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Book Reviews



Miera y Pacheco: A Renaissance Spaniard in Eighteenth-Century New Mexico.
By John L. Kessell. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. xviii + 194 pp. 18 color plates, 62 halftones, map, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-4377-4.)

Renowned New Mexico historian John L. Kessell has contributed an authoritative biography of Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, an accomplished santero, artist, cartographer, explorer, soldier, politician, and family man. This long-awaited biography is a major contribution to the historiography of eighteenth-century New Mexico—but on a much more significant level. Kessell’s book, for example, fills a void in the historiography of the common history shared by Spain, Mexico, and the United States in terms of patrimony and heritage. To that end, the late-eighteenth-century religious artwork and maps created by Miera y Pacheco, the altarpiece that remains of the Castrense in Santa Fe, and varied documentation regarding historical facets of his times are a part of that patrimony. Indeed, Miera y Pacheco, the “Renaissance Spaniard,” as Kessell calls him, had a contemporary counterpart in English North America: Benjamin Franklin.

Kessell effectively uses extant documents revolving around the life and times of Miera y Pacheco, gleaning from them minute details of his career in New Spain and New Mexico. In so doing, the early chapters, while weaving hard to fill lacunae of Miera y Pacheco’s early life, contain many flashbacks, background details, and introductions of erstwhile personages that circulated in and out of his subject’s life. Some readers will find the first two chapters hard to follow, but Kessell’s weaving of the narrative has invaluable payoffs. His insights



and learned perspectives in those early chapters are aimed at developing the character of Miera y Pacheco, capturing historical and cultural values, and introducing eighteenth-century social, military, religious, and political trends. Having accomplished this, the biography changes gears into a readable, coherent narrative and analysis of Miera y Pacheco's experiences.


Although historians have known snippets of Miera y Pacheco's life, Kessell's biography pulls them all together into one complete study. Miera y Pacheco, as it turns out, was popular and respected in some quarters, but not so in others. As a cartographer and artisan who tended to outsource his skills to political bidders, he operated within a certain social stratum in which he was a favored individual. Still, his role in history is based on his accomplishments, as his biographer aptly points out. During his lifetime, Miera y Pacheco participated in two epic events, the Domínguez-Escalante Expedition of 1776 and the Anza Expedition of 1779. His role in both expeditions not only includes the legacy of his cartography of New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona, it includes personal glimpses of the man, who, in his middle sixties, participated in the exploration of that large area of the American Southwest. Kessell's final chapter deals with the last days of Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, who died on 11 April 1785, a few months short of his seventy-second birthday. Kessell's narration and analysis of the life and times of Miera y Pacheco are outstanding. This book is highly recommended to both students and the general reader.

Joseph P. Sánchez

Superintendent, Petroglyph National Monument and the Spanish Colonial Research Center, National Park Service

Lincoln and Oregon Country Politics in the Civil War Era. By Richard W. Etulain. (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2013. xii + 212 pp. 20 halftones, bibliographical essay, bibliography, notes, index, about the author. \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-87071-702-4.)

Forged letters published in 1929 in *The Atlantic Monthly* spuriously described a romantic relationship between Abraham Lincoln and Ann Rutledge and thereby catalyzed efforts by the Abraham Lincoln Association to forestall falsehoods, fabrications, and frauds by publishing Lincoln's actual papers. The subsequent *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, edited in eight volumes by Roy Basler and widely circulated as a History-Book-of-the-Month-Club bonus, projects the essence of our sixteenth president. Richard Etulain has winnowed Oregon information from that vital source, as well as from the Library of Congress's collection of unpublished letters written to Lincoln, and from other



manuscript and secondary sources, to author an engaging book that reveals the extent of Lincoln's political connections with the Oregon Country. In doing so, Etulain invalidates the notion that Oregon lay isolated on the continental fringe, far-removed from national dynamics. Indeed, Lincoln may have been better informed about politics in Oregon than any other state except his own Illinois.

