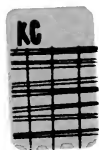
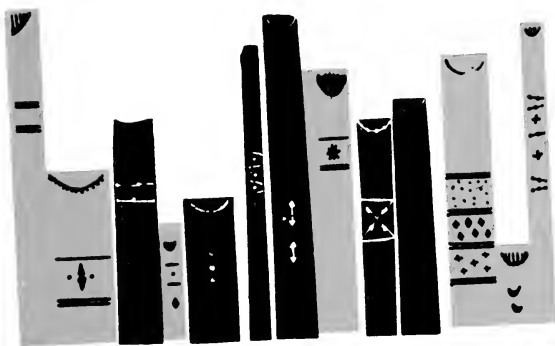




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HISTORICAL REVIEW

*Editor*

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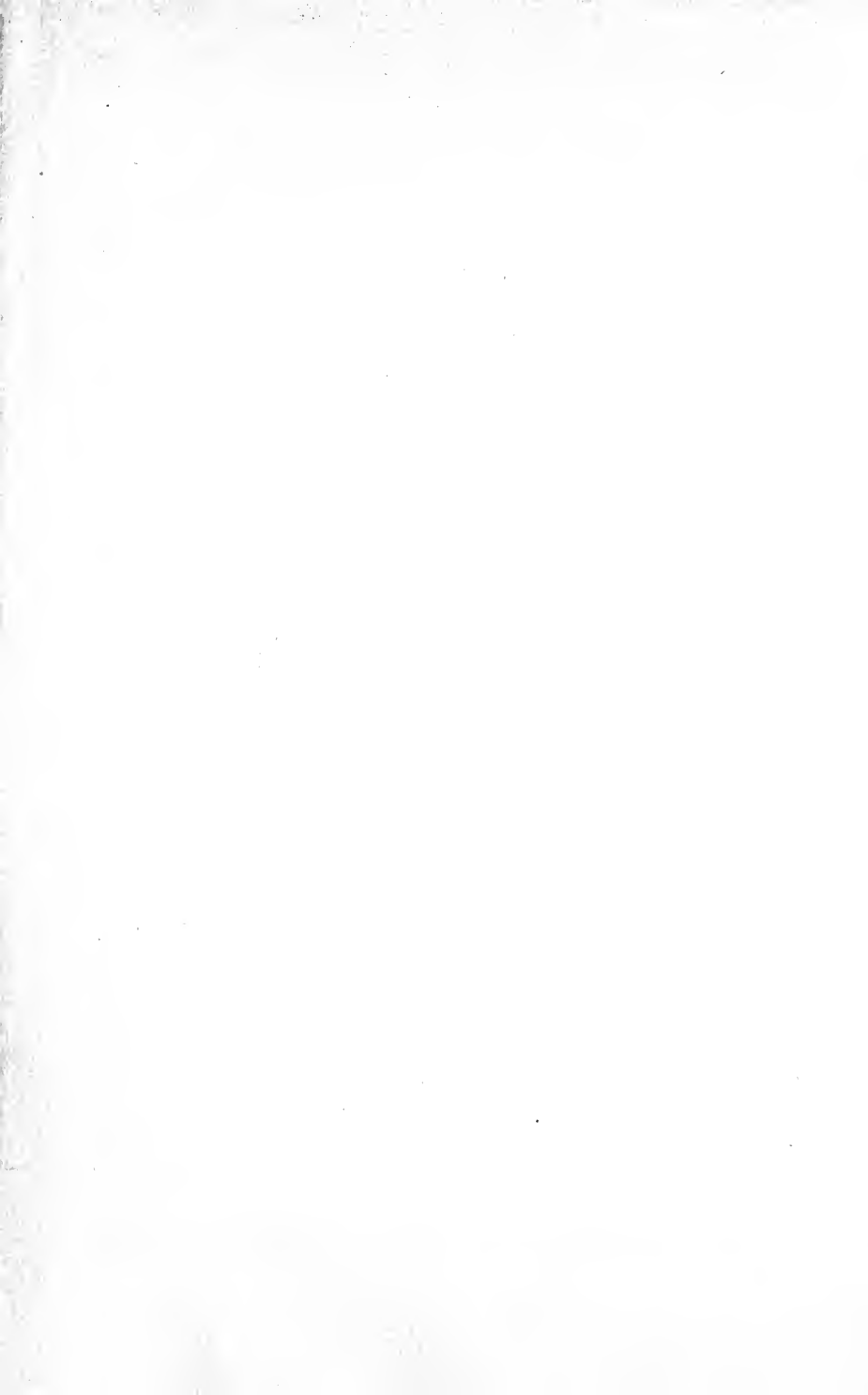
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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Vol. V.

January, 1930.

No. 1.

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## KEARNY AND "KIT" CARSON

AS INTERPRETED BY STANLEY VESTAL<sup>1</sup>

THOMAS KEARNY

Having read recently the brilliantly entertaining, but apparently unfactual life of a supposedly famous "foe" of Maj-Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny,<sup>2</sup> the writer studied the original records of the court-martial of Lieut-Col. John C. Fremont<sup>3</sup> and other original material to investigate the truth of these alleged "facts" presented as historical by Mr. Vestal; and he turned also to tradition in the Kearny family to interpret the relations of Kearny with Carson and Fremont. Just *what were* the relations between Kearny and Carson in their famous march from Socorro, New Mexico, to San Diego, California, in the summer and fall of 1846? Upon the basis of these authoritative sources the writer must disagree with Mr. Vestal's statement and interpretation in many historical essentials.

In the first place, Mr. Vestal asserts that Kearny, when he met Carson coming from California (at Socorro on October 6) with intelligence of the conquest of California, *already* bore enmity to Carson; placing this dislike upon the grounds that "the West Pointers did not love

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1. Stanley Vestal, *Kit Carson, a Happy Warrior of the Old West*.

2. Often mis-spelled as "Kearney," and also often mispronounced. The right pronunciation has ever been "Karny." For geneological data supplied by the author, see the introduction to the letters following.—Editor.

3. Senate Ex. Doc. no. 33, 30th Congress, 1st Session.

Fremont," and again, that "Kearny's dislike for Fremont probably extended to his right-hand man 'Kit' Carson."

Now *at that time* no friendship could have been firmer and more intimate than the friendship between Kearny and Fremont, his wife Jessie and Senator Benton (Fremont's father-in-law), or between their families; and there is no record anywhere of Kearny then bearing anything but personal regard for Carson, or Carson for Kearny.

The S. W. Kearny family were really St. Louis residents, and had been there since 1820 when Kearny, a New Jerseyman, had marched with the 6th Infantry from Plattsburgh, New York, to St. Louis and from there to Council Bluff, Nebraska; proceeding thence in 1820 to make the first journey of white men from the Upper Missouri to Camp Cold Water (later Fort Snelling, near the present St. Paul); and thence down the Mississippi River and so back to St. Louis.<sup>4</sup>

Kearny had married the step-daughter of the governor of Missouri Territory, William Clark (of the Lewis and Clark Expedition); and the Bentons, the Kearnys and the Clarks and (later, after his marriage) Fremont, during his visits to St. Louis, formed part of an intimate aristocratic society in the "capitol of the trans-Mississippi west."

Moreover, at the very moment when Kearny met Carson, the former was in the position of high command that he occupied principally because the all-powerful democratic leader, Senator Benton, had urged President Polk to appoint Kearny to the command of the "Army of the West," planned by Polk to occupy New Mexico and California; and this, despite the fact that Kearny was a whig!

And then too, Kearny was *not* a "West Pointer"! Not one of the three commanders of highest rank in the Mexican War was a West Pointer, — Taylor, Scott nor Kearny;

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4. *op. cit.*, p. 231.

5. Kearny's *Journal*, Mo. Hist. Soc. Coll.

and the tradition of the army at that time was embodied in the persons of its chief officers.

