotes or bobcats. My future didn't look very bright.

There were no boys around our part of the country near my age. They were all at least two years older or younger. None of the girls around liked me, and I didn't like them. I just had a miserable life.

Poverty and Sickness in the Family

Most of the topsoil on our farm near Corona had moved to Oklahoma with the wind. Some of it had got hung up on tumbleweeds. The wind had really taken the life out of our fields.

We mostly ate pinto beans and venison at our house. We did have milk cows, hogs, and chickens so we had milk, pork, and eggs. But our milk pen calves had to be sold for cash to be used for other necessities of life. The only red meat we ever got to eat was venison. My older brothers enjoyed furnishing it. Some of our neighbors were somewhat better providers for their families. We sometimes visited them at the right time and learned what beef tasted like, but in our house it was almost unknown.

We had no electricity in the farm country. My folks didn't even have a gasoline washing machine. Our water supply was a cistern. The water was from rain or snow on the roof, and gutters carried it to the cistern. The wash water was drawn from the cistern and carried in buckets to a larger cast iron wash pot. Chips and wood from our woodpile were used to heat it.

My youngest brother, Jack, had a bad heart condition and my dad was in bad health. Dr. Barry would always get by our house on his rounds to check on my dad and Jack. He never did bill my folks for house calls or medications. One type of medicine he gave my dad was a powder and he was supposed to take what he could pile on a dime. My dad didn't have a dime so he used two nickels.

Rumors of a CCC Camp Near Corona

Sometime during the summer of 1935, we started hearing rumors that a CCC camp was going to be put in somewhere around Corona. The rumors were very upsetting to a lot of people. The country folks believed the CCC boys would come from big city areas back east. Some were sure the camp would be filled with colored boys. Most of the people thought that at best it would be a bad situation for Corona.

Most of the single boys and some of the married ones expected to have to whip all the CCC boys and run them clear out of the state. Most of the girls and women thought they would be raped and mistreated by the type of boys that would come into the CCC camp. They were sure they would never speak to any of them. All the natives prepared for the worst. It was sure to be bad.

My youngest sister was especially upset. She vowed that she would learn to shoot a gun or use a butcher knife because she would not let those CCC boys get close enough to even talk to her. Poor thing, life would be miserable for her.

A Sure Thing

Within a short time the CCC camp became a sure thing. The Forest Service brought in machinery to clear off an area in the Ranger Station pasture.[7] My folks were going to have a ringside seat since the camp would be just barely one mile from our house. Maybe I would play an active part in it. Maybe I could even get to be a CCC boy and get $5.00 per month and my folks could get $25.00 per month.

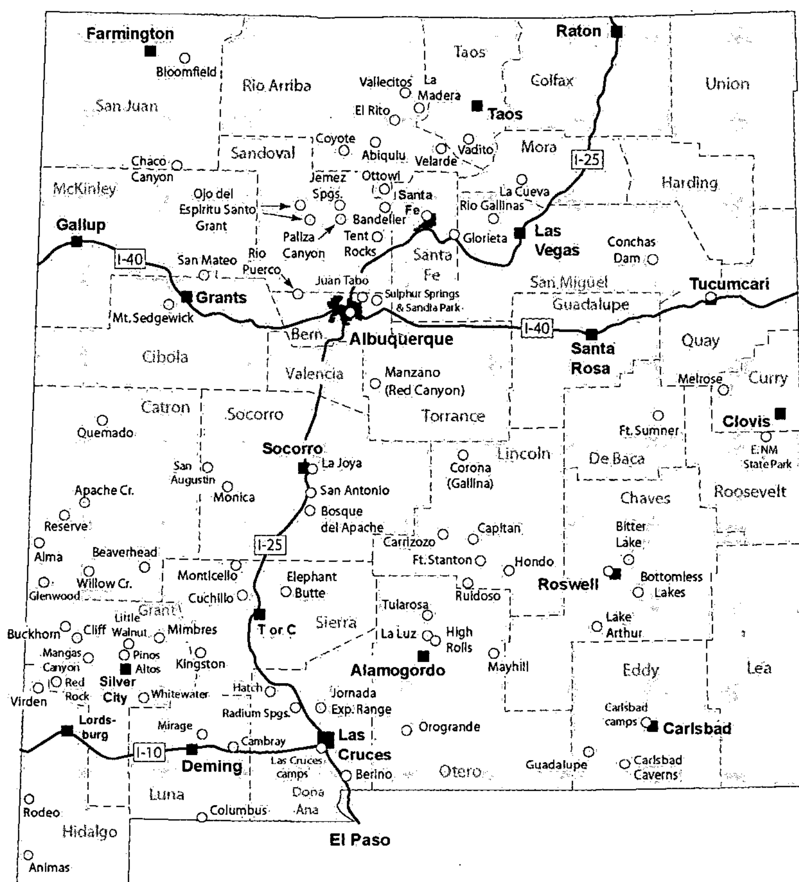
Soon the prefabricated building material began coming in by the truckload. The walls, floors, roofs, doors and windows were in sections about eight feet long. Holes had already been drilled for bolts to hold the sections together on the timbers and foundations that had already been put in place. All pieces were plainly marked.[9]

Jobs were going to be available for able-bodied men from eighteen years old to eighty. Darn, that sure messed things up for my folks and me. I was only sixteen and my dad was disabled.[10] My oldest brother, Earl, was already in CCC camp F-28-N at High Rolls [see Map]. That helped my folks some. At least they had a better credit rating at the Corona Trading Company where we bought what little food we could not raise on the bean farm. Most of Earl's pay went to pay off past accounts at the Trading Company.

Setting Up the New Camp

Pretty early in the construction of CCC Camp F-41-N a cadre from Company 3835 came in from Texas, including the company commander, the second in command, an army doctor, a first sergeant, the supply sergeant, cooks, truck drivers, and other special personnel.[11] When they first got there they set up a big tent for the kitchen and brought in large stoves to cook on. There were kettles for hot water to wash and rinse the cooking utensils and to furnish hot water for bathing and shaving. Soon the regular kitchen and shower rooms were ready for use. Life had begun for CCC camp F-41-N.

I could not work at the new camp, but I could go and watch the camp grow. And I did find a lot of friends. The cooks were real friendly, and I soon found out that beans and venison were not the only things people ate. The



CCC CAMP LOCATIONS IN NEW MEXICO, 1933–1942
(Map created by and courtesy of Dirk Van Hart, President, National Association of Civilian Conservation Corps Alumni, Chapter 141)

mess sergeant found out that we [the Porter family] had green beans and some good field corn and other garden vegetables. He was allowed to purchase local produce, and my folks were glad to get the extra money. So I began taking produce to the CCC camp. It was not a lot of money, but the cooks were glad to get the produce and my folks were sure glad for the pay.

My family got other business from the camp. The nearest laundry service was at Carrizozo, about thirty-five miles south on U.S. Highway 54. It was a rough road in good weather and almost impassable in bad weather.

Most of the CCC boys had to do their own laundry. Soon some of them wanted my mother to do all or part of it for them so we got a laundry business started. It was on a small scale as far as a camp laundry service, but it was a large-scale operation from my mother's point of view.

Getting Along with the Boys from the CCC

Some of the boys, such as the cooks, worked long shifts one day then had a day off. A few of them liked to get away from camp for a while. There was not much in the way of recreation in Corona except for an occasional dance on Saturday night, so a few of them liked to hike in the country. Most of the men in camp were from Texas. My dad had spent a few of his younger days in Texas and liked to talk Texas with them.[12]

Quite a few of the boys learned what time of day bean farmers had a few groceries on the table and got an invitation to stay and eat with us. Since our venison was just a little illegal, except in season, all they got of it was a smell. But we would always have biscuits, corn bread, sweet milk, buttermilk, butter, pinto beans, fresh corn, green beans, and other garden produce in season. We actually ate good on bean farms. Just no money to buy anything fancy.

It was not too long before country dances were pretty common. Some of the CCC boys were pretty good fiddle and guitar players and helped out with the music. The local girls soon got friendly, and it didn't take so long for the local men to decide they could not whip all the CCC boys and run them out of the country. They still thought they could whip a few at a time, but slowed down on that eventually. Even my sister, who had been so determined to whip any CCC boy she saw, considered most of the CCC boys almost human. One must have actually been human, since she married him after not too many months.[13]

Hired As an Experienced Man

Soon after the camp facilities became serviceable, more men were assigned to the camp. The camp superintendent was allowed to hire some local talent. They were called Local Experienced Men, or LEMs. If the LEMs showed good leadership, truck driving, machine operating, or other abilities, they had a chance for advancement. If they didn't display much experience and a willingness to work, they would be encouraged to drop out and make room for another local resident.[14]

I don't know how many were hired as LEMs, but there were quite a few.[15] The older married men started signing up first. Then a lot of the younger, single guys and young married men decided they could not whip all those CCC boys, so they decided to join them as LEMs. I was one of them.

I had started in the fall of 1934 as a sophomore in high school. I could not stay in town for football or basketball practice, and I could not even go to the games because of no transportation. So when furbearing animals got [most plentiful], I quit school and started trapping skunks. I did the same thing in 1935. I had started to school again in 1936, but the teachers did not like me, and I sure did not like them.

My brother Earl came up one day and told us that Charlie Wood had told him that he might need as many as six new LEMs at the camp if six current LEMs did not report to work by 4:00 p.m. that day. Earl said he would like for me to get in there and help him feed the family and pay off the mortgage on the farm and he knew I was about to quit school anyway. I got to the camp before he did.

Just before 4:00 Mr. Wood came in where I was waiting and told me that one of the six LEMs hadn't made it. I don't know if they raised my age to eighteen or not, but I got signed in as an experienced man. I was a pretty experienced dry land bean farmer and was an experienced skunk trapper, but I wondered how those experiences were going to fit in with CCC camp life. I soon found out.

In my first year in the CCC camp I got put on KP (kitchen police), washing pots and pans and scrubbing floors, more than any two other men in the camp. I didn't mind that because I liked the cooks and they liked me pretty well. I got to eat good and smuggled out lots of fresh fruit. There were lots of uncomplimentary remarks about the food served in the mess hall, but most of the boys seemed to gain weight while in CCC camps. Most of them were at a growing age, and the food did taste good after life on a dry land farm.[16]

The CCC at Work

There were several different kinds of CCC camps in New Mexico. There were Forest Service camps that were supposed to work on projects only on National Forest land. There were Soil Conservation camps, Division of Grazing camps, Park Service camps, and many more.[17] Each type [of] camp

was suited for certain areas in the state and had work projects to fit the area where they were situated. As a Forest Service camp, F-41-N built roads, fences, erosion control dams, and spreader dams to slow down and spread out the run off water from heavy rains and snow. The enrollees rebuilt dirt water storage for wildlife and other livestock, and built ditches to divert water either to or away from designated areas. We also had pest control projects and campground and picnic ground projects.[1]

So CCC camps did jobs that benefited both state and local areas. The camps provided a good chance for young men to learn a skill, improve their education, and be prepared for the future. The camps all had Educational Advisors to conduct evening classes or to help some of us obtain high school credits through correspondence courses.[19]

Working for Good Foremen—and Bad

Charles Scott Wood was a good man to have in charge of the Forest Service work of F-41-N. He kept things working smoothly with the Army part of the camp. Also, he made a good impression among the local ranchers and politicians. Under his leadership the CCC camp continually improved its image. Just about everyone was kept happy.

I got on a fence building job with a leader I liked: T. Stocton Mills. He was a good man and a good friend. I had been on post cutting and other jobs with him. He had shown us just how he wanted each job done. He got the cooperation from the men, and they did each job just as he wanted it. He was proud of his fence building, and he seemed to develop pride in every member of his crew. They built extra good fences for T. Stocton Mills.