Discerning readers will appreciate how Lincoln's personality emerges through communications with various personal friends who migrated to Oregon and who participated in shaping its politics: *The Oregonian* editor Simeon Francis, whose Illinois newspaper had published satirical letters penned by Lincoln and his sweetheart, Mary Todd, provoking a bizarre challenge to duel with cavalry sabers; territorial legislator David Logan, son of a Lincoln law partner; and Anson Henry, an indefatigable campaigner that Lincoln appointed Surveyor of Washington Territory. Etulain demonstrates how they, along with Edward Baker, for whom Lincoln named a son, matched eastern counterparts to exploit the 1860 Democratic fissure over slavery and to gain Republican political ascendancy, an impressive accomplishment in Oregon since it offset the political maneuverings of the state's dominant Democrat, Joseph Lane, who ran as John C. Breckinridge's vice presidential candidate on the Southern Democrat ticket. Thereafter, Lincoln attempted to wield political patronage to promote partisan loyalties throughout the region. Democrats thrived in Washington, Idaho, and Montana Territories despite Lincoln's gubernatorial appointments. However, in Oregon, Lincoln's 1860 plurality of 36 percent (5,344 votes) swelled to a 54 percent majority (9,888) in 1864, a war-time shift that Etulain ascribes to unionist sentiment and Lincoln's personal appeal.

Republican measures—railroad subsidies, land-grant colleges, and the Homestead Act (1863)—promoted western development amid war, while Lincoln apparently acquiesced to “relocation and concentration” as Indian policy. However, to John Beeson, a southern Oregon Quaker, the president pledged, “I will not rest until Justice is done to their and your Satisfaction [*sic*]” when “this war is settled” (p. 104). Assassination has left us to wonder what the Great Emancipator intended for Indians.

This book should delight Northwesterners who may feel regionally excluded from Lincolniana. In Mark E. Neely Jr.'s *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia*, the entry for “Oregon Territory” cites: “See MEXICAN WAR; TAYLOR, ZACHARY” (p. 228). In his “Bibliographical Essay,” Etulain acknowledges that “The best of the reference volumes is Mark E. Neely Jr.'s *The Abraham Lincoln Encyclopedia* (1982), which now needs updating” (p. 168). His fine book will enable that.

Jay Mullen
Medford, Oregon
Emeritus Professor, Southern Oregon University



Ernest L. Blumenschein: The Life of an American Artist. By Robert W. Larson and Carole B. Larson. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013. xv + 349 pp. 16 color plates, 16 halftones, note on sources, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-4334-7.)

In 1893 Ernest L. Blumenschein defied his father's wish that he pursue a career in music, and instead left for New York and then Paris to learn his craft as an artist. It was a decision that would change not only the course of American art history, but also the destiny of the small town of Taos, New Mexico. The story of Blumenschein's extraordinary life—his motivations, proclivities and passions—are examined in this book by Robert W. Larson. Larson consolidated the exhaustive research he accomplished with his former wife Carole B. Larson, whose untimely death did not allow her to complete the manuscript.

Blumenschein lived a long and vital life, and much of it is recounted through letters and journals. The initial chapters of the book are steeped in the necessary family psychology and cultural history that place the artist in the context of his time, but the real meat of the book begins with the elucidation of Blumenschein's driving force, his expression of creativity, and the now-famous trip to Taos where his visionary quest to create a truly American art form began.

Larson's insistence that the reader understand why the Taos artists, most notably Blumenschein, did not follow the many paths to modernism available to them during the heady days of turn-of-the-century Paris is fascinating to read. As a group, the Taos school did not share a common technique, style, or manifesto, but they did believe that an authentic American art could emerge from painting the land and the people who inhabited it—particularly the Hispanic and Pueblo cultures of New Mexico. These artists believed that academic training, principally in portraiture, was the key to interpreting an inherently American milieu.

Larson guides us through the Taos group's decision to create a society of artists as a tool to market their art. He examines Blumenschein's career as he progressed from one of the most celebrated illustrators in America to a highly acclaimed fine easel artist. After Blumenschein's wife received a large inheritance, he was able to devote all of his time and considerable talent to painting. He remained a realist, but his compositions transformed over time to reveal even more of the influence of the rhythms and modalities of the music he never fully abandoned. Through fine color plates of such works as *Dance at Taos* (1923) and *Afternoon of a Shepherd* (1939), Larson introduces the reader to the structures and patterns of the artist's more modern interpretations of the people and land around Taos.