Hence the reasons *in fact* upon which Mr. Vestal bases the alleged enmity of Kearny to Carson were unreal. Let me repeat that *at that period* the Kearnys, the Fremonts and the Bentons were bound by ties of family and personal intimacy. *Later* when Kearny lay dying in 1848 he asked Jessie to visit him, and she denied his dying request.<sup>6</sup>

Mr. Vestal then proceeds to assert that Kearny was disappointed to learn from Carson that California had already been pacified.<sup>7</sup> No word from Captain Abraham Johnston,<sup>8</sup> none from Lieutenant Emory<sup>9</sup> (the sole scribes of the expedition), and none from any other member of the expedition supports this assertion; Carson is simply represented as *so interpreting* Kearny's mind without the author stating any facts upon which Kearny, a trained army officer who had been urgently commanded by Polk, his commander-in-chief, to fulfill Polk's *dominant desire in the war* (namely, to occupy Alta California if possible before the fall of the year), is said to have felt disappointment that this dominant desire of the president had been accomplished! At least, on the record, one interpretation is as good as another; and if Kearny was true to the president's plan, he must have gone forward to fulfill the *balance of his mission*, to "take possession and to govern" the conquered province<sup>10</sup> with alacrity and resolution; and without the least scintilla of that dejection ascribed to him by Carson (in this book) who, when commandeered by Kearny, is represented as trying to escape the duty of guiding Kearny's command to California.<sup>11</sup>

Mr. Vestal now advances with Kearny and Carson to

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6. Nevins, *Fremont*.

7. *op. cit.*, p. 233.

8. Capt. Abraham R. Johnston, *Journal*, 1846 (in Emory, *Notes*.)

9. Lieut. Wm. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance* (Senate Ex. Doc. no. 41, 30th Cong., 1st Sess.)

10. Kearny's orders of June 3 and 18, 1846.

11. Grant, *Kit Carson's Own Story*.

the capture "late in November," 1846, of despatches which told Kearny that "it [the conquest of California] had to be done all over again";<sup>12</sup> at this point remarking that "on first hearing of the conquest [at Socorro, October 6] Kearny had reduced his 'Army of the West' to little more than 100 men", and adding, "now he had leisure to reflect upon his folly. But Kearny pushed on. *He was as rash as he was unprepared*"!

"Late in November" Kearny was two months of forced marching from Santa Fe; and within ten days of San Pasqual where he fought *undefeated* the Mexicans under General Pico; and within twelve days' journey of Commodore Stockton at San Diego. The "folly" of Kearny would have been in *not* pushing on; and inasmuch as Kearny actually *did* arrive at San Diego, and *did* receive support from Stockton, and *did* therefore fulfill his orders by arriving in California "by the fall" (December 12), and by later commanding the forces that conquered California, and by governing the province as his peremptory, insistent and unconditional orders from President Polk directed him to do—Kearny's "folly" in not retraversing the vast stretches of territory (900 miles), bare, waterless in part, and destructive of the morale of his men, is converted into a judgment against Mr. Vestal's thought that it was "folly" in Kearny not to retreat!

But upon whose shoulders falls the "folly" of compelling a decision as to whether Kearny should, or should not, have pushed on in his "unprepared" condition? On this question there can be no doubt, for the situation was due, first, to the despatches and letters (read by Kearny at Socorro) alike of Stockton and Fremont, both then naval officers—those of the former being official and directed to the president in the person of his secretary of the navy, Mr. Bancroft, and those of Fremont addressed to Senator Benton, chairman of the foreign relations and military

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12. *op. cit.*, p. 233.

committees of the senate, and therefore quasi-official; and next, to the statements of *Kit Carson himself*.<sup>13</sup> Both the documents and the statements announced in unconditional terms that California had been conquered, the war in California ended, and a civil government established;<sup>14</sup> and it was these despatches and statements which caused Kearny to proceed to California as to a conquered province.

Only on the assumption (not to be entertained) that Carson, Stockton and Fremont had deliberately falsified the record so as to prevent Kearny from going to California and so that the sole honor might fall to Stockton and Fremont (Carson's great and staunch companions in the earlier California campaign),—only on such an assumption *should* Kearny have taken his whole command to the Pacific, and thus have disregarded his unconditional orders referred to below (but *not* referred to by Mr. Vestal).

Kearny's orders told him to take from Santa Fé only that portion of his army necessary to the objects of conquest and occupation and government, and to leave all troops not thus necessary upon the eastern front of action to hold New Mexico; Kearny being assured by his orders that troops coming around Cape Horn would await him in California.<sup>15</sup>

No one who has read the bombastic text of Stockton's despatches of August, 1846 (read by Kearny at Socorro)<sup>16</sup> can imagine the possibility of Kearny's needing to go to California "prepared" for conquest; and when Carson verbally and unconditionally confirmed to Kearny what the

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13. Kit Carson's statement as quoted by Bashford and Wagner.

14. Kearny's order of October 6, sending back two-thirds of his command. Johnston's Diary, and Kearny's report to the president, Dec. 12, 1846. Kearny writes: "Information having this day been received the necessity no longer exists for taking a considerable force to California." See also Hunt, *Hist. of Calif.*, p. 363.

15. See his orders of June 3 and 18.

16. Stockton had written these despatches after he had failed to make contact with the Mexicans with his horseless and partially clad sailors and marines. The Mexicans had fled to the hills, driving off all cattle and horses, the former the sole means of sustenance and the latter the sole means of transport on an inland campaign. Bayard, *Life of Stockton*.

wholly responsible *official* documents of Stockton and Fremont had stated, it was not a choice with Kearny of fulfilling Polk's order other than by going to California with a "mere bodyguard"<sup>17</sup> to hold and to govern the province, assisted by the troops which were to follow him overland and by those which were to await him on the coast.

Where, then, lay the responsibility of "Kearny's having leisure to reflect on his folly"? Clearly upon Carson and Stockton and Fremont who were responsible for the false statements (however innocent) which led Kearny to believe with certainty, as he *ought* to have done, that California had been conquered, a civil government established, and the war ended. As a matter of fact, *no civil government* had ever been established!<sup>18</sup>

Next we come to San Pasqual. It is an astounding fact that Mr. Vestal by implication, if not explicitly, states that there were no horses in the battle of San Pasqual except the solitary horse used by Carson, which, alas! fell, and over which Kearny's command passed, Carson successfully "getting from under"<sup>19</sup>

But the essence of the cause of the loss of life at San Pasqual was the fact that the advance guard *was mounted on horses*, whereas the balance of the troops were mounted on the jaded mules that had survived the destructive march across the continent; the former outstripped the latter and the fleeing Mexicans, suddenly turning (but without premeditation—Vestal *contra*), attacked the advance guard and wrought the death and disability of a large portion of Kearny's command. But to the reader, not informed of the facts *extrinsic to Mr. Vestal's account*, the inference is absolute that Kearny's command, except for Carson's fallen horse, was exclusively mounted on mules! In fact, the ap-

17. Senator Benton's statement at the court-martial. Mr. Vestal avoids placing the responsibility upon Stockton or Fremont, only indicating that Kearny, in reducing his command, acted only upon the *unofficial* statements of Carson.

18. Thos. Kearny, "The Mexican War and the Conquest of California: Kearny or Stockton Conqueror and First Governor" (Cal. Hist. Soc. Quarterly, viii, no. 3).

19. Vestal, *op. cit.*, pp. 232, 234.

propriation of this horse leaves an impression entirely unfavorable to Carson!

Mr. Vestal then goes on to say that Kit Carson was now placed in command of "the advance guard" and drove the Mexicans from the hill of San Bernardo on the day following the attack at San Pasqual. But Carson himself, who took part in both battles, state that "Captains Emory and Turner took command and charged the enemy [on the hill of San Bernardo] and routed them giving us full possession of the position."<sup>20</sup> Hence Mr. Vestal's statement that Carson *after San Pasqual* commanded the advance guard and "fought any battles thereafter that were in any way successful" does not agree with the facts, for San Bernardo was the only other battle *then* fought, and Carson says that Emory and Turner commanded! Later, in January 1847, the joint forces of Kearny and Stockton fought the battles completing the conquest, but no pretence may be made that Carson commanded at those engagements.