If I liked a guy and he bragged on me I would work hard and try. If I didn't like a guy I wouldn't work.

Mills suddenly decided to leave the CCC camp life and go home. We all hated to see him go. Our fence building job was just about half finished. Another CCC camp had been closed out and or moved. A new foreman had been sent from it to replace Mills. His name was Goforth.

Charlie Wood sent Goforth out to take care of the fence building job and get it finished. But when the men were unloaded at the job Goforth never even looked at the fence. For about the first two or three days he stayed away and never even came back to tell us it was lunchtime. Pretty quick the men decided that if he didn't care about what they were doing, they didn't either. They just quit trying to do the job right.

Later, after a meeting with Goforth, the men agreed to work together to do the job like they did for Mills and stay with the fence building as long as it took. We did several more miles of boundary fence, did a real good job of it, and the foreman got complimented on our good work. That fence is still there, just a few miles southwest of Corona. Some of the wire has been replaced, but I think just about all the posts are there in the same holes and it's still solid.[20]

Working Ourselves Out of a Job

During the summer of 1937 the rumors had gotten pretty definite that camp F-41-N had worked itself out of a job. With the help of local politicians and Mr. Charles Scott Wood, the CCC camp had stayed active until all jobs in that area were complete. The roads had been put into better shape than U.S. Highway 54 or any county or state road. I don't know how many miles these roads amounted to, but they gave good access to the mountains. In case of forest fires they would help get men and equipment very close to wherever they were needed. Most of the larger ranches had gotten their ditches dug and their tanks rebuilt. There just wasn't any more work projects left to be done.

Most of the people of Corona seemed sorry we were leaving. The local boys were just about breaking [had given up] even trying to whip the CCC boys since most of the CCC boys did not go to town or to local dances. They were too broke to go. The ones who went usually borrowed their small amount of money or stole their CCC clothing and equipment to sell to the good honest citizens around town. The places that really were going to miss the CCC boys were the two local bars. They were going to lose business and the credit they had extended to some of their regular CCC customers.

A few of the CCC boys had tried to give the camp a bad name, but most of the natives realized that there were a lot of good boys in the camp and the few with a bad reputation did not really represent the majority. There had been no reports at all about the raping and bad conduct they had believed was going to happen with the coming of the CCC camp. A lot of the local boys in their attempts to whip the tree monkeys and run them out of the state had developed a worse reputation than the CCC boys did.[21]

Since we moved out of the old barracks at Corona and moved into some other ones at High Rolls, the CCC must have kept an armed guard over the old camp. The natives were usually good honest people, but were inclined to take advantage of a situation.

Moving the Camp to High Rolls

When F-41-N moved from Corona to High Rolls, some of us celebrated on Saturday night in Corona and woke up on Sunday morning with a hangover in High Rolls. We got up for reveille and took a look at our new surroundings. It took some time for it all to soak through the fog.

We noticed that our barracks needed to be finished or redone, especially the bathrooms and showers. The toilets were not flush toilets and had to be cleaned out once in a while by a detail of men. I guess I was a little lucky because I never did get assigned to that detail.

The High Rolls campsite was spread over a hillside on the north side of the road between High Rolls and Mountain Park. The hillside was almost barren, but there were some larger trees in protected places and lots of orchards and truck farms in the lower valleys.

There was an upper and lower entrance to the camp with three leveled off areas connected by a road. On the top level were the officers' quarters, office buildings, the kitchen, and a mess hall. The next level had the barracks and infirmary. Then down on the next level was the Forest Service area, the garage, tool sheds, a gas and service building, and parking areas for machinery and storage space.

Two or three reliable men lived in a building on the lower level so they could maintain a lookout station to guard the Forest Service equipment. These men did not have to appear at the office area, where the U.S. flag was displayed, for reveille and retreat, only to eat at the mess hall. But they did have frequent visitors from the barracks for late-night poker or crap games.[22]

Work Done

Most of the work done by the CCC camp in the Sacramento Mountains was much the same as it had been around Corona, but on a much larger scale. In comparing the size of the mountains and the steepness of the canyons, the Sacramento Mountains were huge to me. It was beautiful country.

My first job at the new camp was on erosion control work in Carr Canyon. Former CCC boys had built heavy log dams in the narrow bed of the canyon. The log dams almost looked like stair steps. The top of each dam would be level with the bottom of the dam above it. Other smaller logs and brush were used to slow the run off water from melting snow so that it would not reach the canyon so fast.

Most of the log dams had been built by other camps in the past few years, but had not been maintained. So we had to rebuild a lot of the dams and spreaders. Some had to be completely rebuilt. Up into the canyon the walls were so steep and the hills were so high we would not see the sun until about 10:30 in the morning, and it would go down by 2:30 in the afternoon. It stayed cold up there and the snow waited for the rainy season to help it melt off.

Soon after we got started on the erosion control work a team of big gray logging horses was brought to Carr Canyon. They were used to skid the logs down off the hills. I got the important assignment of handling the team. I had a good helper. We kept a corral built up near the job. There was a nice little clear stream of water in the bed of the canyon, and we had the horse pasture where the stream flowed through it. We also kept hay and grain there so the horses led a good life and did not lose any weight.

Side Camp Life

Soon after the CCC camp started, a side camp was set up at Devil's Canyon, near Ruidoso.[23] The men assigned to the side camp were pretty much free from military supervision. Some of the best foremen and leaders were in charge of the men there. Also, some of the best cooks were there, and the men were trusted and reliable. The men were near a good recreational area and if any of them did not show their appreciation for the privileges the side camp offered there were several in the main camp who would gladly replace them.

Work in the side camp was mostly like main camp work projects. I think they built some ski trails and campsites near the mountain. Since it took some of the more reliable workers to stay in the side camp, I never had much chance at it. I did get to drive a truck to it occasionally, hauling supplies or passing through, but mostly I was a stranger to Devil's Canyon side camp people.

I was less of a stranger to a second side camp set up on the Sacramento River in the spring of 1938. This camp must have been about twenty miles southwest of High Rolls. The weather had warmed up pretty well and the country was really beautiful. There were small springs in most of the canyons and lots of evergreen trees. I got to help start the side camp and enjoyed it for several months. I guess if I had been able to I would have stayed there the rest of my life.

Everyone did a good job on every assignment. We all liked life in the side camp much better than the main camp so we all tried to please. For me, being out from under big brother's thumb was a relief. I preferred being responsible to my boss out there instead of being turned over to Earl.

Like the Devil's Canyon side camp, about the only time the military came around was with the payroll. Unlike the Devil's Canyon camp, there was not much recreation. Anyone wanting to go to town for recreation had to catch a truck to our main camp on Saturdays. They had to get there in time to ride the recreation trucks from the main camp to town.[24]

A lot of the boys preferred to stay at the side camp on weekends, mostly because they were broke. Some hiked around the hills. There were some pretty interesting sights to be seen. We would sometimes find where a mountain lion or cougar had killed a deer, ate part of it, and put brush over the remainder for a future meal.[25]

About the only people we got to talk to were the sawmill people. They were proud people. For some unknown reason, they referred to themselves as Rosin Bellies. If we had called them gentlemen or ladies they would probably have been insulted. I called old Buffalo Adams good looking once, and once only. He let me off with a warning.[26]

Most of the sawmill camps had commissaries where Rosin Bellies could buy food and clothing. But most Rosin Bellies were no strangers to venison. They also seemed to know where to restock their firewater, or white lightening. They would share it in a very friendly way, but they would not reveal the source of their supply.

After we got our recreation building set up, Rosin Bellies and their families would come to our weekly picture shows in camp. We had baseball games with them and just about considered everything on a friendly basis, except when the Rosin Bellies held dances or parties. The CCC boys never heard about these dances and parties until later, when they were over. Some of the Rosin Belly men would have sore knuckles and some had matching spots around their heads and faces after their dances. Some looked like they had hobnail boot tracks on them. But they were always friendly to CCC boys. The big, rugged looking men and their hobnailed boots probably promoted friendship.

The sawmill people really did seem to appreciate the CCC boys, especially during fire season. The forests were their livelihood. They could smell the smallest bit of smoke in the air and usually would be working on a forest fire long before the CCC boys could get started. The Rosin Bellies would have someone all ready to show our foreman what was necessary for us to do.

I almost developed a good reputation in the short time I was at the Sacramento River side camp. The foreman in charge was a big man. Mr. Allen, or Foreman Allen, was all the name I ever knew for him. He looked capable of taking over the Tarzan role for any movie producer. In fact, he liked to be thought of as Tarzan. At lunchtime or at quitting time he would give a big Tarzan yell that could be heard for miles and the men would come running from every direction.

Mr. Allen had a very beautiful wife. She must have been his "Jane." She was about six feet tall, with dark hair and a beautiful body, from what we could see from a distance. She liked to sunbathe on their front porch or in their yard. She did distract from some of the boys' work when Mr. Allen was busy and had his back turned.

Fire Fighting

At our side camp we got called out on a big fire north of Weed. It must have been shortly after noon on a Saturday because Foreman Allen and his wife had left camp to go mingle with society.

A junior foreman had been left in charge of the side camp. He was told to take about two truckloads of men and report to the fire marshal for instructions. While he was being briefed on where and how they were going to use our crew, he had the truck drivers handing out fire tools and canteens of water. He told me to get a good axe and wait for him.

The foreman told me to stick close to him because he had a special job for me. He told me, "Now I want you to follow me. Cut a plain blaze mark on the larger trees and cut some of the smaller saplings so the crew can follow it easily. And stay up with me. We have to get up on the higher ground with the fire trail. Then we can see what our next move will be." He probably didn't waste that many words about it, but he took off in a high lope and would sometimes yell back, "Don't drag your feet. We gotta get there."

After several hours of hard work, the foreman would send about one third of the crew to the outdoor kitchen set up at the main fire headquarters. They were to eat and rest about an hour, then come back on the fire line, and the next group could go. It went on that way it seemed like about eighteen hours [until] when a relief crew came out from the main camp. Charlie Wood told the foreman to take his crew back to the side camp until regular work time or until they were needed again. He told him to leave Little Porter there in case he needed an emergency driver. He told me to

find a nice comfortable place where I could rest and sleep and be ready to go if he called for me.

In a few more hours the fire was under control. Another load of men from the main camp came out with barrels of water and hand operated water pumps on backpacks for mop up work. Some of the men used axes and cross cut saws for cutting burning logs so they could be put out with water. It was all fun. I don't know how long Charlie Wood kept me there, but he did have good staying power.

There were several Forest Service officials and a few newspaper reporters around. Our fire of the season had been a big one. There were lots of Rosin Bellies and other native talent on the fire. They were on fire fighter wages and in no hurry to get away. When they were fighting the fire they really worked hard to get it under control. But after the mop up job started they would come into the headquarters camp for food and rest for a while.

It seems like a cold wind blows all night when you're on a mop up crew. If you are trying to rest a while it is hard to find firewood to keep you warm, and if you do find the wood you burn on one side and freeze on the other, like a hot dog on a griddle or a bed of coals. You gotta keep turning to keep from burning or freezing.[27]

Leave Time

One time an assistant leader wanted me to take my leave time with him so we could hitchhike into Oklahoma. It sounded OK so we got it all setup to go on Saturday since our vacation time was starting on Monday. Mr. Charlie Wood talked with us before we left, and told us very plainly that if we didn't report back to the main camp on time we would be AWOL and in a heap of trouble. He said that if we had any kind of a problem to cause a delay to be sure and call in and get an extension. So naturally we had trouble and had to call in for an extension. We got marked up a couple of days late, but the extension did keep us out of trouble with the Army.[2]

Surveying

During the early summer of 1938 we got a new type of work project at the side camp: surveying. The surveyor's name was Jackson. I guess he had a first name, but I don't remember ever hearing it. It was always Mr. Jackson. He was a really nice man.