Although several attributions and much of the historical backstory may have benefitted by placement in footnotes or endnotes, and additional reproductions of art would have been welcome to illuminate descriptive passages, scholars will find the Larsons' fine biography of Blumenschein to be a useful resource. Laymen, especially those interested in the history of art and the Southwest, will also find it quite readable.

Donna Poulton
Utah Museum of Fine Arts

Palomino: Clinton Jencks and Mexican-American Unionism in the American Southwest. By James J. Lorence. The Working Class in American History series. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013. xxii + 266 pp. 16 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, ISBN 979-0-252-03755-9.)

The late James J. Lorence chronicled the life of Clinton Jencks, organizer of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelters Workers (IUMMSW), Local 890. The blacklisted 1954 film *Salt of the Earth* featured Jencks and actual mine-workers of Mexican origin as it dramatized the sixteen-month Local 890 strike of 1950. It is an archetypal movie viewed in Chicana/o history courses as it premised the agency of the Mexican origin mining community in Grant County, New Mexico. Another hallmark of the film was its unprecedented portrayal of the intervention of Mexican origin women as they assumed control over the Local 890 picket line after a court injunction barred their husbands from protesting the work conditions of the Empire Zinc Corporation.

In the description of Jencks's commitment to democratic unionism, Lorence stresses the tradition of labor militancy in the Mexican origin community. Jencks himself, who was given the sobriquet of "Palomino" by his union brethren, held that it was the militant leadership of Mexican origin men and women that led to the Empire Zinc strike victory. To prove this, Lorence identifies Communist Party (CP) activists of Local 890 such as Juan and Virginia Chacón, Lorenzo Torrez, and others.

Nonetheless, the author rightly recognizes that Jencks, with the support of his second wife Virginia, played an instrumental role as a broker between the largely Mexican origin members of Local 890 and the leadership of the IUMMSW that held a moderate if not conservative disposition in its negotiations with Empire Zinc.

Lorence also highlights the United States Justice Department's successful prosecution of Jencks under the Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 despite his resignation from the CP just prior to his signature of the law's non-Communist affidavit.

After a protracted appeals process, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned Jencks's conviction under the law designed to cleanse communist leaders from the nation's union movement as part of a larger effort to gut the achievements of organized labor since the New Deal.

The residue of organized labor's overall decision to guard itself from the Cold War red-baiting embodied in Taft-Hartley by the sacrifice of CP members manifests in Lorence's decision to subsume Jencks's CP membership by limiting his narrative to Jencks's affiliation with the CP. This aside, Lorence describes in an earnest manner Palomino's commitment to gender equality by way of his marriage to Virginia Jencks who was pivotal in the mobilization of the women's auxiliary of Local 890. Unfortunately, tension tethered to the financial and psychological strain that came with Clinton Jencks's work as an organizer and prosecution under Taft-Hartley contributed to the couples' estrangement and ultimate divorce.

In conclusion, the prose of *Palomino* is clear and the content well organized. Researchers and students interested in the history of Chicanas, Chicanos, and unionism in the Southwest will find *Palomino* a valuable resource.

Frank P. Barajas
California State University, Channel Islands

New Mexico's Spanish Livestock Heritage: Four Centuries of Animals, Land, and People. By William W. Dunmire. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013. xii + 233 pp. 47 halftones, maps, tables, addendum, notes, literature cited, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8363-5089-3.)

In this richly detailed and informative work William W. Dunmire, a naturalist and retired National Park Service superintendent, charts the history of domestic livestock in New Mexico from its arrival in the sixteenth century to the present. A wealth of illustrations including maps, photographs, and sketches by Vangie Dunmire effectively convey the practices, techniques, and tools of the livestock industry. The primary intended audience is New Mexico residents. The volume continues Dunmire's broader study of intercultural and intercontinental transfers of species and is somewhat of a sequel to his 2004 work, *Gardens of New Spain: How Mediterranean Plants and Foods Changed America*, published by the University of Texas Press. Not heavily interpretive and lacking a formal conclusion, the work nevertheless significantly enriches our understanding of the centrality of livestock to many of the signal events and developments in New Mexico's history, particularly in the colonial period.