Mr. Vestal (following others) now remarks as evidence of Kearny's impotence to conquer, that his command was without water at San Bernardo.<sup>21</sup> But Kearny's testimony at the court-martial is undisputed on this point, and is supported by Emory. Kearny testified, "we did not have plenty of grass; but we had plenty of water which we dug for, the animals being watered once or twice a day."<sup>22</sup>

Again, Mr. Vestal claims that Carson would, if consulted, have advised against Kearny's attacking the Mexicans at San Pasqual, saying "Carson would not have walked into such a trap." The writer has examined the authorities upon which this statement is supposed to rest, and neither in Benton's quotation from Carson in his speech for days in the senate,<sup>23</sup> opposing the nomination of Kearny as brevet major-general for gallantry at San Pasqual, nor

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20. Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 81

21. Vestal, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

22. Kearny, at the court-martial.

23. Benton's speech in the senate.

in "Kit" Carson's dictated statement, recently published," is there reference to any such attitude to Kearny being taken by Carson. On the contrary, Gillespie, recently with Carson and who had just come from Stockton, was eager to attack;<sup>25</sup> and consonant with Carson's well known contempt for the Californias,<sup>26</sup> predicated upon his recent experiences in California, basis is given for Dr. Hunt's judgment that Carson *concurred* in Gillespie's opinion and in the unanimous voice of Kearny's and Stockton's officers that an attack should be made.<sup>27</sup>

We now turn to Mr. Vestal's implicit judgment upon the unwisdom of Kearny's sending back two-thirds of his command to Santa Fé, for he speaks of the inadequacy of Kearny's preparation to hold New Mexico, resulting in the revolution at Taos. But had not Kearny, learning *officially* of the conquest and government of California, sent back Captain Sumner with 200 of the crack cavalry regiment of the army to hold that province, the troops used in speedily quelling that rebellion would not have been available. Kearny's judgment, then, in executing the president's orders, was vindicated by the events, alike in the conquest of California and in maintaining possession of New Mexico.

Mr. Vestal accords to Stockton the command of the troops which completed the conquest of California; and to Stockton and Fremont respectively the first and second governorships. Without commenting in detail upon his narrative of the events, it is to be observed that had Stockton conquered California *prior to Kearny's arrival*, undoubtedly the authority would have vested in Stockton, without orders (under the law of nations, solely governing our military and naval commanders prior to the treaty of peace) to

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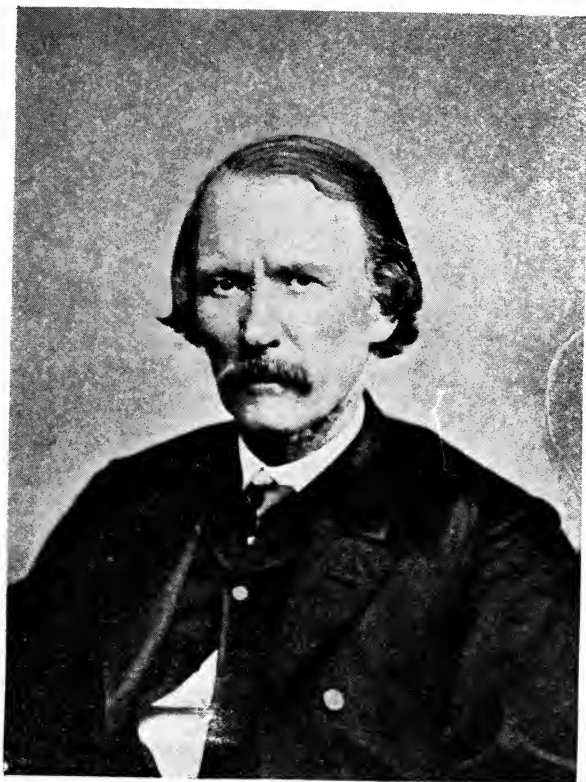
24. Grant, *op. cit.*

25. Hunt, *op. cit.*, "San Pasqual;" Sabin, *Kit Carson Days*, p. 281. Stockton to Kearny. "If you see fit, surprize them."

26. Sabin, *op. cit.*, p. 281; *Bancroft's Works*, xxii, 341.

27. Sabin, *loc cit.*, Hunt, *ut supra*. Emory says: "Necessity to attack."





“KIT” CARSON



form a civil government, and to act as governor, or so to appoint Fremont.

But it is equally certain from the messages of the president and the orders to his commanders in the field that conquest and government depended upon the *actual occupation* of the enemy's territory.<sup>28</sup> This rule of international law is epitomized by the authoritative publicist Halleck in the proposition that government depends on conquest, and conquest depends on "actual occupation" and ends (as does government) immediately upon the "expulsion of the invaders."<sup>29</sup> Kearny's conquest of New Mexico was upheld on this hypothesis.<sup>30</sup> Now what were the facts as to California?

Prior to Kearny's arrival, Stockton occupied no portion of the interior south of Monterey save Los Angeles; but from that half of the province south of Monterey, including the ports and Los Angeles he was, in September, expelled by the Mexicans who, for three months, occupied it and exercised civil as well as military sovereignty. This was the situation until six weeks after Kearny's arrival, when the battles of the Mesa and San Gabriel were fought in January, 1847, which resulted in the capitulation of Coahuenga consummating the conquest.

Hence, neither conquest nor government *under our system of law* came into being until after the arrival of the expedition commanded by Kearny; and Kearny then, as the commander of the conquering forces, exercising the conqueror's right, established the *first government*, and so (with the assistance of Stockton and Fremont) became the conqueror, and the first governor, of California,<sup>31</sup>—which contravenes the thesis proposed to us by Mr. Vestal.

28. Thos. Kearny, *op. cit.*, Stockton testified: "I governed by martial law."

29. Halleck, *International Law*.

30. Ward, *In Mexico*, pp. 75, 78; *Leitensdorfer v. Houghton*, xx Howard 176 (Supreme Court); *Mechanics Bank etc.*, 89 U. S., p. 246.

31. *Cross v. Harrison* (U. S. Supreme Court). "Shortly thereafter (1846) the U. S. had military possession of all of upper California and early in 1847 the President authorized the military and naval commanders (Kearny and Schucrik) to form a civil government."

But obviously Mr. Vestal disputes<sup>32</sup> the authority of Kearny to command the expedition from San Diego to Los Angeles (December 29, 1846 to January 10, 1847) which resulted in the capitulation; a command accorded to Kearny by McElroy and other historians.<sup>33</sup>

Yet Kearny's orders read that he should "conquer and govern," and Stockton's orders *explicitly* limited him to the "occupation of the ports only."<sup>34</sup> The grave error is made by historians in *assuming* that all of Stockton's orders reached California, particularly the order upon which Professor Nevins predicates in part his justification of Fremont's court-martial,<sup>35</sup> namely, the order of July, 1846, which *did* authorize Stockton, should he conquer, to govern; but this order never reached California; therefore the only orders *then controlling* limited Stockton to the ports without authority to govern, whereas Kearny was directed to "lead an expedition to conquer and govern, and to command all the troops organized in California." It will thus be seen that Kearny, on December 29 when he claimed command of the expedition, did so with Polk's authority which excluded Stockton from inland operations and from government. And since "no officer can put himself on duty except by commission from the president" and "an army officer cannot delegate his power to a naval officer,"<sup>36</sup> Stockton's pretenses to the conquest and to the government,

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32. As do Nevins (p. 326) and Bashford and Wagner (p. 251) in their recent "Lives" of Fremont, and Prof. Justin Smith, *Mexican War*. Vestal writes: "Stockton appointed Fremont, and Kearny had to yield."

33. McElroy, *Winning of the Far West*, p. 201.

34. Stockton's and Sloat's orders were dated March 21, May 5, June 24 and Oct. 17, 1845, and June 13 and 15, 1846. The July order arrived after Stockton's departure. (Commander Wainwright, Bureau of Naval Archives).

35. Prof. Nevins, and Bashford and Wagner, in saying that Fremont was *technically* in the navy in January, 1847, fail to distinguish between the "California Battalion of Mounted Riflemen," a *naval* organization of which Fremont was *major*, and the "Regiment of Mounted Rifles," an *army* organization of which he was lieutenant-colonel! Fremont *abandoned* the navy upon receiving his army commission in *October*, 1846; and so wrote Kearny on January 13, 1847, saying he was present with 400 "Mounted Rifles," signing himself "Lt-Col., Regiment of Mounted Rifles." (See record of court-martial, *ut supra*).