In his work Jackson would start from a geological survey benchmark. The whole mountain country had been surveyed, and the benchmarks were easy enough to find if you knew where to look. He didn't have any trouble there. I guess he had a map to help locate them. His job was to check out the difference in elevation all around the benchmarks and make topographical maps of the area. A young enrollee named Gray served as his recorder. Three or four other CCC boys filled out his surveying crew.

I had been interested in the survey work from the start. I was wishing I could get on that job, but Jackson had his crew full before I knew anything much about it. But about the time we got back from our trip to Oklahoma, I found out that Gray was going home at the end of the enrollment period. I talked to Mr. Jackson and he talked to the foreman and they let me go out on the survey crew to learn to be a recorder. I would have just three weeks to learn it before Gray would ship out.

They all tried to help me learn the job. They would brag on me and tell me all about how good I was catching on. I guess they thought that would help me learn it, but when Gray did leave I still had not caught on much. It was like sliding around in the fog on a greased gangplank.

I don't know what did happen, but Mr. Jackson left us suddenly. Maybe he had a nervous breakdown from my boners, but he was shipped out and another boss took over. We sure hated to see Mr. Jackson leave us. My job with Mr. Jackson had been the most interesting CCC work I had got involved with, even though I was sure I never would learn what my job was.

Last Day

After two and a half years in CCC camps, my last day seemed about perfect to me. I kinda enjoyed it too. The boys who were leaving Company 3835 at the end of that enrollment period had to check in our equipment on that last day in camp.

The military could not stand for us to be idle all day. The ones that were going south toward El Paso had to leave earlier in the day. All of us going north from Alamogordo would have a night trip so we were sent to the kitchen for KP duty. We would be released a few at a time to check in all our equipment, except what we wore. Then we had to come back to the kitchen for more work duty.

I had been helping another guy washing dishes. I noticed that he didn't seem to be too interested in getting them clean. When I found dishes with

dried egg or anything that he had not cleaned good I would put them back in the wash water and tell him to clean them again. His temper started showing, and he was going to tell me off in a big way. He told me that we were leaving tonight and they can't put us on KP again tomorrow. We would not be eating out of these plates again, so why worry? I told him that I had a lot of good friends that were not leaving, and I also had a big brother that would still be there, and I didn't want to leave any dirty dishes behind.[29]

Well, we got our discharge papers that night and a ticket home. I don't remember if the train stopped and let me off at Gallinas or if it was Carrizozo or Corona. It hasn't even been fifty years yet so I should remember all about it. Maybe it's not the years that have affected my memory. Maybe it's the mileage.

Final Say

That is pretty much the story about the CCC camps. Some of the things were fun. Some were not so fun. I expect my part is about like an average young guy in that time and age. There were some boys that were a lot better workers than I was and also a lot that were worse. There were a lot of young men that got by in good shape on their $5.00 per month, and their folks lived good on their $25.00 per month.

This notebook still has a few sheets left in it, but I've run out of manure to spread and memories to share, so now's as good a time as any to end my story about what I know of life in the CCC.

Conclusion

Si Porter's experience in the CCC ended in 1939, on the eve of World War II. Like millions of other former CCC workers, Porter served in the military during the war, using his CCC background to great advantage. Living in military-like conditions, learning to take orders from camp officers and supervisors, and working hard, especially in emergencies like forest fires, facilitated the adjustment into military life for Porter and most CCC veterans. They fought bravely on many fronts, helping to win countless battles and the overall war.

Receiving an honorable discharge from the Army at war's end, Porter began a thirty-year career with the Santa Fe Railroad. As in World War II, Porter's CCC experience served him well, preparing him and his fellow

CCC veterans to work as the core of the industrial army that helped create the nation's general postwar prosperity.

If the generation that came of age in the Great Depression, won the Second World War, and served as able postwar workers was the country's greatest generation, as Tom Brokaw has suggested, then those who worked in the CCC were the backbone of that generation for the nation as a whole and for grateful states like New Mexico in particular.[30]

Notes

1. Dozens of books have been written on the New Deal. See, for example, Irving Bernstein, *A Caring Society: The New Deal, the Worker, and the Great Depression: A History of the American Worker, 1933–1941* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1985); and, more recently, Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933–40* (1989; reprint, Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2002).
2. For a sample of New Deal critiques of the 1930s and 1940s, see Garet Garrett and Bruce Ramsey, eds., *Salvos Against the New Deal: Selections from the Saturday Evening Post, 1933–1940* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Press, 2002); and John T. Flynn, *The Roosevelt Myth* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1948; Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing, 1949). Also see George Wolfskill and John A. Hudson, *All but the People: Franklin D. Roosevelt and His Critics, 1933–39* (New York: Macmillan, 1969); Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930–1980* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).
3. Richard Melzer, *Coming of Age in the Great Depression: The Civilian Conservation Corps Experience in New Mexico, 1933–1942* (Las Cruces, N.Mex.: Yucca Tree Press, 2000), 21–30.
4. Ibid., 2–16; *New Mexico State Tribune* (Albuquerque), 30 April 1930.
5. On the typical characteristics of a CCC enrollee from New Mexico, see Melzer, *Coming of Age*, 38.
6. Leonard W. "Si" Porter, unpublished memoirs, in author's possession.
7. Camp F-41-N was built in August 1935. Its first fifty-seven enrollees arrived in camp on 21 August 1935. See Porter, unpublished memoirs, 1.
8. When joining the CCC, enrollees were required to designate a member of their families to receive $25.00 of their monthly $30.00 in wages. Usually sent to mothers or fathers, this income often made the critical difference in a family's ability to survive the Great Depression. Glad to assist their families, rather than be an extra burden if they had remained at home, enrollees seldom needed more than $5.00 a month when their room, board, and most clothing expenses were provided by the CCC. Melzer, *Coming of Age*, 144.
9. As a typical CCC camp, Camp F-41-N included four 20-by-130-foot barracks (each housing fifty enrollees), a mess hall, a bathhouse, an administration building, shops, garages, and storage buildings. These prefabricated structures were highly functional, but hardly attractive in layout or design.

10. Many young men were so anxious to enroll in the CCC that they lied about their age. Applicants had to prove that they were "able bodied" by passing a physical exam, equivalent to the physical exam required when enlisting in the U.S. Army. Melzer, *Coming of Age*, 32–35.
11. CCC camps were supervised by Army officers, including reserve officers, who often benefited from the experience of working with civilian enrollees when they later commanded civilian draftees during World War II. On the Army's vital role in working with the CCC, see Charles W. Johnson, "The Army and the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–42," *Prologue* 4 (February 1972): 139–56.
12. Over 21,000 of New Mexico's 54,000 enrollees came from other states, especially Texas, Oklahoma, and Pennsylvania. Unlike Si's experience, the arrival of out-of-state enrollees often led to clashes of culture and, in some cases, initial periods of conflict in CCC camps not only in New Mexico, but also across the United States. See Melzer, *Coming of Age*, 234–39.
13. On relations between CCC camps and local communities, see Ibid., chapter 10. The Porter girl's marriage to a "CCC boy" was not unique. Dozens of New Mexico girls eventually married enrollees from local camps. See Ibid., 152–53.
14. On the important role of Local Experienced Men, see Ibid., 27, 75, 193.
15. The number of LEMs hired in a camp varied depending on work assignment and year. In mid-1933, when CCC camps were first established, 427 LEMs worked in New Mexico's 16 original camps—an average of 27 LEMs per camp. By 1936 when there were 40 camps throughout New Mexico, the number of LEMs grew to 1,279—an average of 32 LEMs per camp. See Melzer, *Coming of Age*, 193, 283.
16. On food and diet in the CCC, see Melzer, *Coming of Age*, 102–7, 232–34.
17. New Mexico's 104 CCC camps and the state and federal departments they worked under are listed in Ibid., Appendix A, 279–82. The largest number of camps (forty-eight) worked with the U.S. Forest Service, followed by the Soil Conservation Service (thirty camps) and the Grazing Service (nineteen).
18. The variety of CCC work performed in New Mexico is discussed in Ibid., chapter 5, and listed in 284–86.
19. Educational programs offered in New Mexico's camps are discussed in Ibid., chapter 7.
20. On the impact of good—and bad—CCC foremen, see Melzer, *Coming of Age*, 85.
21. CCC enrollees were nicknamed "tree monkeys" due to their extensive work in National Forests.
22. On gambling and other enrollee vices, see Ibid., 165–67.
23. Side camps, also known as fly camps, were distant, temporary camps used for small or special assignments. Ibid., 47.
24. Trips to town, known as liberty parties, are described in Ibid., 149–58.
25. From their daily work and weekend excursions in the wild, many enrollees gained an appreciation of nature and a strong interest in conservation. See Melzer, *Coming of Age*, 168–71, 273.
26. "Sawmill people" were engaged in the lumber industry in the mountains of southern New Mexico. As Porter explains, they lived isolated, rough lives, but were generally friendly to outsiders, especially if outsiders were not intrusive and could offer

needed aid such as help in emergencies that endangered their livelihood, culture, and small communities.

27. For the valuable assistance offered by the CCC in emergencies, especially fires and floods, see Melzer, *Coming of Age*, chapter 11.
28. On the risks of going AWOL, see Ibid., 51–2, 111, 244–45.
29. On the development of pride in work and other work-related virtues, see Ibid., 93.
30. Tom Brokaw, *The Greatest Generation* (New York: Random House, 1998). Many of the men who served in the CCC regret that for all its praise of the generation's contributions, this popular book never mentioned the CCC.

Book Reviews

Women in the Crucible of Conquest: The Gendered Genesis of Spanish American Society, 1500–1600. By Karen Vieira Powers. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005. ix + 230 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-3518-7, $22.50 paper, ISBN 0-8263-3519-5.)

When not ignoring women entirely, histories of the early colonial period typically have placed women into facile paradigms or marginalized their activities. Through *Women in the Crucible of Conquest,* Karen Vieira Powers seeks to redress these failings by crafting a history of sixteenth-century Spanish America in which women are central. Powers offers a balanced discussion of women's myriad social and economic roles while arguing that the conquest led to "the demotion in status of all colonial women, across race and class" (p. 2).

Concentrating on central Mexico and Peru, Powers first examines pre-Hispanic gender roles, which she contends were characterized by gender parallelism and complementarity. She goes on to tackle all aspects of women's lives, including family, labor, religion, and sexuality. The narrative moves seamlessly between Native, Spanish, Casta, and African women, considering economic and social status as well as gender. Powers skillfully describes the considerable challenges Native women in particular faced, as they struggled to raise children, feed and clothe families, and support husbands forced to participate in Peru's *mita* (labor pools), for example. To illustrate her points and people her narrative, she culls potent and often shocking anecdotes from the secondary literature. These stories powerfully demonstrate the devastating impact of some colonial institutions and practices on individuals and communities.

Though the subtitle indicates an end date of 1600, Powers includes numerous anecdotes from the early seventeenth century, suggesting a need to reconsider the book's apparently artificial chronological boundary. An expanded timeframe would allow for significant incorporation of important

recent works—e.g., Martha Few's *Women Who Lead Evil Lives: Gender, Religion, and the Politics of Power in Colonial Guatemala* (2002) and Kimberly Gauderman's *Women's Lives in Colonial Quito: Gender, Law, and Economy in Spanish America* (2003)—which would broaden a geographic focus that at times feels limited to Mexico and Peru.

Given that the present work is a synthesis that expressly attempts "to incorporate women's experiences, actions, and feelings into the official historiography" (p. 8), it is curious that some recent works do not find a place in the bibliography or notes. For example, Matthew Restall's *Seven Myths of the Spanish Conquest* (2002) and James F. Brooks's *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (2003)—portions of which might enhance or complicate Powers's work—are oddly absent. As a synthesis of scholarship in what remains a relatively small field of inquiry—women and gender in sixteenth-century Spanish America—Powers's work omits some pertinent scholarship.