Although the Indian peoples of North America domesticated dogs, ducks, and turkeys in pre-Columbian times, larger domesticated animals were introduced in the American Southwest by the Spanish. Horses, mules, donkeys, cattle, sheep, pigs, and goats all came to the New World aboard Spanish ships and entered New Mexico with the sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions. Perhaps as early as 1609 the Pueblo Indians acquired their own goats, cattle, and horses while Apache and Navajo raiders obtained horses and sheep as the century progressed.

Dunmire demonstrates the centrality of livestock to Spanish colonization, trade, intertribal relations, and conflicts between Spaniards and Native Americans. Livestock was essential to the subsistence activities of Spanish colonists, and animals provided an important medium of exchange. The trampling of Pueblo cornfields by Spanish livestock was a key catalyst of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Sheep and cattle also altered the diet and clothing of Native Americans. Among the Pueblos wool supplanted cotton as the key fiber for rugs and cloth, while mutton became a mainstay of the Navajo diet. Rapid transit on horses and the prospect of acquiring livestock provided an important incentive for Comanche, Apache, and Navajo raids of Pueblo and Spanish communities. Large-scale cattle ranching, however, did not flourish until after the U.S.–Mexico War. The great era of open range cattle ranching and politically powerful cattle kings extended from the 1860s to the 1880s. In reconstructing the history of livestock, Dunmire draws upon a wealth of primary documents including gubernatorial edicts, military orders and reports, maps, official tabulations, and clergy reports.

The author focuses largely upon the Spanish colonial period and the nineteenth century and pays appropriate attention to the implications of livestock for native vegetation, rangelands, and waterways. He concludes, “It’s a challenge to come up with any beneficial long-term effects upon New Mexico’s natural environment that may have resulted from the arrival of Spanish livestock” (p. 134). A brief chapter, drawn heavily from secondary sources, summarizes key developments from 1900 onward in rapid-fire succession. From the standpoint of coverage Dunmire’s relative neglect of the modern period is unfortunate; in these crucial decades sheep ranching transitioned from a significant economic enterprise to a marginal pursuit and dairying and cattle ranching became more important.

Brian Q. Cannon

Brigham Young University

From Fort Marion to Fort Sill: A Documentary History of the Chiricahua Apache Prisoners of War, 1886–1913. Edited and annotated by Alicia Delgadillo with Mariam A. Perrett. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2013. xliii + 359 pp. Color plates, 62 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$70.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8032-4379-8.)

This work is an ode to Gillett Griswold, director of the U.S. Army Field Artillery Museum at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, from 1954–1979, and the man who gathered the records that comprise this volume. Editor Alicia Delgadillo states in her preface that the “intent of this volume is to reconstruct prisoners’ lives from archival material, illustrated with unpublished photographs that provide an intimate look into their world” (p. xii). What the volume provides is a wealth of well-researched primary documentation that relates brief biographical information on the Chiricahua Apache prisoners. The biographies that make up the 279 pages of this work may be as brief as date of birth or death, and where the individual is buried, or span six pages as does that of Naiche (Christian). Each tribal member’s band affiliation and parentage is present, which adds considerably to the volume’s use by future scholars studying this topic. The volume also contains sixty-two photographs and eight color plates that are accompanied by both factual and cultural information for each image.

The preface tells of the origin of this project and its eventual promulgation, as well as its structure and abbreviations’ translations. A twenty-three page introduction provides a brief historical sketch of Apache history from migration from Alaska and Canada to the prisoners’ eventual release from bondage after twenty-seven years. Here Miriam A. Perrett correctly notes that one of the invaluable contributions of this volume is the inclusion of women and children and their kinship and band connections. Overall, the introduction provides a solid foundation for understanding the biographies and images that follow.

For any scholar interested in Apache history, particularly that of Fort Marion prisoners, this volume will be an invaluable resource. Griswold and his wife Lily not only gathered documentary evidence from archives; they interviewed former Apache prisoners of war and non-Indians who formed close connections with these Apaches. These interviews reveal valuable information on kinship, economic, political, and social happenings within these refugee communities. Information revealed includes labor and marriage accounts, who tribal leaders were, who drank, who were arrested, and where they lived, died, and were buried.