36. Letter of Adj. Gen'l Robert C. Davis to the author.

as well as Fremont's claims to government based on Stockton's delegation to him of void powers, are without foundation in the law of nations or in military or naval law which alone governed the situation affecting these officers. Kearny commanded the expedition which completed the conquest.<sup>37</sup>

The Smithsonian Institution at Washington finely celebrates in a tablet presented by a relative of Past Midshipman Beale the "defeat" of Kearny at San Pasqual and the rescue of Kearny's beleaguered command on the hill of San Bernardo; and the legend on the tablet exalts Beale and Carson as Kearny's saviors from annihilation when these two heroic men (and an Indian not named in the legend or in the exploit!) passed thru the Mexican lines and told Stockton at San Diego of Kearny's predicament.<sup>38</sup> Evidently Mr. Vestal concurs in this judgment, alike of defeat and of rescue, but he goes beyond the epitomized account as given by the narrative on the tablet and pronounces repeatedly that Lieutenant Godey, sent by Kearny on the day of the battle of San Pasqual to seek reinforcements from Stockton (the "conqueror" and "governor" as his and Fremont's despatches had informed Kearny, confirmed by Carson who must *now* have seen the "folly" of his false prophecy!)—that Godey "failed" in his mission. Mr. Vestal's words are: "Godey *and others* had failed; maybe Kit would make it," and Mr. Vestal does make Kit "make it," but in so doing he contradicts the facts of history.<sup>39</sup> For Carson *did not cause* the despatch of the relief expedition; it had already left when Carson reached San Diego! and it was the heroic Godey who *did* reach Stockton, and *did* communicate to him Kearny's plight, and *did cause* Stockton to set in motion the forwarding of the relief force; and

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37. McElroy, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Latané, *American Foreign Policy* (ed. 1929): "Kearny completed the conquest." As to Kearny commanding the combined forces, see *War Dept. Records*. The *Naval Records* are silent.

38. The inscription by the donor may be changed to meet modern opinion.

39. Vestal, *op. cit.*, p. 236; he also says that Godey "was captured within sight of the hill" en route to San Diego.

then it was the Indian who, arriving at San Diego hours before Beale or Carson, quickened Stockton to hurry forward the relief already set in motion thru Godey's arrival two days before; leaving to Beale the office of accelerating Stockton's action. So that when Carson arrived, the command had already left San Diego several hours earlier. So much for Godey's "failure".

Neither Carson, Beale nor the Indian returned to Kearny. Neither did Godey. But if the return constitutes the test of "failure," the mission of Carson, Beale and the Indian was likewise a failure. But the preparation and sending of a relief expedition was the object of success, and, Mr. Vestal to the contrary notwithstanding, Lieutenant Godey, the Indian and Beale succeeded where Carson "failed" — to use Mr. Vestal's term and interpretation. But it is eminently unfair so to treat Carson's mission, for it was he who allocated to himself and to the Indian, expert mountainmen, the most difficult route, leaving to Beale the "easier way", — a way which required, even in Beale, unparalleled heroism!

Stockton's sworn testimony<sup>40</sup> supporting these historical facts, states that Mr. Stokes, sent by Kearny, "returned to San Diego on December 6th and reported that early on the morning of that day Kearny had been worsted at San Pasqual. The next day (Dec. 7th) Lieut. Godey 'came in express' from Kearny . . . suggesting the propriety of despatching, without delay,<sup>41</sup> a considerable force. I supposed I would be obliged to send the whole force I could spare. My preparations were accordingly made, and the advance was directed to leave San Diego with two pieces of artillery for the mission at seven o'clock on the evening of Dec. 9th where I intended to join them next day. About the time the advance was ready to start,<sup>42</sup> an Indian coming from Kearny's camp stated that he left there in com-

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40. Stockton's despatches, in 29 *Cong. H. Ex. Doc.* 4.

41. Stockton delayed for three days. Why?

42. Ready, therefore, thru Lieut. Godey's action.

pany with Carson and Beale, and the intelligence brought me by the Indian as to Kearny's condition was such that I thought it was necessary to send him immediate aid;<sup>43</sup> and at ten o'clock Mr. Beale (*sic*) came to San Diego, and as he confirmed the worst accounts Capt. Gray hurried off to Kearny's aid."<sup>44</sup> Carson did not arrive until several hours later, after its departure. It is plain that not only had Stokes and Godey succeeded (and Godey's two companions, as Stockton swore), but also the Indian and Beale had succeeded where the great Carson, by his act of generosity had "failed," as Mr. Vestal would measure it by his test. In justice to Godey and the Indian these facts of history should be vindicated!

Many historians, not differentiating between two localities ten miles apart, have fallen into the error made by Mr. Vestal in pronouncing San Pasqual a defeat. But the official reports of the engagement at San Pasqual must force upon us the correctness of the dicta by Professor McElroy and Professor McCormac that San Pasqual was a victory with severe losses for Kearny's "bodyguard."<sup>45</sup> For after the sudden right-about face and attack by the Mexicans resulting in a great loss of life and in many casualties, the balance of Kearny's force with two pieces of artillery came into action, and the Mexicans fled from the field.

Quoting from Kearny's report from San Diego on December 12 and from his testimony at the court-martial and from Emory's history of the engagement, Kearny remained in possession of the field and buried the dead; Dr. Griffin succored the wounded and prepared crude ambulances to transport them; Lieutenant Godey was despatched to Stockton; and on the next day Kearny, accompanied by the wounded, advanced *ten miles* to the hill of San Bernardo, which he occupied after driving off the forces of

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43. All, so far, done on the news conveyed by the "failure" of Godey.

44. With the whole relief force.

45. McElroy, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Hunt, *ut supra*; McCormac, *Polk*, 443; and to like effect see Channing, McMaster, Schlesinger.

the enemy. It is plain, therefore, that the engagements at both these points were certainly not defeats; indeed, since the objectives were achieved, they must be held to have been victories.

And it will never be known whether Kearny could have reached San Diego without aid from Stockton; for aid did arrive. But if we may give weight to General Pico's statement after the battle of San Pasqual, there is abundant evidence that the Mexicans had not the least intention, as Mr. Vestal would have it, of "ambushing" or luring into a false position the American forces, or even of attacking them at all, either at San Pasqual or at San Bernardo; for General Pico "a few weeks after the battle stated that he had *not intended* to make a fight; that his charge was a *pure accident*,"<sup>46</sup> and Bancroft adds: "that no attack was made on Kearny's camp at San Bernardo is easily understood; the Californians being averse to charging up hill against cannon ball!" Kearny having advanced without opposition on the 7th, the evidence points to a like advance to San Diego as reasonably to be expected.

However, Kearny did remain (whether compelled to do so, or voluntarily, to protect his wounded) on the hill of San Bernardo until the arrival of Stockton's relief command, — under the following conditions (rarely mentioned) as sworn to by Kearny and uncontradicted by any witness, altho the most determined effort was made to show that Kearny was powerless to reach San Diego or to conquer California, thus leaving the conquest to Fremont and Stockton, — an effort illustrated by Mr. Vestal who asserts (against Kearny's testimony) that Kearny had no water on that famous hill<sup>47</sup> and illustrated, too, in the efforts of many of the earlier writers to adjudge San Pasqual a defeat.

"The battle of San Pasqual," swore Kearny, "was

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46. *Bancroft's Works*, xxii, 353, citing Botello, *Anales del Sur*, MS. 154-156.