All in all, the present volume is highly readable and accessible. Concepts such as mestizaje, encomienda, and patriarchy receive thoughtful explanation within the text, making it especially appropriate to students with little or no previous exposure to colonial history. The detailed conclusion ably summarizes each chapter's key points. Undergraduates will certainly appreciate this focused, succinct, and jargon-free volume. Although the book offers no new research or insights, *Women in the Crucible of Conquest* provides a valuable synthesis of the literature on sixteenth-century Spanish America and is sure to be a welcome addition to introductory and survey courses on colonial Latin America and women in Latin America.

Martina E. Will de Chaparro
Texas Woman's University

Silent Voices of World War II: When Sons of the Land of Enchantment Met Sons of the Land of the Rising Sun. By Everett M. Rogers and Nancy R. Bartlit. (Santa Fe: Sunstone Press, 2005. 348 pp. Halftones, maps, tables, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. $28.95 cloth, ISBN 0-86534-423-X, $22.95 paper, ISBN 0-86534-472-8.)

In some aspects, New Mexico during World War II was a microcosm of the American involvement in the Pacific Theater. Authors Everett M. Rogers and Nancy R. Bartlit offer readers unfamiliar with New Mexico's long and

compelling history a wonderful introduction covering all of the state's contributions to the war effort. From its crucial role in secrecy and intelligence to its initial participation in the ground warfare, New Mexico remains a state deserving of respect and honor for its contributions.

Beginning with the tragedy of the Bataan Death March and the forty-plus months of captivity suffered by American prisoners of war under the Japanese, Rogers and Bartlit focus on the issues of intercultural communication between these two clashing cultures. Through the use of primary sources, including oral histories, the reader gains a better understanding of the "mutual misunderstandings, heightened prejudices, and violent acts" committed by both countries in violation of the 1929 Geneva Convention (p. 12). This new work is commendable for its balance of the struggles of the POWs to stay alive with the determination of Japanese Americans interned throughout the West to retain their dignity. The authors provide an incisive overview of the events leading up to the Munson Report and President Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066, which launched this dark period in our recent history. They also include a well-documented discussion, again through primary sources, of the relocation process and the differences between those camps and the internment camps. New Mexico interned Japanese Americans at Santa Fe, Fort Stanton, and Lordsburg. A stark difference in the experiences of each culture remains: Japanese Americans received restitution, but the surviving POWs have heard no apology from the Japanese government.

A discussion of the crucial cryptographic contribution of the Navajo Code Talkers rounds out this interesting look at the diversity of not only New Mexico's population but also of their contribution to the war. Not recognized by our government until 2001, those who participated in this unprecedented and successful experiment are given extensive treatment. The authors let the participants speak not only of their training but also of the cultural conflicts they dealt with while in combat and, more importantly, upon their return.

While the reproduction of photographs and the layout is slightly unprofessional, it does not take away from the obvious labor and attention to detail these authors put into this important work. The book's addendum, notes, and indexes enhance its contribution to this important topic.

Nancy E. Shockley
New Mexico State University

Travels and Researches in Native North America, 1882–1883. By Herman ten Kate. Translated and edited by Pieter Hovens, William J. Orr, and Louis Hieb. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. xi + 409 pp. Halftones, notes, index. $55.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-3281-1.)

Dutch anthropologist, linguist, naturalist, and world traveler Herman Frederik Carel ten Kate (1858–1931) began his lifetime of peripatetic fieldwork in North America in 1882–83 on a fourteen-month journey that took him from Washington, D.C., and upstate New York to Alta and Baja California, Arizona, New Mexico, the Southern Plains, and Indian Territory/Oklahoma. After returning to the Netherlands, he published a narrative of his exploits and observations in Dutch, complete with copious footnotes; he intended to also publish an English translation, but his constant global movement (he worked or lived on every continent, in more than thirteen countries, and conversed in Dutch, English, French, Japanese, Arabic, Spanish, and Malay) prevented its completion. The current volume, which represents an enormous labor of translation and research by the editors, recovers and makes available to English readers for the first time ten Kate's remarkably astute and valuable field observations at a moment of critical change for Native American peoples of the trans-Mississippi West.

Following ten Kate across the North American landscapes of the late nineteenth century, the editors establish a complex set of dialogues: between ten Kate and his colleagues, traveling companions, and informants of the moment; between the Herman ten Kate of 1882–1883, 1885 (when he published the original text and footnotes), and 1889 (when he composed an additional set of notes, added here as well, written after a second trip to the Southwest); and between these historical figures and the editors, whose own notes complete the scholarly apparatus. Such multiple levels of commentary can prove arduous to the average reader, but the effort is repaid with an unusually rich understanding of the immediate experience and reflective depth of ten Kate himself; the brutal, constantly changing conditions of indigenous lives; and the intervening century of anthropological and historical reflections.

This volume is a mine of information and a pleasure to read. In addition to the three layers of footnotes, the editors have provided a set of fascinating photographs, a helpful ten Kate itinerary, a complete bibliography of his publications, and a useful secondary bibliography, especially (but not solely) for the history of southwestern anthropology. The translation by the late

William J. Orr rises to the poetic in places; the chapter on ten Kate's first-hand observations of the surrender of the San Carlos Apaches is almost too painful to bear; the chapter on his sojourn at Zuni pueblo with Frank Hamilton Cushing, by contrast, comes close to idyllic, in spite of ten Kate's rather determined anti-romantic skepticism. Finally, Pieter Hovens and Louis Hieb provide a deeply informed and sensitive introductory essay that does the additional service of tracing ten Kate's subsequent life and career through his profound disillusionment after World War I.

Curtis M. Hinsley
Northern Arizona University

Gambling and Survival in Native North America. By Paul Pasquaretta. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. xviii + 202 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $40.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-2298-8.)

The title of Paul Pasquaretta's book, *Gambling and Survival in Native North America,* is somewhat misleading. Gambling, in the contemporary Native North American context, often suggests casino gaming, and Native North America covers a vast expanse of time and space. Although Pasquaretta ultimately examines casino gaming with the Mashantucket Pequots and, to a lesser extent, the Mohawks, almost two-thirds of the book concentrates on colonial Pequot history and "the survival of indigenous peoples in the face of the European invasion of North America" (p. xii). The reader soon realizes gambling also refers to the wagers made by the Pequots over their survival and journey from "extinction" to owning and operating the highly publicized Foxwoods Resort Casino. This book thus presents an unconventional perspective on Indigenous traditional gambling and survival and early European and American gaming. Combining literary analyses of seventeenth-century fictional and non-fictional narratives, Pequot advocacy texts, Gerald Vizenor's theories and works, and Indian gambling history, politics, and literature, the author explains European and indigenous perspectives of contact and colonization.

A majority of the book emphasizes the survival and revival of the Pequots. Pasquaretta successfully employs Pequot War narratives of English colonists, including those of John Underhill, John Mason, and Lion Gardener, to reveal the complexities of indigenous and colonist relations and indigenous struggles to survive English and American colonialism embedded in

Pequot history. The stakes and wagers made by indigenous peoples, Pequots, and European and American colonists alike are each examined. Pasquaretta reveals the dealer's and player's cards by juxtaposing archival research with literary texts to gain a broader picture of Indigenous and Anglo relations. The literary texts illustrate English and, later, American attitudes and misconceptions about Indians—distortions integral to shaping American policies and attitudes.

The last section of the book includes a brief history of gaming with an emphasis on traditional gaming. The fifth and strongest chapter provides the analysis the book's title implies. Pasquaretta compares traditional gambling to lotteries in the colonies and American gaming—Las Vegas style—and more importantly discusses the Mohawk responses to gaming at Akwesasne. The focus of this chapter is not consistent throughout the book, however, and the broad scope of the study results in an equally generalized conclusion. Nonetheless, Pasquaretta's amalgamation of literature, archival documents, and literary criticism provides a unique and intriguing view of colonial relations and the rise of Pequot survival and revival.

Myla Vicenti Carpio
Arizona State University

Indigenous American Women: Decolonization, Empowerment, Activism. By Devon Abbott Mihesuah. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003. xii+246 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $16.95 paper, ISBN 0-8032-3227-6.)

In *Indigenous American Women,* Devon Abbott Mihesuah (Oklahoma Choctaw) combines her previously published essays, commentaries, and presentations on Native American women and creates a compelling conversation about Native women's activist struggles for agency and decolonization. Mihesuah categorizes the essays into three major sections: "Research and Writing," "Colonialism and Native Women," and "Activists and Feminists."

In "Research and Writing," Mihesuah begins by directly confronting the research and writing practices of non-Native scholars who write about Native women, tackling thorny ethical issues and offering prescriptions and advice for these scholars. Rather than merely taking others to task, she follows this essay with a discussion of her own ethical considerations in writing about AIM activist Anna Mae Pictou-Aquash, demonstrating that both Native and

non-Native scholars should be deeply reflective about their research and writing practices. This section then turns from the discussion of non-Natives writing about Native women to Native women's writing. Her own reviews of Ian Frazier's *On the Rez* and Linda McCarriston's *Indian Girls* serve as examples of "writing back" or gaining empowerment through writing. She ends this section with a consideration of Indigenous women in academe.

Some of Mihesuah's best work is included in the second section, "Colonialism and Native Women." The first essay, "Colonialism and Disempowerment," is a powerful reminder that the forces of colonialism continue to deeply affect the lives of Native women today in a variety of ways and settings. This essay provides a theoretical framework for understanding colonialism while never forgetting the material realities of the colonized. In "Culturalism and Racism at the Cherokee Female Seminary," one of the strongest essays in the collection, Mihesuah grounds her discussion of colonial ideology in a specific historical context and moment, allowing her to paint a complex and nuanced portrait of Cherokee women's identities at an institution that stood simultaneously for assimilation and cultural survival. In the final essay, "Modern American Indigenous Female Identity," Mihesuah turns to the present moment, outlining factors that affect current identity formation and negotiation and specifically the evolving nature of identity.

In the third section, "Activists and Feminists," Mihesuah highlights the important contributions of contemporary Native activists and feminists such as Anna Mae Pictou-Aquash, Wilma Mankiller, and Winona LaDuke. She practices the research and writing methods she advocates earlier in the collection. The final essay, "Feminists, Tribalists, or Activists?" demonstrates the multifaceted experiences, agendas, and self-perceptions of Native women.

Native and non-Native feminist scholars will find much to debate in this collection, which accomplishes its primary purposes—contributing to a growing body of scholarly literature by Indigenous women, confronting difficult topics frankly and directly, demonstrating ethical research, and providing catalysts for much-needed conversations about the complex nature of feminisms and activist agendas.

Amanda J. Cobb (Chickasaw)
University of New Mexico

The Texas Indians. By David La Vere. Centennial Series of the Association of Former Students, Texas A&M University, no. 95. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004. xiv + 293 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 1-58544-301-8.)

David La Vere's work has established him as a leading authority on Native experiences on the Southern Plains. A book devoted to the Indians of Texas by a scholar of such caliber is a welcome addition to the literature. La Vere correctly notes that Texas history is often told without considering Texas Indians, that scholars have been so focused on Spanish colonization, Mexican administration, and American expansion that they have overlooked the first Texans. To remedy this problem, La Vere has written a history that "keep[s] the Indians at center stage" (p. x). This strategy is particularly effective when he deals with the seventeenth and eighteenth century, a period when Indian initiatives and agendas played a critical role in structuring the experiences of Natives and newcomers alike.