However, this documentary volume is not without some small problems. Neither the editor nor contributor provide suggested uses for this volume or




recommended analytical frameworks that this work might support. Also, family trees would have been invaluable in further illustrating the kinship and band connections for future researchers. This is a weakness only in that the volume is clearly designed as a guide on this particular topic. Finally, while this volume does not “reconstruct prisoners’ lives,” it helps provide scholars the tools to do just that in future monographs.

Jeffrey D. Means
University of Wyoming

I Fought a Good Fight: A History of the Lipan Apaches. By Sherry Robinson. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2013. xxxvi + 495 pp. 24 halftones, 11 maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$32.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-57441-506-3.)

In her expansive thirty-eight chapter work *I Fought a Good Fight: A History of the Lipan Apaches* journalist Sherry Robinson sets out to not only elucidate the history of the Lipans and distinguish them from other Apache peoples, but also bring their story full circle into the twenty-first century. Robinson introduces her work with an anecdote. While attending a lecture, a Lipan man reacted to a historian that declared the Lipan to be an artifact of the past. “I’m Lipan. Do I look extinct to you?” the man replied, and from this opening salvo for Lipan uniqueness Robinson sets out on her mission to write a detailed Lipan history (p. xiii).

Discussing the social, cultural, political, military, technological, and physical differences that set the Lipans apart from other Apache groups, Robinson constructs a narrative that is detailed and rich. Utilizing an impressive array of primary sources (Spanish, French, Texian, and American) and Lipan oral accounts, Robinson creates a balanced portrait of the Lipan. Instead of being depicted as victims or aggressors, the Lipan are portrayed as a complex sociocultural community that is misunderstood and underrepresented in Western history. She showcases their vast hegemonic range (from the Plains to the Southwest and from Texas into Mexico) and ability to blend other cultures with their own in order to survive and adapt in the face of change as Europeans, other American Indians, Texans, and whites made their way into Lipan territory. Tracing the Lipans from contentious relations with the French and Spanish from the sixteenth to eighteenth century to their attempts to maintain autonomy against the onslaught of white settlers and the U.S. government’s forced assimilation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Robinson narrates a full history of the Lipans that brings their worldview into her analysis of Lipan life.



When compared to other volumes on the Lipan Apaches (Thomas F. Schilz, Thomas A. Britten, Nancy McGowan Minor) Robinson's work adds to scholarship about the Lipan and fills gaps not addressed by other scholars (i.e., relationship with the French, cross-border cultural contact in Mexico, use of Lipan oral tradition in conjunction with non-Lipan sources, and current status of the Lipan). Her treatment of the Lipan's contacts with Spaniards, Natives, and mestizo peoples in Mexico contributes to the field of Borderlands studies by placing the Lipan in hemispheric perspective rather than limiting them to the Southwest. By geographically placing the Lipan outside of the Southwest in North America, she extends our knowledge about them and their relationships in and impact on the development of American Western history. Her narrative flows and engages the reader in a historical dialogue with the Lipan past and present and leaves one wondering about the future of this overlooked people.

Michelle M. Martin

Rogers State University, Claremore, Oklahoma

Native and Spanish New Worlds: Sixteenth-Century Entradas in the American Southwest and Southeast. Edited by Clay Mathers, Jeffrey M. Mitchem, and Charles M. Haecker. Amerind Studies in Anthropology Series. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013. xxi + 382 pp. Halftones, 10 maps, tables, charts, 11 graphs, appendix, notes, references cited, about the contributors, index. \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-3020-5.)

Clay Mathers, Jeffrey M. Mitchem, and Charles Haecker have corralled an impressive set of essays into their comparative edited volume on the sixteenth-century Southeast and Southwest. The editors argue in their introduction that such a collection is timely: archaeologists have uncovered new sites and assemblages, historians have brought new documents to light, and a new generation of scholars has recognized the need to link events at the micro level with larger, macro-level trends. Each of the essays succeeds in its own way, though some are more preliminary and their conclusions more tentative. As a whole, the book points to the possibilities of interdisciplinary, ethnohistorical work.

The introduction lays out the themes of the book and previews each of the contributions. The volume follows a mostly parallel organization thereafter: section headings include Native Perspectives, Historiography, Climatic Influences and Impacts, Disease, Political Organization, Conflict, and a two-part Discussion which serves as the book's conclusion. In part because the various authors are conversant with each other's work (the papers derived from two archaeological conferences), and because of careful editing, the book hangs together well.