47. Vestal, p. 236.



fought on the 6th. We proceeded on the 7th *on the march to San Diego*. When near San Bernardo, the enemy attempted to get possession of a hill. We marched towards it to prevent them getting it, and drove them from it and occupied it."<sup>48</sup>

Continuing to show that Kearny felt that his ten mile advance of the 7th towards Stockton (who was now less than 3 miles away) could be duplicated and the enemy caught between the two commands, Kearny swore: "On the morning of the 8th when we were *nearly ready to move*, the mules being placed in front of the rough ambulances upon which we were to carry our wounded, the doctor"<sup>49</sup> reported to me that proceeding at that time and in that way before the wounded could be placed in the saddle would endanger the lives of the wounded. I accordingly gave directions that we should remain there. On the 10th I stated to the doctor and others that we would leave the next day, the wounded being able to go in the saddle, *which we accordingly did*, Lieutenant Gray of the Navy with a gallant detachment of sailors and marines having come into camp the night of the 10th," the enemy nowhere appearing, and "arriving at San Diego on the 12th."

Thus from the narrative taken from the *uncontradicted* sworn reports in one of the bitterest trials in American legal history, no support can be found for the alleged facts that Kearny was defeated at San Pasqual or at San Bernardo; on the contrary he was victorious, or certainly undefeated, in each of these engagements. The evidence shows that not only was Kearny *ready* to advance on the 8th (as he had advanced ten miles on the 7th) but he had actually *given orders so to do*, deferring them only at the advice of the doctor to protect the wounded, and when that protection had been made effective and without knowing that Beale's mission had been successful and that Stockton's re-

48. Senate Ex. Doc., *ut supra*.

49. Dr. Griffin; also Emory (entry of Dec. 8th): "Decided to wait till wounded could be placed on horse back."

lief force was approaching, Kearny gave orders to advance against a foe which (if Pico's statement is true in principle for that point of time, as it had been true at San Pasqual) did not intend to impede his progress. Both Kearny and Emory swore that they thought, as did the other officers, that the force could have "cut its way through to San Diego."

Mr. Vestal attacks Kearny's "folly," "rashness" and "incompetence" in a most vitriolic fashion. Recognizing that the facts alone could substantiate his characterizations or negative them, the writer has placed the original records beside the facts as Mr. Vestal has presented them. Alike Carson and Beale and Kearny will suffer nothing from the real facts of history, and they would want nothing else; and in the case of that honorable man and brave soldier, General Stephen Watts Kearny, the "defeat of fame" — the inevitable consequence to him if Mr. Vestal's version of events were to stand unchallenged — will be obviated by the facts; in short by *history!* Incidentally, the lowly Indian and the brave Godey may also be given the credit which is rightly their due — also by history, as distinct from partisanship or historical fiction.





KEARNY CROSSING THE PLAINS

## A GROUP OF KEARNY LETTERS

Though the courtesy of Mr. Clinton H. Kearny of San Antonio, Texas, photostatic copies were made of the following original letters ranging in dates from 1807 to 1848. Six of the letters were written by Stephen Watts Kearny himself, one was written by his brother Philip to Mrs. Kearny, and in the last three we are given a glimpse of Kearny in New Orleans, and in Vera Cruz where he was in charge of the debarkation of troops and where he contracted the sickness which resulted in his death.

There has been a lack of correct information regarding Kearny's ancestry.<sup>1</sup> The references in these letters to family relationships (especially in the letter to his wife from his older brother Philip!) will be better understood by the following genealogical data which are supplied by Mr. Thomas Kearny of New York City (son of Gen. John Watts Kearny and grandson of Maj-Gen. Philip Kearny).

The Kearny family in the American colonies was founded by Philip and Michael Kearny, brothers of a distinguished Irish family,<sup>2</sup> immigrants in 1699, who settled first in Philadelphia, where both married daughters of Col. Lionel Brittin, an Englishman and the first settler in Penn's colony (1681) and the first convert to Catholicism in Pennsylvania. Neither Philip nor Michael was a Catholic, Philip being a Quaker and his daughters marrying into the Quaker families of Lloyd, Plumsted, Morris and Kinsey.

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1. Following others, Prof. Allen Nevins, *Life of Fremont*, characterizes Kearny as "Irish" in an action at Fremont's trial. The name is Irish, and means "warrior," — perhaps Professor Nevins meant to say that the Kearnys, being soldiers, have ever gloried in the Irish strain! Again, after Mr. Hoover, in a speech as presidential candidate at Albuquerque, New Mexico, in August, 1928, had exalted Kearny's proclamation of religious liberty during the conquest of New Mexico, several newspaper articles referred to Kearny as of obscure Irish origin and recently immigrant to the United States.

2. Moon, *Morris Family of Philadelphia*.

His daughter Mary became wife of Chief Justice John Kinsey of Pennsylvania, and their son James became chief justice of New Jersey. The first Philip Kearny also became grandfather of the wives of the first two patriotic governors of Pennsylvania, Thomas Wharton, Jr. and William Moore, and of the last acting royal governor of New York, Andrew Elliott and so the ancestor of many prominent families alike in New York and Philadelphia.

Michael Kearny finally settled, 1719, in Perth Amboy, capitol of New Jersey, and was a founder, vestryman and warden of St. Peter's church, the first Anglican parish in New Jersey; as well as surrogate, clerk of the assembly and of the common pleas, member of the king's council and secretary and treasurer of New Jersey. He was twice married, his second wife being Sarah, daughter of Gov. Lewis Morris.

By his first wife (the above Miss Brittin, the great-grandmother of Stephen Watts Kearny) he had Philip Kearny, an "eminent lawyer,"<sup>3</sup> member of the New Jersey legislature, and warden of St. Peter's. This son Philip also was twice married, the second wife being the daughter of Chief Justice Hooper. His first wife (grandmother of Stephen Watts Kearny) was Susan Ravaud, widow of Sir William Burley, a Frenchwoman; and from this marriage descended the third Philip Kearny, merchant and lieutenant-colonel of the Loyalist Militia (New York City, 1780).

The third Philip Kearny married Sussannah Watts, a Scotchwoman, daughter of John Watts (the first) who was attorney general of New York, speaker of the colonial legislature, member of the king's council for seventeen years, rich merchant and trustee of King's (now Columbia) College. He is to be distinguished from his son, John Watts, Jr., (uncle of Stephen Watts Kearny), last royal recorder of New York, whose statue stands in Trinity churchyard, Wall Street, New York City, where the bodies of Kearny's

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3. Lamb, *New York City*.

parents both lie in the Kearny vault, now owned by General John Watts Kearny. Kearny's own body lies in St. George's Episcopal cemetery in St. Louis.

From the above marriage was born Stephen Watts Kearny, in Newark, New Jersey in 1794, in the "Kearny Homestead," built by Philip Kearny and owned by his lineal descendants until 1910 when it was taken by the Normal School. The Homestead stood across the Passaic River from Kearny, New Jersey, five miles from New York City, and was alike the home of, and named for, Stephen Watts Kearny's nephew, Maj-Gen. Philip Kearny, who was stationed in California in 1851 and who, by defeating the Rogue River Indians, opened the way from California to Oregon,<sup>4</sup> and who, with Richard Stockton, "Signer," represents New Jersey in Statuary Hall in the capitol at Washington as "New Jersey's two most illustrious sons." Stephens Watts Kearny was a nephew of Capt. James Lawrence of "Don't give up the ship" fame; and also a first cousin of another nephew of Capt. Lawrence, Commodore Lawrence Kearny, who "established the traditional American policy of the Open Door in China in 1842."<sup>5</sup> Commodore Kearny's house, "Kearny Cottage" at Perth Amboy, was lived in until 1922 by three generations of Kearnys (including S. W. Kearny's father), but is now publicly owned and stands in a public park. "Kearny Castle" in Kearny, N. J., built by Gen. Philip Kearny in 1850, is now owned by his son.

From the above data it is seen that one Irish, one English, one French, and one Scotch strain impregnated the blood of General Stephen Watts Kearny. But this is only half the story, for through Sussannah Watts, his mother, he was a member of the Van Rensselaer, Van Courtlandt, Schuyler, DeLancey, and Nicoll families; and so additional strains alike of French and English blood and new strains of Dutch blood in three distinct lines "distributed" Kearny's

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4. DePeyster, *Philip Kearny*.

5. Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia*; Prof. Willis Fletcher Johnson, etc.

racial composition. Kearny was essentially American! The Irish strain was there, but if any one blood predominated it was French, Dutch or English.<sup>6</sup>

L. B. B.

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S. W. K. TO HIS BROTHER RAVAUD

Wednesday morning, 1807

I have not received a letter from you my Dear Brother I don't know when & I hope you are not a going to stop. I want to know if you will with me kill of[f] all the bantoms & I will send John's down pretty soon then we will have some fine fowels, Jame Plat's cock and Sidmans fight like the duce & neither one will not give up yesterday they got at it but I parted them I wish you would let me know if you will do that & if you will I will buy some fowels & let mama have these.

I remain to be yours,

S W K

[Inscription:]

Mr. R<sup>a</sup> Kearny  
New York

S. W. K. TO HIS BROTHER RAVAUD

Dear Brother:

I take the present opportunity of letting you know of the Great Battle that has been fought this side of the Pasaik "this morning at half Past ten I armed General white with an intention of driving Major Red off these plains. they engaged, a small skirmish ensued in which the Gen. was victorious (like the never failing Sir W. Wallace he drives all before) no great loss on either side the Major retreated—afterwards your little ensign had a most terrible

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6. Jones, *History of St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy* (1925), giving the Kearny genealogy.



engagement with the Genl which would have proved fatal to one side or the other, had not my all powerful arm as Lord Randolf in the engagement between Douglas & Glenalvon drew the sword & swore "he that struck the next blow should be *my enemy*[".] at this word they halted I took the Gen. & put him in close confinement for having engaged with such superior force — It is expected that the next time they engage, it will be a most desperate battle, both armies are in good repair waiting for an attack—if you give this to Lang & Turner it may be important to some People who deal in feathers because both sides were almost stript— —

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 once more

Dear Brother

We all were very much disappointed at your not coming up the other day for the Party at Dy—which you promised me you would—however none of the girls were pleased but I really was delighted we had the all accomplished Miss Eliza Macomb there and if you knew what an impression she has on me I know you would pity me but I am born to trouble—I must sigh & bless her but never expect more, I resign all pretences to Miss D—therefore *now you may have her* Mother is well and all the family—

I salute you with distinction

(Signed)

S. W. Kearny

Remember me to all the

GALS

Hanc literam flammis uve

[Inscription:]

Mr. R<sup>d</sup> Kearny

N<sup>o</sup> 2 Greenwich Street

New York

[No postmark, but endorsed:]

S. W. Kearny 1809 or 10

N.ark (Newark)

merry letter

## S. W. K. TO HIS BROTHER RAVAUD

Sackets Harbor

July 8, 1819

Dear Rav--d

Yours of the 18th ulto, I received, about a fortnight since, & should have taken an earlier opportunity of acknowledging it, but for the public and private business that has 'til now so much engaged me, as to leave me no time, for my absent friends.

In the first place, as you inform me, of your marriage, allow me, to offer to yourself & wife, my most hearty & sincere congratulations! may your lives be past in peace & tranquility, & when old age, shall find you, at your happy fireside, may you be able to look back at the days past, with pleasure, & the time, to come, with satisfaction! My best regards to your wife, whom tho' I had the pleasure for but a short time, to see, I remember with pleasure, & sincerely do I hope, that I am not forgotten by her!

To let you know what is passing in this part of the Country, probably may amuse you; & as some of your old friends are engaged, it may probably interest you! about the first of the month, I was appointed by the officers of the Army, a Committee to wait on Mr. How (who resides at Brownville, & is practising law) to request him to dine with us, on the 5<sup>th</sup> July, & deliver us an oration, on that day! He had the day previous been informed, of my intentions & therefore answered me, that as he had expected me, he had taken the subject into consideration, that the recent death of his wife & a regard for his own feelings, & the opinion of the world would not admit, of his complying with my request! That if we should be situated here, the next year, & should honor him in the same manner, he would with pleasure attempt it! He however said, he would dine with us! On the morning of the 2d, a Committee waited on me, for the oration! I accepted, & on the morning of the 4th delivered my speech to the Reg't

paraded, & large assemblage of males & Females—It was of course, in the open air! To praise my own works would not be modest, to dispraise, them, my friends say, would not be just! Suffice it, to say, that tho' I had but two days, I was constantly busy, & from those, whom I have a respect for, I understand my time, was well employed! On the 5th all the officers of the army, their wives, & Sisters, (of whom we have several,) sat down at our mess table in number about 50! Mr. Leroy, & some one or two countesses, & Marchionesses, from Leroyville, & Mrs. Genl Brown, & family, as well as Mr. How, dined with us! He speaks to me, very frequently of you, & remembers you, with much warmth & with much feeling! He always enquires after you, & always desires, me, to remember him, to you. I am very careful, to pay him, all the attentions in my power! I most sincerely pity him! He like a boy, nearly at the top of the ladder, made a misstep, & down he fell! His spirits are better, than they were, two months since, but the change, I see in him now, from what I once knew him, as well as thinking, if he ever committed a crime, (of which he has been accused, but of which I have my doubts,) that he has sufficiently atoned for it, compels me, and enlists me, in his behalf—

Yours truly

Step. W. Kearny

[Inscription:]

Rev'd R. Kearny  
 East Chester  
 N. Y.

S. W. K. TO HIS BROTHER RAVAUD

Ulster

July 4, 1832

My dear Brother

I received a letter from you, several weeks since, when I was at Mrs. V. Hoines, saying you would expect me shortly in Canandaigua. I had promised myself the pleasure

of seeing you and Mrs. K. ere this—But the events of our lives, are uncertain—a fortnight ago, I went from Belleville to N. J., intending to remain there a day or two, & then after a short visit to John, to proceed to your residence. But on reaching N. York, I found Instructions there for me, from the War Department, to relieve Col. Twiggs, in the Superintendance of the Recruiting Service. I have done so—my duties have kept me in the neighborhood of the city and will detain me, for a few days longer—when I have leisure, which will be in a week or so, I much fear that the reports of the *colera*, will prevent me, from going North—not that I have any apprehensions myself—But I am no longer a Single Man—I have others whose feelings are to be consulted. I hope it will not be long, before this Scourge will pass away, & the minds of our good People again assume their wonted propriety. A day or two since there was a great alarm in the city, on account of the report of several cases of the *colera*, being Here—*John* has just told, that the city papers of yesterday, state the reports to be false, & that the deaths were caused by the common diseases of the country.

*Nancy* is very much of an Invalid—altho' she has a good appetite, I think it, a diseased one—she is as helpless as an Infant—cannot walk without being supported,—cannot speak, but by sign & *letters*—has no control over her nerves—laughs and cries like a Baby. Her term of life is almost expired—I think it impossible she can Survive the Fall. She is prepared for another world. Being so, & having no enjoyment in this, & offering none to others, her death cannot be lamented.

As my duties will keep me in this Section of Country, with my Head Quarters in the city, for 2 years, I shall have frequent opportunities of seeing you. I shall avail myself of the first *safe* period to visit you. My wife joins me in her love to Helen & yourself.

Yours

S. W. K.

Mr. R. Kearny

[P. S.] We have no accounts of Susan & Elisa—I presume they must during the alarm, have left Montreal, for the Country, & been beyond the reach of a Post office. If any thing had happened to them, their names would have been mentioned in the Papers.

[Inscription:]

Rev<sup>d</sup> R. Kearny

Canandaigua

New York

[Postmarked:]

Tivoli N. Y.

Jul. 4

S. W. K. TO HIS NEPHEW RAVAUD

Fort Leavenworth, Febr<sup>y</sup>. 24<sup>th</sup>. '42

My dear Nephew

About three weeks since I received yours of the 5th ulto' from Clermont, & as you announced your intention of returning shortly to the college in Schenectady, I presume these lines will find you at your studies.

I was very much pleased to hear from you, and highly gratified with the style of your letter! It does you much credit! I hope you will continue to write to me, and I shall be pleased to hear frequently from you, but you must not expect a letter in return for each one you send to me! I have at times much writing to do, on account of the Public Service & I believe it is that which has caused of late years such a distaste in me for private correspondences.