In ten broadly inclusive chapters, La Vere lays out the history of Texas Indians from the paleoindian period to the twenty-first century. Such a work is, of necessity, synthetic, but specialists will still find much here that is unfamiliar, while general readers will appreciate La Vere's ability to be at once comprehensive and accessible. The author focuses on the period after European arrival in the Americas. Only chapter 1 truly centers on the "prehistoric" era, while chapter 2 provides a portrait of Texas Indian cultures on the eve of colonization; chapters 3 through 10 bring the reader into the modern day, with almost 150 pages (out of 238 pages of text) devoted to the period from 1500 to 1860. Throughout, La Vere deftly balances the macro and the micro. He demonstrates a solid understanding of Texas Indian history writ large and provides a wealth of easily accessible information about the various peoples subsumed under the label "Texas Indians."

As with any book, of course, there are weaknesses that must be recognized. It is, for example, disconcerting to read frequent descriptions of the physical attributes of the various Native groups when European and Euro-American groups are not accorded the same treatment. At a more substantive level, La Vere has written an Indian-centered history that uses a non-Indian category—"Texas"—as its central unit of organization. Recent work on frontiers, borders, and Borderlands has shown that the emergence of a regularized and functional socio-administrative unit like the "United States" often had catastrophic effects on Native peoples. La Vere demonstrates that the same

was true of "Texas." In most cases, as "Indians" became "Texas Indians," they were no longer allowed to live in Texas. La Vere might have done more to discuss the broader implications of this paradox.

Nonetheless, *The Texas Indians* would make an excellent college-level text. It is a valuable book that anyone with an interest in Texas history will enjoy reading.

Joshua Piker
University of Oklahoma

Navajo Beadwork: Architectures of Light. By Ellen K. Moore. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. xxiii + 248 pp. 38 color plates, halftones, map, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. $50.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-2286-3.)

As a self-designated "fanatic" about beadwork herself, anthropologist Ellen Moore has crafted a beautifully illustrated book that breaks new ground as a stellar example of collaboration between an ethnographer and her consultants. *Navajo Beadwork* contains six chapters divided into three parts: "Entering the Beadworkers' World," "Beads Then and Now," and "Creating Design." The book explores four themes: the importance of sacred oral tradition in understanding Navajo art forms; the centrality of light and its cosmological associations in animating beaded forms; the perpetuation of Navajo cultural values via beading; and the role of beads and beading in Navajo culture and spirituality, with particular emphasis on its more recent associations with the Native American Church. The voices of over twenty artisans (mostly women), inform these themes throughout the book. Although non-Navajo voices such as traders are cited, beadmakers' commentary predominates. Moore networked with Navajo contacts at fairs and through regional traders. The ethic of reciprocity between the author and beadmakers, and the latter and their kin, is continually reiterated throughout the text. Nearly forty illustrations are in color, highlighting a myriad of beaded objects, their makers, and inspirational skyscapes and landscapes.

Moore delineates the sequence used to create art as informally articulated by beadmakers and formally by Navajo consultants: prayer or spirituality (*tsodizin*), thought (*nitsáhákees*), planning (*nahat'á*), and giving it life (*iiná*). This order of artistic creation is circular, or recursive. By continually quoting beadmakers, the text confirms how they "map the context." The repetition and redundancy of recurring patterns and colors suggest a commonality of

form in which beaded objects map expressions of fundamental formal relationships. Beadmaking draws makers into active and mutual relations with kin and the non-human world. Beaded objects serve as cultural mappings of ecological patterning—references are repeatedly made to the importance of rainbows, sunset colors, and fire.

Moore's text is a timely, indeed crucial, contribution to southwestern material culture studies. Previous generations of scholars would likely situate Navajo beadwork within an acculturationist framework, designating it as an example of stylistic hybridity created to satisfy tourists. Instead, Moore's book joins an honorable corpus of works that reveal the prevalence of eco-aesthetics: Sarah Hill's *Weaving New Worlds: Southeastern Cherokee Women and their Basketry* (1997) and Bunny McBride's *Our Lives in Our Hands: Micmac Indian Basketmakers* (1990). Thankfully, Moore does not succumb to modernist aesthetics. Her book provides a refreshing and welcoming change from extant works whose authors privilege the perspectives of collectors, dealers, and traders. One hopes her text will serve as an exemplary model of collaboration for scholars of southwestern material culture who predictably emphasize connoisseurship. Although not yet available in paperback, it could be widely adopted in courses featuring material culture/museum studies.

Kathy M'Closkey
University of Windsor

Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World. Edited by Robert W. Preucel. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002. 238 pp. 43 halftones, 32 line drawings, maps. $55.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2247-6.)

Preucel's edited volume is an important addition to the new historiography of the Southwest. In fourteen essays, sixteen authors examine the Pueblo Revolt and Reconquest. The Pueblo Revolt of 1680 remains a pivotal event in southwestern history, vital for understanding both how indigenous peoples responded to Spanish colonization and to each other during twelve years of forced Spanish abandonment.

The preface, written by San Juan Pueblo elder Herman Agoyo, and the conclusion, by Cochiti Pueblo educator Joseph Suina, frame a wide-ranging

discussion of archaeological evidence. Rather than synthesize the papers, Preucel permits the authors to set forth their data and theoretical perspective. In chapter 1 of Part One, Preucel reviews the historiography of Revolt literature, summarizing published Pueblo oral histories and archaeological reports on a variety of Revolt-era sites.

Part Two examines architecture created by new communities formed in the seventeenth century. T. J. Ferguson, in chapter 2, presents the architectural and social patterns found at Dowa Yalanne, where six Zuni villages melded into a single village following the Revolt. In chapter 3, Michael Elliott uses the translations of Vargas's journals to correlate Jemez-region archaeological sites with pueblos named in the journals. Mark Lycett, in chapter 4, examines the ecological and social effects of the missions on the Pueblos.

The five chapters in Part Three use material culture—pottery, kiva murals, pictographs and petroglyphs—to discern the dynamics of social identity and cultural practices and the maintenance of Native beliefs. Two essays deal with ceramic production. Chapter 6 by Barbara Mills analyzes Zuni data, and in chapter 7, Patricia Capone and Robert Preucel examine Kotyiti (Old Cochiti). They conclude that Native women used ceramic designs to express Native beliefs in hidden transcripts, with one set of meanings for Spanish contexts and another for Pueblo people. In chapter 8, Kurt and Cindy Dongoske analyze Hopi rock art, concluding that the villagers maintained traditional religious practices hidden from Spanish authority. Matthew Liebmann, in chapter 9, argues that new social forms and Pueblo identities emerged after the Revolt, born of the selection and reinterpretation of ideas, objects, and images from Spanish and traditional practices.

Part Four investigates social and political dynamics of the Revolt and Reconquest. In chapter 10, Peter Whitely reinterprets the destruction of Awat'ovi in 1700 as a revitalization movement led as much by Rio Grande refugees as it was motivated by a new Native religion based on the use of peyote. Michael Wilcox, in chapter 11, urges historians and anthropologists to adopt a "post-colonial perspective" on the Pueblo Revolt articulated in indigenous experiences and viewpoints (p. 176). Rick Hendricks, in chapter 12, draws on his knowledge of Vargas's dairies to examine Pueblo warfare in three strategic battles. Curtis Schaafsma, in chapter 13, analyzes documents regarding "conspiracies" to defeat the Spanish that occurred between Apache groups and specific pueblos (p. 210).

This volume is sure to become a standard reference for archaeological and historical understanding of the momentous events of the Revolt and Reconquest. It is long overdue and should stimulate the rethinking of long-held assumptions about the causes and results of the Revolt.

Frances Levine
Palace of the Governors
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Surveying the Archaeology of Northwest Mexico. Edited by Gillian E. Newell and Emiliano Gallaga. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2004. viii + 344 pp. Halftones, maps, charts, graphs, tables, bibliography, index. $55.00 cloth, ISBN 0-87480-767-0.)

Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, European missionaries and travelers exploring the Sonoran and Chihuahuan deserts described the landscape they encountered as sparsely settled or altogether uninhabited. Recent archaeological reconnaissance in this area, reported in *Surveying the Archaeology of Northwest Mexico,* indicates that this was not always the case. With exciting new evidence in hand, the contributors to this volume show that prior to the arrival of the Europeans, the region supported several large hilltop villages and other settlements, some possibly occupied from as early as about 1200 BC.

The book consists of fourteen chapters: an introduction by the volume's editors, five articles on Sonoran archaeology, seven papers on Chihuahuan archaeology, and a concluding discussion by Ben A. Nelson. While most of the chapters (O'Donovan, Fish and Fish, Douglas and Quijada, Minnis and Whalen, Roney and Hard, Antillon et al., Stewart et al., MacWilliams and Kelley, Brown et al.) provide new archaeological information derived from survey and excavation, three of the papers (Vargas, Gallaga, Larkin et al.) demonstrate the analytical value of extant museum or repository collections—many of which are severely understudied in this region.

As many of the contributions reveal, much of the current work in northwest Mexico is concerned with describing basic space-time systematics such as identifying the distribution and function of settlements and determining their chronological relationships. With a few notable exceptions (O'Donovan, Vargas, Gallaga), this focus has resulted in a "bottom-up"

approach to understanding social dynamics in the region that aims to account for archaeological data by fitting them into explanatory models developed in, or applied to, Mesoamerican or southwestern societies.

One of the challenges with using this kind of interpretive framework is that it leads some of the volume's researchers to look for and study edges or boundaries of cultural systems. Yet, as Eric Wolf, author of *Europe and the People without History* (1982), reminds us, "societies" emerge as historically changing, multiple and branching alignments of social groups and segments, without fixed boundaries or stable internal constitutions. Searching for materialized social or political boundaries in the archaeological record runs the risk of under-appreciating the fluidity and permeability of cultural sets. MacWilliams and Kelley creatively address this problem by offering a useful dichotomy that contrasts "hard" (impermeable to intercultural interaction) and "soft" (permeable) boundaries around the Casas Grandes region. To be sure, continued investigations in the landscapes between major areas of settlement will help sort out these issues in a more detailed manner.

Northwest Mexico often has been referred to as a borderland or periphery of Mesoamerican and southwestern traditions, composed of technologically "less sophisticated" peoples compared to adjacent societies. The authors in this volume, however, demonstrate that the region's cultural developments do not represent pale reflections of the achievements witnessed to the north and south, but instead constitute differential participation in Mesoamerican and southwestern cultural patterns over time. This collective finding alone is significant enough to justify the book's place on the bookshelf of every Mesoamerican and southwestern archaeologist.

E. Christian Wells
University of South Florida

New Buffalo: Journals from a Taos Commune. By Arthur Kopecky, foreword by Peter Coyote. Counter Culture Series. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004. xviii + 294 pp. 39 halftones, 2 maps. $24.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-3395-8.)

Arthur Kopecky's journal of his first five years living at New Buffalo commune (1971–1976) will be of interest to anyone who wants to get a feel for what daily life was like in Taos's most successful commune. (Founded in 1967, it was still going strong on its tenth anniversary in 1977, a rarity for a

commune anywhere in the country.) The world he describes seems a million light years away, which may suggest my mixed reactions of fascination, irritation, boredom, and sympathy. There is much that seems incredibly naïve, aimless, and puerile here, not to speak of the unbearably endless descriptions of women as "ladies" who bring the magic of their domestic and sexual skills to the often chaotic tribal home in which he lives. If you ever wondered how it was possible to endure a situation where the traffic flow of your family members was so constant and ever-changing that it was impossible to keep track of who was living with you at any particular moment, and what it was like to spend one's days doing a modicum of work on the land and making crafts and a maximum amount of time playing music, dancing, hosting parties and peyote ceremonies, and getting high on drugs and booze, you will find out in Kopecky's book.