Taken together, the essays argue for a nuanced, multifaceted approach that takes full account of the cultural, climatic, political, and even epidemiological contexts surrounding the advent of the Spanish in the Southeast and Southwest. The archaeological essays place individual site analyses within a hemispheric context, adding layers of richness and complexity to both. The result is a more accurate portrayal of the processes by which Native communities throughout the Southeast and Southwest responded to the threats and opportunities presented when foreigners invaded their homelands.

Some contributions speak a language well suited to graduate seminars, while others, particularly those of a more historiographical bent, would work well for advanced undergraduates. Though space constraints prohibit an essay-by-essay rundown of the volume, each of the chapters has something to recommend. One of the real gems is the discussion chapter written by David Hurst Thomas. Thomas stitches together ideas from the various essays to paint a portrait of two dynamic regions and their responses to the arrival of the Spanish.

As the individual chapters make clear, the Native worlds the Spanish invaded were really quite distinct from each other and internally diverse: Southeastern towns were fairly compact, and maintained long traditions of chiefly power and tributary relationships; by contrast, settlements in the Southwest were more dispersed, and their inhabitants imagined political power in different ways. In short, these regions did not have all that much in common until the Spanish showed up, claiming territory based on the “discoveries” of an eccentric Genoan whose misnomer, “Indian,” has proven fairly long-lived. Ordinarily, this would raise concerns that the book reinforces colonial narratives and privileges European perspectives. The editors and authors manage to avoid this pitfall by paying close attention to Native voices and using textual and archaeological sources in innovative ways. One conclusion is inescapable: archaeologists and historians still have a lot to learn from each other if scholars are willing to move beyond the borders of their respective disciplines.


Matthew Jennings

Middle Georgia State College, Macon Campus

No Mere Shadows: Faces of Widowhood in Early Colonial Mexico. By Shirley Cushing Flint. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013. xvii + 184 pp. 18 halftones, maps, charts, notes, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-5311-5.)

This book is a highly readable case study of three generations of strong widowed women, all members of one elite family, who lived in Mexico during the





sixteenth century. The author begins with doña Marina Flores Gutiérrez de la Caballería (1489–1551), member of an important family with Jewish roots in Ciudad Real. Doña Marina arrived in Mexico City in 1523, four years after the conquest of Tenochtlán, accompanied by her husband, Alonso de Estrada, the newly appointed royal treasurer of New Spain, and two of their five children. Widowed seven years later, doña Marina engaged in lengthy litigation to protect her home and property (including several encomiendas), maintain the guardianship of her minor children, and plan their eventual marriages to people of power. She successfully petitioned Queen Juana at least twice to protect her assets.

The same determination to protect the wealth and reputation of the family was repeated in the histories of her daughters, all widowed before age thirty-two. Doña Luisa de Estrada (1513–1572) successfully fought to protect her inheritance against new laws removing encomiendas at the end of the life of the original grantee. Doña Francisca de Estrada (1527–1602) secured her guardianship of her only granddaughter against the machinations of an audiencia judge who repeatedly tried to seize the child's property by marrying her to his minor son. Doña Beatriz de Estrada (1523–1590) chose to pursue a religious life as a beata after the death of her husband, although she never entered any formal institution. Lastly, another granddaughter, doña María de Sosa, regained her family's honor and reputation after her husband was executed for supposedly fomenting rebellion.

The author's overarching argument is these widows were independent agents who chose not to remarry for both personal and economic reasons, and instead actively protected the inheritance of their children. During much of the sixteenth century, the widows were part of an ongoing battle on the part of the local elite to preserve their encomiendas in the face of the Crown's desire to limit the elite's power base through escheatment. The stories of the women's successes and failures as they battled to preserve what they believed to be rightfully theirs highlights their use of legal suits, petitions, and kinship networks.