To answer the questions contained in your letter & in the order they appear there, I have to state, that there is no situation in my Regiment suitable for you, excepting that of a Commissioned officer, which by the Regulations of the Department, you cannot obtain 'til you are 21—that regulation would unquestionably be done away with immediately upon the event of a War between our Country & Great Britain, & altho' "the signs of the Times" not long since were in favor of such a War, yet I regret to say, that I no longer consider them so! I say regret, because I think

a War must ensue before our difficulties are settled, and I therefore think the sooner it comes, the better! A War would tend to unite the feelings of our People & of our Public Men, who would then be willing to put the Country in a state of Defence, which they will not do, in these times of Peace.

Your name could not now be entered on any list, so as to give you a preference for a commission when you reach 21, & as you are now but 19 I think it is deserving your most serious consideration, if it would not be more adviseable for you to abandon all idea of entering the Army, & choosing some other Profession, to which you can at once turn your attention! If you continue firm in your faith of entering the Army, I will give you what influence I may possess at Washington, if you will remind me of it, a year & a half hence.

I have a little family (two Boys & three girls) growing up around me; of the former one will be 9, the other 8 years old, next Month! A Year hence I must send them both from here to some good school at the East, but where I have not yet decided! As they will be so young they will require some good, kind People to take charge of them, to supply in a measure the care of a Mother & of a Father! where would you recommend me to send them?

We have here but little news except what we get by our letters & Papers from the East! The Indians on this frontier are perfectly quiet, & fair prospects of their continueing so! our Winter has apparently passed off, having given us but very little cold weather, & we are now looking for Steam Boats from Saint Louis to enliven us again.

I was in Saint Louis this Winter, called there on Public business! I preferred my Horse to the Stage, or other conveyance & so rode there & back.

Your Aunt is quite well and joins me in love & kind remembrance.

Yours truly

S. W. Kearny

Mr Rav<sup>o</sup>. Kearny, Jun<sup>r</sup>.  
Schenectady, N. Y.

[Inscription:]

Mr. Ravaud Kearny Jun<sup>r</sup>.  
Union college  
Schenectady  
Neue York

[Postmarked:]

Fort Leavenworth, Mo.  
Feby. 25

[Endorsed (by addresse?) in  
gothic style letters]

Col. Stephen Watts Kearny;  
1st Dragoons, U. S. Army.

GEN. PHILIP KEARNY TO MRS. S. W. K.

New York, June 22' 1845

My dear Mary

My Brothers last letter was the day of his leaving for Fort Leavenworth for his departure West—upon a very interesting expedition which I hear talked of on all sides with great interest, and by persons not knowing our family am frequently asked is Col. Kearny a relation of mine & I never fail to reply he was my Mothers Baby the youngest of 16 children—& *he expects to have as many*. he sent me the family record & I though you had already made progress—only 7 more to make up the number—I hear they are very fine children & looking over all their names I have been surprised not to find one of my Brothers own family—are they all fancy names—or are they all your own family names—I am curios to know what could have induced my Brother to seperate his family from ours—for I think family names of the father for boys is a strong bond of Union between families & a respect seems due to them—& I should think if Stephen were such a derelict from his duties—my Sister should have kept him straight. When you read this, perhaps both You and he may say, what right has my Brother to question us—my answer is ready a Brothers right—a claim too strong to be lightly considered. Now

verily I cant but think there has been some conceit attached to this—That y<sup>r</sup> children are to be something superior—heads of great families like some of the Israelites of Old, Dukes, but you have both greatly miscalculated in my mind—so far as names go, they indicate the decent of families & my Brothers family names are traced with his family through the Irish Kings to the Spanish Monarchy—& should not have been lightly considered—& therefore not too late I claim the *next 4 Boys* be all of his family, & I claim the first be called Philip seeing Stephens father, Grandfather & Great grandfather were all called Philip—next boy John Watts after his Mothers father—the first daughter Susan after his mother & his fathers mother & leave to him selecting such other family names as he thinks becoming in proper respect to their memories. What you will say to this legacy I dont consider—you may like a good & patient soul submit to the dictates of what must be & educate them to look to their family in these parts with strong affection—as—as good a legacy as you can leave them & I hope it will prove so—for though not boastful, we consider no family among us rank higher—We are considered a proud family—in one sense, this may be so, for through centuries to this day we have always maintained our rank in this Country—Ireland—England & Scotland with the highest ranks in Society—& all jokeing apart this is a good reason for keeping up family names and educating the Younger families to look with affection to each other—Sometimes we find a colt kicks in his harness—this must needs be from bad crosses—but taken together their Blood is in high repute. I am getting old & declining & would leave this as my advise to My Younger Brother & Sister to think upon & to act upon—In the education of children Dear Mary, we find Nature has given to them different tastes—some music—some drawing—dancing—mechanics—or what not—but all are to be perfected in large & old Cities of wealth—so I consider N. York to be the finisher in



America of fine tastes & elegancies of Manners—so you must be sending your children among their uncles & cosens—to see the world—For European fashions etc come to us by Wind & Steam almost as quick as thought—& though we all dispise men & women of meer fashion—yet here they will acquire a finish, seldom to be found far removed from these Cities. I was strongly imprest with this, that after the decease of their mother I left an injunction in my will that my children should be brought up in the City—So I hope when y<sup>r</sup> boys grow large enough—& y<sup>r</sup> girls too, if the destinies keep you far off, you will let them be a great deal with us. I dont know if you correspond with one of our family—I think ought not be so—write me & soon & tell me all you think about your family—what you hear of the Col. & how long he may be gone. I dont see any chance for his fight for some years—the English are backing out as if ashamed of their big words—finding how little we think of it—& I hope the Mexican will show as much wit, if we have Texas united to these States—the Command of the Cotton England will fear—least a war will create mobs among her idle manufacturers—& neither country will fight for right but negotiate a decision. I hope you see a great deal of Die—make much of each other—be attached to each other—your children will also & grow up in love & affection—very little effects this—& great good arises from it—good when we cant see its workings. I look to the time of your next visit with all your children with great pleasure. does Harriet remember Uncle Phill or Cosen Susan—Kiss her for me—she is most Ten Years I think latter part of Sept. when I shall toast her—as I shall Mary's in July—who I hear is also like Harriette a sweetly beautiful girl. Tell William if he will write me we will commence and keep up a correspondence. I hear he is smart & *lazy*—tell him he must remember his parents hopes as the eldest of his Broth. & Sisters are upon him—& he must open upon me a letter. Susan had a letter from Mr. Macomb from

St. Louis & from Fort Leavenworth—I dont understand if he was staying with you or no—I suppose however he was & shall question him closely about you all on his return. I take great interest in fine children of our family—Susan has a very fine girl 3 years old in Feby last—very beautiful—very affectionate & very sensible—fine health & tall of her age—Dies little girl I hear is beautiful—I long very much to see & carress it. Susan is very well now but suffered intently before leaving City from Neuralgia in her face. Our old Mansion is looking sweetly beautiful—we moved here on Monday last. We expect our Sister Elisa with us soon with My Sister Susans two boys—they are talented, well improved, very handsome & very genteel—our Brother Ravauds Daughter lives with us but in city at this time. the Bell rings for dinner so adieu Your Affectionate Brother with love to Harriette & all My Nieces & Nephews.

Philip Kearny

S. W. K. TO HIS WIFE

Remember me to Noble, Milly & the servants—tell Noble I have my grey mule which I brought from Leavenworth—my Bay horse gave out & I left him, this side of Colorado.