And yet, there is something very winning in the tale Kopecky has to tell. There is a sweetness and a sense of decency and caring (in him, if not in all of his housemates) about his fellow beings, both human and non-human, an increasingly serious interest and attention to the land and how to use it properly for sustainability and survival, and a genuine embrace of diversity of cultures and temperaments that is admirable. Perhaps most compelling from our present moment is the healthy disinterest in devoting one's life to capital accumulation and labor exploitation. There were also, surprising to me as an historian of the era and movement, amicable exchanges among New Buffalonians and their Hispano neighbors, with whom they bartered machines, advice, and labor. This factor adds complexity to the much better known story of the "hippie-Chicano wars."

What the book cries out for, however, is an introduction that would place it within a context. Aside from Peter Coyote's short prefatory reminder about the positive contributions hippies made to the general culture, the book provides no broader historic framework, thus limiting its interest to scholars already in the know or those who want to do the research. My own work included the larger picture: chapter 5 of *Utopian Vistas: The Mabel Dodge Luhan House and the American Counterculture* (1996) surveys the most prominent of the some thirty communes that dotted the Taos landscape in the late 1960s and early 1970s and examines them in terms of their relationships to the surrounding Anglo, Hispano, and Native communities.

Lois Rudnick
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Maria Chabot–Georgia O'Keeffe: Correspondence, 1941–1949. Edited by Barbara Buhler Lynes and Ann Paden. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003. xxvi + 542 pp. 65 halftones, 8 color plates, map, appendix, notes, index. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-2993-4.)

"All day today—Labor Day I have been making order with papers—of my own I throw away everything I can," reported Georgia O'Keeffe to Maria Chabot, in a letter written soon after Alfred Stieglitz died and while O'Keeffe was in the process of settling his estate and moving permanently to New Mexico (p. 378). One is grateful that the letters collected in *Maria Chabot–Georgia O'Keeffe: Correspondence, 1941–1949* were not among the papers O'Keeffe destroyed. This is not to say that O'Keeffe did not harbor a subconscious desire to be rid of them. As editors Barbara Buhler Lynes and Ann Paden explain, O'Keeffe was not careful about where she stored Chabot's letters; and as a result many were damaged by moisture and insects. Scrupulously reconstructing what they could from Chabot's typed drafts, Lynes and Paden have assembled a remarkably rich, two-way correspondence that will fascinate historians of women and New Mexico and, of course, O'Keeffe scholars and devotees.

Like her life—and her afterlife—O'Keeffe's critical canon is large, and this book on the Chabot–O'Keeffe correspondence is a critically important addition. No other source offers what this one does: an intimate charting of middle-aged life lived over an eight-year period, recorded by O'Keeffe herself. Containing an excellent introduction, reproductions of period paintings, many previously unpublished photographs, and judicious ancillary documentation, the volume is not bogged down by editorial apparatus. One reads uninhibitedly, a bit guiltily, thrust into a hermetic world of interpersonal relations that conceals as much as it reveals. There are the seemingly insignificant domestic details the women share with each other: "I am in bed and I have a new pair of pajamas—an event!" (O'Keeffe to Chabot, p. 451). The monumental grief they both experience as their loved ones sicken and die: "I . . . am here alone with the nurse and the little man. . . . He has an oxygen mask over his nose and mouth and breathes rather loudly—it is odd to touch him and not feel any response of any kind. . . . Alfred would so dislike what they have fastened to his face" (O'Keeffe to Chabot, p. 366). The yearning and despair that accompany deep attachment and passionate desire: "I'm not out of your life, and I'm never going to be. I just have a hunch about it—about you and me. . . . I've loved our life. Your western

mesa is cut onto my heart. I can close my eyes and see the star that is your star—our star" (Chabot to O'Keeffe, pp. 198–99).

Letterwriting is not an unmediated mode of expression. Issues of function and audience affect form and content. The language and style of the letter, as well as its disclosures, are shaped by the writer's ostensible purpose for writing and the relationship between the correspondents. In the case of O'Keeffe and Chabot, the murkiness of the women's relationship complicates these issues even further, and it is this indeterminability that ultimately makes their correspondence most intriguing.

The editors inform us that the relationship between O'Keeffe and Chabot originally began as a mutual system of exchange: Chabot would provide labor; O'Keeffe would provide housing and monetary remuneration. When the two women met in New Mexico in 1940, O'Keeffe was a 53-year-old established artist, and Chabot was a rootless, talented young woman of 26 yearning to actualize her literary ambitions. The twenty-seven-year age difference between the two, as well as the profound difference in their status, immediately suggests fertile ground for a parent/child, mentor/student relationship. Indeed, given O'Keeffe's complicated, problematical relationship with Alfred Stieglitz—who was twenty-three years her senior—one wonders to what extent O'Keeffe's relationship with Chabot mimicked the dynamics of the former. Independence, obsession, betrayal, rejection, and work are major themes in both relationships. After reading 678 letters, however, one realizes that none of these psychological paradigms or explanations suffices. More than anything else, the letters between O'Keeffe and Chabot depict an enigmatic, contradictory, maddening relation between two extraordinarily gifted women against the backdrop of World War II and its aftermath, in New York City and New Mexico.

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Collecting Santa Fe Authors. By T. N. Luther, illustrations by Marilyn Luther. (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Ancient City Press, 2002. x + 99 pp. Line drawings. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 1-58096-012-x, $22.00 paper, ISBN 1-58096-013-8.)

Collecting Santa Fe Authors follows, by nearly a decade, the publication of *Collecting Taos Authors* (1993). In words he once used to describe a colleague, the late "Tal" Luther was "a great bibliographer, bookman, and

friend"—a friend of southwestern writers as well as a collector and dealer in western Americana for over forty years. He first visited New Mexico in 1968; in 1986 moved to Taos where he became an active supporter of the writing community.

Like its predecessor, this book is a form of bio-bibliography whose intended audience is the collector. It reprints a series of articles that originally appeared in *Book Talk*, a periodical published by the New Mexico Book League. In more or less chronological order, the works of twenty writers from Mary Austin to Nancy Wood are discussed. Although primarily novelists, many of the writers also wrote poetry, essays, and works of nonfiction; these are considered "collectable" as well. Luther also discusses thirteen mystery and suspense and two fantasy and science fiction writers. In all, thirty-five twentieth-century authors are selected out of the hundred or more writers who have lived in Santa Fe.

What Luther provides is "book talk," reviewing "the major body of each author's work" (p. 2), sharing what he knows about the author, and noting here and there the subtle points that distinguish a coveted first edition from a later printing. Luther gives particular attention to relative scarcity and current pricing. "The only exact knowledge there is," Anatole France once said, "is the knowledge of the date of publication and the format of books." And yet, Luther does not provide a descriptive bibliography or even a systematic checklist of titles. Nevertheless, *Collecting Santa Fe Authors* is an accurate guide.

The authors considered all lived in Santa Fe, although some rather briefly. An unstated criteria appears to be that the authors are "collectable"—how else are we to account, for example, for the absence of longtime Santa Fe resident Ruth Laughlin, whose essays in *Caballeros* and novel *The Wind Leaves No Shadow* are two of the most popular accounts of early nineteenth and early twentieth-century Santa Fe? Nor is any mention made of Willa Cather who spent a number of summers in Santa Fe before and after writing *Death Comes for the Archbishop*. Excluded, too, are such singular collectable works, created by writers who made their home in Santa Fe, as Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur*, Adolph Bandelier's *The Delight Makers*, and Norman Hale's (pseudonym of artist Vernon Young) notorious *The Spider in the Cup*.

Luther begins his book with a brief comparison of Taos and Santa Fe and the writing communities that have developed in each. For Luther, Taos is a small village fostering independence and rugged individualism. Exemplifying these characteristics, Edward Abbey, John Nichols, and Frank Waters are among those chosen for *Collecting Taos Authors*. Santa Fe is the more

urbane and sophisticated capital. Accordingly, Evan Connell, Haniel Long, Lynn Riggs, and Roger Zelazny reflect the more cosmopolitan character of the City Different.

Luther died before he had the opportunity to write about collecting Albuquerque authors, an activity he engaged in with enthusiasm and thoroughness. Rudolfo Anaya, Erna and Harvey Fergusson, Tony Hillerman, Louis Owens, Judith Van Giesen, Robert Vardeman, and Norman Zollinger are writers he would have celebrated. For now, he has provided guides of lasting value for collectors and models for others who share his love of books penned by New Mexico authors.

Louis A. Hieb
Seattle, Washington

Third Views, Second Sights: A Rephotographic Survey of the American West. By Mark Klett, Kyle Bajakian, William L. Fox, Michael Marshall, Toshi Ueshina, and Byron Wolfe. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2004. x + 239 pp. 138 duotones, 14 color plates, map, compact disc, bibliography. $60.00, ISBN 0-98013-432-4.)

"The photographs can never be the same and that is the point," concludes Mark Klett in the introduction to his latest rephotographic project of sites scattered throughout eight western states (p. 13). And the images certainly prove that no matter how hard one tries to duplicate an existing photograph, even using the most modern, advanced technology available, and no matter how many years separate the making of those images—whether it is 100 or 20—it just cannot be done. These photographs, though they were made and remade from locations determined in the nineteenth century, are about time and change—geologic time and human and environmental intervention and change. In rephotographing these sites, Klett and his team set about to discern these changes—some obvious, some barely perceptible—and to experience these places once again.

It is inevitable but useful to begin by comparing this volume to Klett's earlier project, *Second View: The Rephotographic Survey Project* (1984), in which he began surveying and rephotographing sites that were first documented in the nineteenth century by the government surveys of Hayden, King, Powell, and Wheeler. In his text, Klett intelligently critiques the initial nineteenth-century surveys, his own earlier project, and the evolution of landscape photography by such figures as Ansel Adams and the "New Topographics" group including Lewis Baltz and Robert Adams. The histori-

cal contexts in which these projects were born help explain why Klett felt his original project needed to be repeated. Some of the reasoning seems to stem from his own existential relationship with the western landscape.

A noticeable aesthetic difference, and one that improves greatly upon the earlier book, is the larger and generally uniform size in which all the landscapes are reproduced. Many of these sites offer stunning vistas, and the consistent, generous size allows the viewer to wander through the images, noting the changes and similarities time and humanity have brought to each scene. Brief but cogent descriptions and histories of each site precede each set of images. Similar information appeared in the first book but was located less conveniently in the back of the volume.

This project is a more personal endeavor for Klett and his new team, who collaborated at every site versus working solo as members did on the initial project. Their kinship, while not apparent to the viewer when looking at the photographs, surfaces in William L. Fox's field notes, which provide a personal account of eighteen days spent photographing twenty-three sites. Together with the anecdotal information, Fox records conversations among team members that inform us about conceptual ideas that drove the project and issues encountered with the landscape.

The book is a complete, coherent project. In addition to the text is a highly sophisticated, interactive compact disc providing a wealth of additional information and images. More than an illustrated appendix, the compact disc brings a visual dimension to the project that is only possible through digital technology. The final result is well-designed and executed.

Michele M. Penhall
University of New Mexico Art Museum

Defiance and Deference in Mexico's Colonial North: Indians Under Spanish Rule in Nueva Vizcaya. By Susan Deeds. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003. xiii + 300 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00 cloth, ISBN 0-292-70520-4, $24.95 paper, ISBN 0-292-70551-4.)

Susan Deeds's *Defiance and Deference in Mexico's Colonial North* frames the story of indigenous lives in Nueva Vizcaya around the rise and fall of the missions, the leading edge of Spain's presence in these northern areas. She follows the missions as they surface toward the end of the sixteenth century, only to be submerged in a wave of multiethnic immigration, and drowned by secularizing government officials.