In addition to being meticulously researched, I applaud the author for clearly distinguishing between what she knows factually and what she hypothesizes might have happened. She also suggests that by the end of the sixteenth century there was a growing animosity between creoles and peninsulares who envied the wealth of the original settler families. I do have one minor quibble: the book's title should have been "Faces of *elite* women." The females of the Flores Gutiérrez de la Caballería–Estrada family were wealthy, well-connected, and literate. Although the model of the poor, helpless widow certainly did not apply to the women under study in this monograph, it did apply to the vast majority of widows of middling or plebian groups. Nonetheless this is an

important contribution to both the history of sixteenth-century Mexico and women's history.

Susan M. Socolow
Emory University


Time and Time Again: History, Rephotography, and Preservation in the Chaco World. Photographs and commentary by Peter Goin, text by Lucy R. Lippard. (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2013. 235 pp. 58 color plates, 65 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, credits, index. \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-89013-577-8.)

Nothing fascinates people in the Southwest more than Chaco Canyon or Mesa Verde. These Four Corners complexes of wonderful masonry buildings amid courtyards and plazas, all of them scattered about a foreboding, if beautiful, landscape of red and yellow desert and green mountain woodlands, have developed quite a hold on the American imagination since their rediscovery in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Puzzling ancient roadways in the Chaco country led to them, or away from them, often in the cardinal directions. Or perhaps they were not roads at all. At Mesa Verde, people lived in alcoves in the cliffs below their fields, and their neighbors in the foothill country to the northwest built sturdy stone towers at the heads of their canyons, near their own gardens. Are these watch towers? Granaries? No one is sure.

Many of the buildings at Chaco, which were erected painstakingly over the course of centuries, align with the cycles of the sun and the moon—and with each other. People traded with the ancient Mexicans here—turquoise beads, parrot feathers, piñón nuts, copper bells, and seashells running through their fingers. And now we know, thanks to recent work by the brilliant archaeologist, Patricia Crown, that they sat and watched all this go on while drinking mugs of chocolate. Or at least some of them did. We are not quite certain if there was a marked social hierarchy in their society.

To picture these places and people, Peter Goin of the University of Utah has assembled a remarkable set of early and contemporary photographs of the same buildings at both Chaco and Mesa Verde. The modern photos (his own work) are rephotography—a view of an Ancestral Pueblo town or building as it currently exists—and Goin is careful to note that his shots may do as much to define what is important to photograph and how we should feel about his subject matter as did the originals, which in some cases are over one-hundred-years old.



However, this book accomplishes more than a reader might expect from a fine collection of photographs—quite a bit more. The renowned art critic and historian Lucy Lippard has produced perhaps the best synthesis to date of our knowledge of the ancient Pueblo people of Chaco and Mesa Verde in her smooth and flawless narrative. Following close on the heels of her excellent and highly original *Down Country* (2010), a history of the ancient Galisteo Basin, *Time and Time Again* is difficult to put down.

This combination of compelling photographs and inspired writing about one of the Southwest's great subjects is in several ways definitive, and will likely remain so for some time to come.

Baker H. Morrow
University of New Mexico

Frontier Cavalry Trooper: The Letters of Private Eddie Matthews, 1869–1874. Edited by Douglas C. McChristian. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2013. xviii + 414 pp. 20 halftones, maps, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-5226-2.)

Frontier Cavalry Trooper is the story of a mistake. On the road, penniless and alone at nineteen years old, Eddie Matthews joined the U.S. Army, and regretted it almost immediately. Within a month, he wrote home that he doubted he would reenlist. Normally stationed at Fort Union, he found New Mexico a “miserable country” (p. 110). Beset by poor food, corruption, and theft, only his desire to not dishonor the family name kept him from deserting. His letters express bitterness, cynicism, and antagonism toward red, white, black, and brown frontiersmen alike. Yet he reenlisted three years after his first tour in the army came to an end. What can such a sour character tell us?

First, that the frontier army had many flaws as an organization. Matthews was intelligent, literate, and observant. The son of a postmaster, he largely served as a clerk, and sometimes as quartermaster sergeant. He thought himself a poet and considered drill easy. Most of his comments narrate daily life, condemning almost everything about the frontier army. Indeed, *Frontier Cavalry Trooper* presents the most thorough denunciation of the frontier army's ethics, daily efficiency, and conditions I have read.