Franciscan and later Jesuit missionaries first emerged in the wake of brutal initial contacts—many of them slaving expeditions. Over the decades, missionaries contacted then alternately battled and converted Ximimes, Acaxcees, Conchos, Tepehuanes, and Tarahumaras through the first half of the eighteenth century. Missions created to introduce Native peoples to the Catholic faith were also intended to inculcate the techniques and work habits of Spanish agriculture. The institutions succeeded in fits and starts, and one of the great strengths of Deeds's book is the skill with which she evades both the canonizing and demonizing narratives of missionary presence in the New World. Stories with villains and heroes may resonate with a wider populace, but the tale of both corrupt and dedicated priests and of Indians who embraced Catholicism only to reject it, those who stayed within the faith, and those who refused to join provides greater human depth.

While missions of the lower Tarahumara successfully produced surplus corn and wheat for the mining community of Parral during the seventeenth century, many other missions were broke and virtually deserted by the middle of the eighteenth century. The carefully crafted role of the missions in catering to new converts had dissolved with the increasing number of non-Indian residents—often racially mixed *castas*. These new arrivals, lured by fresh mining possibilities, needed much of what the missionaries had needed: access to land, water, and labor. In the inevitable conflict between the missions and the secular economic order, the missions were the unsurprising losers.

For the Native communities of Nueva Vizcaya, the arrival of the Spaniards had highly uneven consequences. The sedentary Ximimes and Acaxcees, the earliest communities contacted, were the most devastated of all; they disappeared entirely from the map of Indigenous Mexico. While larger sedentary communities in central Mexico managed to survive Spanish intrusions, the smaller northern communities vaporized. By contrast, the more mobile Tepehuanes and Tarahumaras who withdrew to relatively inaccessible sites—out of the path of goods headed for market or to mines—survived in somewhat larger numbers. They were the only two significant Native American communities in what was once a highly diverse region.

This book illuminates the lives and fates of Native Americans—and the Spaniards with whom they came in contact—with great care and unusual fairness, and is a model worthy of emulation.

Patricia Seed
Rice University

Border Confluences: Borderland Narratives from the Mexican War to the Present. By Rosemary King. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. xvii + 170 pp. Halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-2335-5.)

In *Border Confluences,* Rosemary King analyzes a group of important novels set in the U.S.-Mexico Borderland region through the prism of "geopoetics." King defines geopoetic analysis as a critical focus on the connections between place, genre, and identity in a region of sharp cultural differences. The author's intention is to demonstrate "that the various ways in which characters respond to cultural encounter—adapting, resisting, challenging, sympathizing—depend on artistic renderings of places and spaces around them" (p. xi).

Despite a somewhat misleading subtitle (the earliest novel under consideration, Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona,* appeared nearly forty years after the U.S.-Mexican War), *Border Confluences* draws from more than a century of regional literary material to explore relationships between space and character. The book is organized around four central chapters, each devoted to a particular genre or pair of genres: historical romance, travel writing and the western novel, Hispanic bildungsroman (coming of age stories), and utopian/dystopian literature. Each chapter analyzes two or more Borderland novels after first establishing a brief theoretical framework within which to explore the genre in question. In chapter 2, for example, King invokes the conventions of nineteenth-century travel writing as well as Edward Said, Mary Louise Pratt, and James Clifford to contextualize the cultural blindness, civilizing impulse, and occasional transformation of Anglo-American voyagers to Mexico in Harriet Doerr's *Stones for Ibarra* (1978), Carlos Fuentes's *Old Gringo* (1985), and Cormac McCarthy's *All the Pretty Horses* (1992). Taken together, the chapters in *Border Confluences* present an incisive and admirably coherent tour of some of the major themes and genres characteristic of Borderland fiction.

But King aims for more than this. She makes large claims about the analytic potential of her geopoetic approach, and even larger ones about the previously underappreciated relationship between renderings of place and responses to cultural encounter in the Borderlands. Yet geopoetics as King defines it seems to have more utility as an overall frame for the study than as a sharp tool for the dissection of specific texts. In the broadest sense, the setting of a story indisputably presents possibilities and imposes limits on what characters do. And it is to be expected that stories set in the U.S.-

Mexico Borderlands often concern encounters with the "other." But it is not clear that the varied actions, thoughts, and developments of the characters that King highlights depend so much on literary constructions of place as they do on conventions of genre, the changing history of the Borderland region, and the tastes, values, and concerns of individual authors.

Nonetheless, this insightful, readable book will be of considerable use as a primer for instructors looking to integrate literature into their Borderlands history classes. More importantly, through its careful examination of the way novelists have grappled with identity in the Borderlands, *Border Confluences* ought to enrich the questions historians ask as they increasingly turn their attention to the ways Borderlands people conceived of themselves and their neighbors.

Brian DeLay
University of Colorado, Boulder

Holy Faith of Santa Fe: 1863–2000. By Stanford Lehmberg. (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: LPD Press, 2004. 220 pp. Color plates, halftones, notes, appendixes, index. $25.95 cloth, ISBN 1-890689-03-3.)

Twenty some years ago, Robert Torrez and I commiserated with each other about the troubles each of us was having while writing a centennial book for a parish. He was writing about San José at Los Ojos, while I was writing about Immaculate Conception in Albuquerque. We both struggled with similar concerns and questions: Where had the documents gone? Why are there so few photographs? Why do so few past events make sense today? Pastors rarely think about history, for they assume they will move on to another parish sometime soon. Stanford Lehmberg shares some of our complaints in *Holy Faith of Santa Fe*, but still managed to produce a substantial and enjoyable book and made it look easy.

Lehmberg, former professor at the University of Texas, Austin and former professor and department chair at the University of Minnesota, vacationed often in Santa Fe until he and his wife moved there permanently. Dr. Lehmberg spent twenty-seven years at St. Clement's Church, Saint Paul, Minnesota, as an organist and choir-director. In this book on Santa Fe's Episcopal Church of the Holy Faith, he applies his deep knowledge of the Reformation-era English Church to the problems of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Episcopalianism.

The first three chapters cover the period from the Civil War to World War I, when the leading figures were local laity: former Catholic priest José Manuel Gallegos (groom at the first Episcopal wedding in New Mexico), L. Bradford Prince and his wife, William G. Ritch, Senator and Mrs. Thomas Catron, Bronson Cutting, and Mr. and Mrs. Rufus Palen, a Santa Fe mover and shaker. Prince, appointed territorial chief justice and later territorial governor, brought his immense energy and his domineering personality to bear on the priests, many of whom left Santa Fe as soon as they could. The second era (1918–1965) featured new buildings (by architect John Gaw Meem) and the beginning of social-gospel outreach to the greater community of the city and county of Santa Fe. Chapters 8 to 10 cover the tensions and troubled times of Vietnam, the civil rights movement, Watergate, and the "open society." The years from 1995 to the turn of the millennium present a hard-won but successful return to the good times of understanding and cooperation within the congregation.

Historians ought to tell stories well, and Lehmberg's narration of the history of Santa Fe's Episcopal Church of the Holy Faith ("holy faith" is the English translation of "santa fe") does not disappoint. The roughly 200-page history has 45 black and white and 19 color illustrations, four appendices, and a thorough index. Lehmberg had the advantage of referencing fine books by Bishop James Stoney and Beatrice Chauvenet. The author's good humor and dry wit in the Anglican tradition pepper the narrative, as in the following low-key example: "In September [1939], a new faucet was selected for the Sacristy, for which the Holy Faith Guild paid and which the Rector installed, eliminating a bill from the plumber" (p. 75).

Some readers thrive on and derive enlightenment from lists of figures, but Lehmberg embeds even these statistics in readable prose; when he returns to historical narrative—his accounts of "ideological issues, personalities, and controversies, as well as the history of buildings, architecture, and music" (p. 8)—the non-statistical reader can kick back and enjoy a book that is user friendly throughout.

Thomas J. Steele, S. J.
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Portfolio of Spanish Colonial Design in New Mexico. By E. Boyd Hall. (1938; reprint, Albuquerque: LPD Press, 2001. xxxi + 95 pp. 50 color plates, 15 halftones, bibliography, glossary, index. $39.95 cloth, ISBN 1-890689-21-1.)

In 1935, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was created to provide work relief for the mass of unemployed Americans during the Great Depression. Public projects at federal, state, and local levels provided not only millions of jobs but created a heritage of public benefits that ranged from public works to art works throughout the nation.

Within the WPA, an ambitious art program for education, research, and the creation of works of art was inaugurated under the auspices of the Federal Art Project (FAP)—a program that fostered the creation of more than 2,500 murals, 100,000 paintings, 17,500 sculptures, and 300,000 prints over the FAP's eight-year existence. Working in cooperation with the Federal Writer's Project, the FAP published reproductions of some of these artworks in book form, such as *Portfolio of Spanish Colonial Design in New Mexico.*

Completed in 1938, the *Portfolio* project was headed by E. Boyd Hall and involved 44 artists and 6 engravers (judging purely from surnames, less than half of the former and none of the latter were Hispanic). The original plates were done in watercolor; from these, eleven-by-fourteen-inch woodblocks were prepared, and the resulting prints were colored individually by hand. Boyd Hall's text that accompanies the fifty examples selected provides historical background for northern New Mexican religious and decorative art, briefly identifying and discussing the sacred personages and themes depicted and the three principal areas in New Mexico from which the subjects originated. The two hundred exemplars featured in *Portfolio* were sent to Washington, D.C., where they dropped out of sight. Their ultimate fate has never been determined. (Because additional exemplars may have been made and given to participants, the total number is a matter of conjecture.)

The thirty-page foreword to this reprinted edition leaves a host of pressing questions raised by the original work unanswered. How were the participating artists selected? Why, considering the book's traditional New Mexican subject matter, were so many participants not Hispanic? Who assigned what to which artist? What was the thinking behind these assignments? How were the fifty examples themselves selected? What, besides "make work," was the point of the entire project? And if a high-quality record of the project's art was important, why were not the original plates reproduced by full-color lithography?

Indeed, after examining this book, readers might seriously question the assertion by editors Barbe Awalt and Paul Rhetts that the original edition was never published—and that most of its print run may even have been destroyed—because of an East Coast bias against New Mexican folk art,

and an inability to grasp the New Mexican aesthetic. Another possibility is that the original *Portfolio* was never published because its images were found to be lackluster copies and the quality of illustration, both within each book and from book to book, was found to be uneven.

Although some of the images appear to be meticulous attempts to copy the design motifs, decorative art, and the religious paintings and drawings of New Mexican *santeros*, none of the images captures the original vitality of the art object it sets out to portray—as, indeed, no copy really can. And because the final results are the product of a three-part process by different hands, it is not surprising that few, if any, images are inspired.

Devotees of northern New Mexican art will want to acquire this small, nicely proportioned glimpse of a little-known WPA art project and will find the black and white photos of original subjects, plates, and woodblocks in the foreword of special interest. Admirers of E. Boyd Hall who must have everything she wrote will certainly want to add *Portfolio* to their libraries as well.

Gloria Fraser Giffords
Art Historian

Life in Laredo: A Documentary History of the Laredo Archives. By Robert D. Wood. Al Filo: Mexican American Studies Series, no. 2. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2004. viii + 211 pp. Halftones, map, notes, appendixes, index. $24.95 cloth, ISBN 1-57441-173-x.)

In *Life in Laredo,* Robert Wood presents a topical overview of life in this Texas town during Laredo's early years. He concentrates particular attention on the Spanish period from 1746–1821 and the Mexican period from 1821–1848. Rather than offering a definitive history of Laredo, Wood takes us through the Laredo archives, a fantastic set of documents with their own unique history. Indeed, the Spanish carefully maintained the city's municipal records, but the records were lost in the late 1800s after the Americans assumed control. A court reporter and a janitor rediscovered the archives in 1934, but archivists have only recently catalogued them. What emerges from Wood's discussion, then, is a preliminary examination of these records and this Spanish, American, and Borderlands town.