Yet, Matthews felt compelled to defend that army against civilian charges, whether of brutality toward Indians or of ineffectiveness against them. He joined forty enlisted soldiers in purchasing a saddle for an officer they admired. He debated his father's emphasis on linear tactics, observing that the frontier army did not fight by the manual: “The only tactics used in fighting Indians are



the same as used by them,” which he described as common sense, and anything that would provide an advantage (p. 213). He gradually adopted Regular Army resentment toward the frontiersmen whose land hunger led to Indian wars, and sneered at the militia and its advocates: “There never was a man that dispired [*sic*] the Army, especially the Regulars, more than I do today but still I give it credit for all it deserves. And know that it can do; and does as much as any same number of people could do under the circumstances” (p. 248).

Matthews’s anger seems to have come from a mix of restlessness and intelligence—from frustrated ambition. His parents, English immigrants, seized opportunities and made a respectable life in western Maryland before the Civil War. His father, who must have developed political connections, was commissioned a volunteer lieutenant and took pride in his service to the Union. Yet economic insecurity dogged Eddie Matthews, who did not settle down until he married at age forty-nine. He then worked in a Pennsylvania cigar factory for more than thirty years, dying soon after his wife in 1932. McChristian thinks he would have remembered his military service as the highlight of his life. But memory can be a tricky thing.


Samuel Watson

United States Military Academy

Revelation, Resistance, and Mormon Polygamy: The Introduction and Implementation of the Principle, 1830–1853. By Merina Smith. (Logan: Utah State University Press, an imprint of University Press of Colorado, 2013. 267 pp. 21 halftones, bibliography, index. \$29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87421-917-3.)

Merina Smith begins her valuable book with Brigham Young’s claim that when Joseph Smith Jr. introduced him to plural marriage, he was so opposed that he “desired the grave” (p. 1). The author’s purpose is to show how Mormons moved from opposition to acceptance (if not always practice) of plural marriage. This book lays out the dialectical process by which Smith built the theological underpinnings for plural marriage while haltingly implementing it in practice, with the backlash, mistakes, and retrenching that implementation entailed.

The author draws on the work of many scholars, especially Lawrence Foster, who have helped demonstrate Mormonism’s appeal in a young republic uncertain about societal change and anxious for stability and order as well as salvation and exaltation. She puts plural marriage at the center of Joseph Smith Jr.’s family-centered theological narrative that offered such heavenly promises. She accepts Richard Bushman’s explanation that polygamy resulted because the Mormon founder “lusted for kin,” not just for women, although she acknowl-



edges the attraction that he sometimes expressed for his would-be wives (p. 65). All but the last chapter of this book cover the period before the Latter-day Saints moved west, during which time plural marriage was officially secret, although widely rumored. The author admits the relative lack of sources for the study of early polygamy, also a result of secrecy, and uses a handful of well-documented examples to illustrate her case, especially John Fullmer's family, Patty Bartlett Sessions, and John D. Lee's family. These examples enliven the text and allow the author to make well-reasoned comments about the trials of plural marriage, especially for women, but they raise one of my few quibbles with this book: with such scanty evidence, I cannot accept that "most [Mormons] were at first firmly, even passionately opposed" to plural marriage (p. 12). The evidence *suggests* that many originally objected to the practice, but with such silences, firm and passionate opposition from "most" cannot be definitively proven.

The author recounts how secrecy contributed to divisions and dissent within the Mormon ranks, especially from Emma Smith and church leaders such as the Law brothers, as well as outside hostility that culminated in the Smith brothers' murders. But she also persuasively describes how secrecy (including plenty of lies, public and private) allowed Joseph Smith to carefully establish the conditions—the theological narrative, endowments, and ordinances that promised salvation and exaltation—that would eventually result in the committed polygamist Brigham Young's succession, and, perhaps more importantly, widespread acceptance of plural marriage among the Saints after Smith's death. This book complements Todd Compton's *In Sacred Loneliness* (1997), Richard Bushman's *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (2005), B. Carmon Hardy's *Solemn Covenant* (1982), and D. Michael Quinn's *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (1997), all of which the author uses extensively. Merina Smith has succeeded in her goal of writing a clear, readable account of Nauvoo polygamy that focuses on "the trial-and-error way Mormon theology developed, the story-based nature of Mormon theology and belief, and the problems of implementation and resistance" (p. 12).

Jeffrey Nichols
Westminster College