Laredo began as both a mission and a fort in 1747. The Spanish government, Wood writes, "felt that the unpopulated northeastern part of the country [New Spain] was in imminent danger" (p. 16). Therefore, the Spanish

sent an official to establish a new town. Laredo was founded with only a handful of White settlers and a few dozen Native American inhabitants. The town grew so slowly, Wood notes, that cattle proliferated more rapidly than people did. As a result of its location, Laredo remained for most of its early history a poor and underpopulated way station for travelers en route to other destinations.

Most of the chapters in this book follow a topical theme. For instance, chapter 2 focuses on Laredo's leaders, while chapter 3 traces the political ramifications of Laredo's involvement in the Mexican War of Independence. The documents detailed in each chapter make for interesting reading. For example, in chapter 5, which focuses on sociological issues affecting local people, Wood reproduces this vignette from an 1842 criminal case: "Citizen Muñoz said that his brother-in-law . . . had threatened him with a gun while insulting him with the most vile words telling him he was a sodomite" (p. 125). The judge in the matter simply ordered the brother-in-law to stop insulting Muñoz. This chapter alone contains approximately twenty-five criminal incidents like this one, and the book is filled with similar firsthand accounts.

Life in Laredo is a first step toward a more thorough history of Laredo. Wood does not offer in-depth analysis or a sustained narrative of Laredo's early days. Rather, his point is to provide an assessment of the documents with the hope that others will write a more detailed account. Scholars interested in the Spanish colonies, the U.S. West, and Borderlands history will find this book of value.

Brian D. Behnken
University of California, Davis

Arizona's War Town: Flagstaff, Navajo Ordnance Depot, and World War II. By John S. Westerlund. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003. xvii + 304 pp. 43 halftones, 3 maps, notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth, ISBN 0-8165-2262-6.)

Fifteen million Americans migrated to urban communities during World War II in pursuit of high-paying employment at defense factories. Whether they relocated to Los Angeles, California, Charleston, South Carolina, or any of the other centers of defense work, they forever altered the cities and towns they touched. Flagstaff, Arizona, was no different.

On the eve of World War II, Flagstaff's population hovered near five thousand residents. Ranching and lumber industries and visitors to its annual Southwest All-Indian Pow-Wow sustained the community. During the war, Washington officials selected the countryside outside Flagstaff as suitable for an ordnance depot, far enough inland to be safe from Japanese air strikes yet reasonably close to the coast for rapid delivery of materiel to transport vessels supplying the nation's Pacific forces. Moreover, the vast expanse of undeveloped and underpopulated land offered Washington ready acquisition, security from sabotage, and necessary space in the event of accidental ordnance explosion. The establishment of Navajo Ordnance Depot (NOD) fundamentally and permanently transformed Flagstaff and vicinity.

NOD ultimately included eight hundred ammunition bunkers and employed a workforce of approximately fifteen thousand, three times Flagstaff's pre-war population. Jobs and rising prosperity attracted new residents, and workers funneled their wartime wages into the local economy. Community growth brought with it substantial expansion of town services, roads, housing, and entertainment options. Arizona State Teachers College flourished with the Navy's establishment of a V-12 program on campus and job-training courses to serve a nation at war. Sudden growth also generated a corresponding rise in vice and juvenile delinquency. Room rents soared as demand for accommodations far outpaced supply, and until the Office of Price Administration and the War Production Board fixed their grips securely on the marketplace, the cost of food, heating fuel, and other necessities took a serious bite from the pocketbooks of both natives and newcomers.

Of particular consequence, writes Westerlund, was NOD's creation of an "extraordinary experiment in the convergence of peoples" (p. xix). Women and African American men entered the work force, which challenged the gender and racial tolerance of town residents. Westerlund is at his best detailing the employment and work record of Native Americans at NOD. Fully ten percent of the total workforce was Native American—largely Navajo and Hopi—and during the war approximately 3,500 Indians worked at NOD. He also connects the local Prisoner of War camp, principally for captured Austrian soldiers, to the community's temperament and agricultural work. The book's only discernable weakness is Westerlund's lengthy treatment of the town's honored son and war hero, Col. Arman Peterson. The author's admiration for Peterson is evident and well deserved, but devoting an entire chapter to Peterson interrupts the rhythm of the larger story of Flagstaff's wartime development.

Westerlund successfully reveals the social, economic, and military forces that fundamentally altered one community, much like Gerald Nash masterfully explored on a regional scale in *The American West Transformed. Arizona's War Town* is a thorough, well-written study of NOD's immediate and long-term imprint on Flagstaff's development as a major city.

Kenneth William Townsend
Coastal Carolina University

Book Notes

Historia de la Nueva México, 1610. By Gaspar Pérez de Villagrá, translated and edited by Miguel Encinias, Alfred Rodríguez, and Joseph P. Sánchez. A Critical and Annotated Spanish/English Edition. Pasó Por Aquí Series. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992; reprint, 2004. xliii + 367 pp. Halftones, maps, appendixes, notes. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8263-1392-2.)

Dances of the Tewa Pueblo Indians: Expressions of New Life. By Jill D. Sweet. 2d. ed., A School of American Research Resident Scholar Book. (Santa Fe: School of American Research, 2004. xxvii + 108 pp. Halftones, color plates, map, bibliography, index. $19.95 paper, ISBN 1-930618-29-8.)

Guadalupe. Edited by Carla Zarebska, translated by Jaqueline Robinson López, photographs by Alejandro Gómez de Tuddo. (Oaxaca: Equipar S.A. de C.V./University of New Mexico Press, 2004. 358 pp. 156 color photographs, 44 halftones, line drawings, bibliography. $69.95 cloth, ISBN 970-91615-5-5, $49.95 paper, ISBN 0-8263-3411-3.)

Juan Soldado: Rapist, Murderer, Martyr, Saint. By Paul J. Vanderwood. American Encounters/Global Interactions Series. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004. xvi + 332 pp. Halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $22.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3415-1.)

Daily Life in the United States, 1920–1940: How Americans Lived through the 'Roaring Twenties' and the Great Depression. By David E. Kyvig. (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2004. xv + 330 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index. $18.95 paper, ISBN 1-56663-584-5.)

Paradise Lost: California's Experience, America's Future. By Peter Schrag. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998; reprint, 2004. xxvi + 344 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $18.95 paper, ISBN 0-520-24387-0.)

The Latin American Cultural Studies Reader. Edited by Ana del Sarto, Alicia Ríos, and Abril Trigo. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004. ix + 818 pp. Maps, chart, notes, bibliography, index. $32.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3340-6.)

Crude Chronicles: Indigenous Politics, Multinational Oil, and Neoliberalism in Ecuador. By Suzana Sawyer. American Encounters/Global Interactions Series. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004. xii + 294 pp. Halftones, line drawings, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $21.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3272-8.)

Victims of the Chilean Miracle: Workers and Neoliberalism in the Pinochet Era, 1973–2002. Edited by Peter Winn, foreword by Paul Drake. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004. xvi + 423 pp. Maps, charts, notes, bibliography, index. $24.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3321-x.)

In Darkness and Secrecy: The Anthropology of Assault Sorcery and Witchcraft in Amazonia. Edited by Neil L. Whitehead and Robin Wright. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004. 327 pp. Halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. $22.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3345-7.)

Silence on the Mountain: Stories of Terror, Betrayal, and Forgetting in Guatemala. By Daniel Wilkinson. American Encounters/Global Interactions Series. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004. 375 pp. Halftones, bibliography, index. $19.95 paper, ISBN 0-8223-3368-6.)

News Notes

Grants, Fellowships, and Awards

The Western History Association announces the winner of the 2005 Oscar O. Winther award for the best article published in the *Western Historical Quarterly*. Mark Fiege's article, "The Weedy West: Mobile Nature, Boundaries, and Common Space in the Montana Landscape," was published in the Spring 2005 issue of the *WHQ*. The award was announced at the Western History Association Conference in October 2005.

The Western History Association announces the winner of the 2005 Bolton-Kinnaird Award for the best journal article on Borderlands history. Andrew Graybill's article, "Texas Rangers, Canadian Mounties, and the Policing of the Transnational Industrial Frontier, 1885–1910," was published in the summer 2004 issue of the *WHQ*. The award was announced at the Western History Association Conference in October 2005.

The Western History Association announces the winner of the biennial W. Turrentine Jackson award to the best first book written by a new professional historian. Jon T. Coleman's *Vicious: Wolves and Men in America* was published by Yale University Press in 2004. The award was announced at the Western History Association Conference in October 2005.

Archives, Exhibits, and Historic (Web) Sites

The Albuquerque Museum announces "Picasso to Plensa: A Century of Art from Spain." The exhibit features early-twenty-first-century Spanish art and includes examples of cubism, surrealism, constructivism, and geometric abstraction. The exhibit runs through 16 April 2006. The museum is located at 2000 Mountain Road NW, Albuquerque. For more information, visit the museum website: www.cabq.gov/museum/.

The Museum of Indian Arts and Culture / Laboratory of Anthropology announces a series of installations, focusing on innovation in ceramic art titled

"Elements of Earth and Fire: New Directions in Native American Ceramic Art." The exhibit consists of three four-month installations, each focusing on one element of pottery making: form, texture, or color, and runs through October 2006. The museum is located at 710 Camino Lejo, Santa Fe. For more information, visit the website: www.miaclab.org/.

Calendar of Events

31 March–1 April, 2006: The Gulf Coast Consortium of Latin American Colonialists announces its 2006 conference, "History from the Margins: Borderlands and Frontiers in the Americas." The conference will be held on the campus of Louisiana Tech University, Ruston, and attendance by all interested scholars is encouraged. For more information, visit the website: http://es.geocities.com/historiacolonial/gcclac2006.html.

13 April 2006: The "History in Higher Education" Conference will be held at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, England. The aim of the conference is to provide a national and international forum for the development of history teaching and learning in higher education—reviewing current practices, research and innovations, and examining issues of strategic importance. It is intended, therefore, to be of value to all historians and departments interested in developing their teaching and learning practices, and contributing to the growth and development of the discipline in the years ahead. There will be keynotes, plenary sessions, parallel seminars and workshops. Participants may attend for one, two, or three days on a residential or non-residential basis. For more information contact Nicky Wilson at: n.wilson@bathspa.ac.uk, or visit the website: www.hca.heacademy.ac.uk/events/details.php?id=263&category=HEA%20HCA.

20–22 April 2006: The Historical Society of New Mexico will hold its annual conference in Albuquerque in conjunction with the city's tri-centennial anniversary. The conference will be held at the Old Town Sheraton Hotel. For more information, visit the website: www.hsnm.org.

3 June 2006: The 2006 Pikes Peak Regional History Symposium will examine the life of soldier and explorer Zebulon Montgomery Pike in recognition of his 1806 travels through the region. The symposium will be held in Colorado Springs, Colorado. For more information, contact Chris Nicholl, Symposium Co-Chair, Pikes Peak Library District, P.O. Box 1579, Colorado Springs, CO 80901, email: cnicholl@ppld.org, or visit the website: http://ppld.org.

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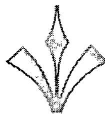

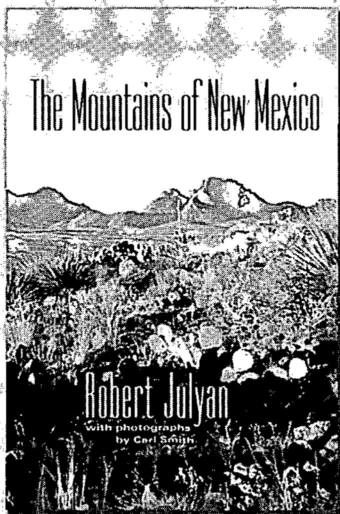

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