San Diego—Upper California  
Decemb 19, 1846

My dear Mary

I have been here one week—have been anxious to write to you, but no means of sending—In two days Maj. Swords will leave for the Sandwich Islands to get Provisions, & I must write by him, hoping that he may find there some vessel about starting for the U. States—

I know my dear wife that you may be uneasy about me seperated as we are so far from each other—Let me therefore in the first place tell you that I am moving about

as if nothing had happened to me—that my appetite is perfectly good, & that I feel but very little inconvenience from my wounds. they are healing up much faster than I could have expected, & in one week more, I think I shall be perfectly & entirely recovered—as a good christian you will unite with me in thanks to our God, who directs all things, that he has preserved me thro' the perils and dangers that surrounded me—I have written a report to the Adj't Gen'l of our action of the 6th Decemb. probably that may be published in the Papers, when you will see it. In the mean time I have to tell you, that on the 6th at day break with about 80 men we attacked a Party of 160 Mexicans which we defeated after an hours fight, & drove them from the field—this was at San Pasqual & about 40 miles from this place. We gained a victory over the enemy, but paid most dearly for it—Capts. Moore and Johnston, and Lieut Hammond, with 2 sergts. 2 Corpls. & 10 Priv<sup>s</sup>. of Dragoons were killed—about 16 of us were wounded, myself in 2 places in the left side by lances, one of which bled very freely, which was of advantage to me. The loss of our killed is deeply felt by all particularly by myself who very much miss my aid Johnston who was a most excellent & talented Soldier, & Capt Moore who displayed great courage & chivalry in the fight, as did Lieut Hammond. Capt Turner is now with me—he is perfectly well—was not wounded but had his jacket, tho' not his skin, torn—Lieut Warner of the Topo. Eng<sup>s</sup>. received three wounds, but is now nearly well—Mr. Robideaux, my interpreter, is wounded, but is recovering. Poor Johnstons loss will be felt by many & perhaps not least by Miss Cotheal, a sister of Mrs. Maj. Swords, to whom he was engaged—I have now my dear wife given you some items so that your own mind may be easy. do not think that I am worse than I represent myself, for it is not so—I expect in less than a week to be on my horse & as active as I ever was.

Your brother William I learn is quite well—he is in

the *Warren* & in the Bay of San Francisco, about a weeks & the Artillery from New York are, or when to expect them -- the great difficulty of getting information here sail from here—I hope to see him 'ere long—He will not be able to get back to the U. S. before next Summer. Commodore Stockton is at this place with 3 of his ships & has 4 or 500 of his Sailors & Marines here in Town to garrison it—Among them are many very clever fellows & some Messmates of Williams, who have lately left the *Warren* & from whom I have heard of him.

We had a very long & tiresome march of it from Santa fé—we came down the Del Norte 230 miles—then to the River *Gila* (pronounced *Hela*) *G* & *i* in Spanish sounding like *H* & *e* in english—we marched 500 miles down that River. having most of the way a bridle path, but over a very rough & barren country—It surprised me to see so much land that can never be of any use to man or beast—we traveled many days without seeing a spear of grass, & no vegetation exception a species of the *Fremontia*, & the Musquet tree, something like our thorn, & which our Mules eat, thorns & branches to keep them alive after crossing the Colcrado & getting about 100 miles this side of it, the Country improved, & about here is well enough, tho' having but very little timber & but few running streams—the climate is very dry & tho' this is the rainy Season of the Year, yet we have more clouds to threaten us, than rain to fall upon us — there is no certainty of a crop in this part of the world, unless the land is irrigated from running streams.

Lieut Col Fremont is still in California, & we are daily expecting to hear from him. He went up the coast to raise Volunteers from the Emigrants from Missouri, to attack the Californians, 700 of whom are now said to be in Arms about 100 miles from here — Fremont, it is supposed is not far from them — if he has not force enough, it is expected that he will send word to us — I have not heard of Capt

Cooke & the Mormons, tho' hope to see them here in less than a month. I am also ignorant where the Volunteers renders it necessary, that all our plans should be well considered before attempting to put them in execution — When I get the Volunteers into the Country, I can drive the enemy out of it with ease, tho' at present they have the advantage of us, as they are admirably mounted & the very best riders in the World — hardly one, that is not fit for the Circus — This is a great Country for cattle & horses, very many of both run wild & are never caught except when wanted for Beef or to be broken—a fine Mare is worth about \$2 — an unbroken horse 5 — a broken one 10 — so you see that flesh is cheap — — If you have any curiosity to know where *San Diego* is, you will find it on the maps in lat 33° on the Pacific & not far from the lower end of Upper California— We have the Ocean in sight, & hear the rolling waves which sound like rumbling thunder—We have abundance of fine fish, furnished us by the Navy, who each day catch enough in their Nets to supply all. In 6 days we shall have Christmas & a week after that a New Year—May we all live my dear Mary to be reunited before the year is past—you must take good care of yourself & all of our little ones, so that when I return our numbers will be complete — I have not heard from you since your letter to me of the 19<sup>th</sup>. August, (4 Months since) I suppose Lieut Smith may have a letter & mail for me, & that he may be coming with Capt Cooke, who I sent back on the 6<sup>th</sup> Octob to command the Mormons, as soon as I heard of the death of my friend Capt Allen. What great changes have taken place in the Regt, within the last 6 months take care of yourself & the young ones — Regards to John & Sophie — I hope they like their farm near Saint Louis — I wonder how you get on in the management of business, & in your Money affairs — I will be able in a month or two to send to you some more Pay accounts — I have remaining from what I brought from Fort Leavenworth, enough to carry me thro' this month,

having paid for everything I have got since I left there — Should Mr. Kennedy or others pay you, so that you have more than you want for use, put it out at 10 per cent for not less than 3, nor more than 5 years — consult Patterson or Col Brant, & let either of them attend to the business for you.

Love again to you & the children — Yours ever most truly S. W. K.

Phil has been for years sighing for a Captaincy — He is now entitled to Comp<sup>y</sup> B which was poor Johnstons, who succeeded Sumner — Lieut Love went to recruit it. Johnston was killed before Capt Moore, & thus Phill was entitled to first vacancy. Say nothing of this, except to Phil himself, and My regards to Major & Mrs. Stewart — also to Mrs. Hunt & my friend Bishop Hawkes & wife — I wish I were with you now to pass at least the Christmas Holydays — But as that is impossible, I must endeavor to content myself in thinking the more of you & the children — Kiss all my dear little ones for me— I hope William & Charles are learning fast — Harriet, I am certain is improving & Min- & Lou, no doubt, also— Puddy, Clarence & the youngest must occupy your time I hope that you have some good woman in your nursery to take care of them.

Envelope

[Endorsed] Received at the Adjutant General's office July  
12th, 1847

[post mark]  
Washington City

Mrs. S. W. Kearny  
Saint Louis Missouri  
U. S. of America

LUDLOW & SMITH To S. W. K.

St. Charles Theatre  
March 31st, 1848

General Kearny

Dear Sir

Permit us among many others of your countrymen to

express our pleasure on beholding you in this our beautiful Crescent City.

We have been more than gratified within the last twenty four hours in finding our own admiration of your late military Career expressed by many of the good people of this City — and at the same time have discovered an universal wish to behold the man who has so very essentially added to the splendour of the American Arms.

We shall be most happy General, if you will do us the favor of attending the St. Charles Theatre tomorrow evening (*Saturday*) — and permit us to announce the same to the public.

We know there is a strong desire among the Citizens to see you.

It would afford us much pleasure would you extend the invitation in our name to Capt. Radford (your brother-inlaw)—and such of your Military or Naval friends as you would like to have with you.

A Box will be appropriated to yourself and friends.

In addition to the inducement of a good play—we offer you that of witnessing the first appearance in this city of the young and talented Miss *Julia Deane* whose mother we believe you may remember, Julia Drake of Kentucky celebrity.

With much respect we have the honor to be your

Obt Servants,

Ludlow & Smith

P. S. Will you be kind enough to return an answer by the bearer—we wish to know as early as possible on account of the announcement.

L. & S.

P. S. Extra Perhaps it would be proper to state that we have extended the like invitation to Genl Twiggs for the same evening.

your obt Serts

L & S

[Inscription:]

General S. W. Kearny  
St. Charles Hotel

MAJOR THOMAS TO S. W. K.

Head Quarters, Army of Mexico  
Mexico, May 6, 1848

General:

Your letter of April 14th, received yesterday, has been laid before the Commanding General, who instructs me to say that he wishes the Recruits belonging to Regiments in and near this City, sent forward as they arrive at Vera Cruz, if in sufficient bodies to ensure their safety on their route through the country. He regards it as of great importance that Recruits should join their Regiments and be distributed among the several Companies, as soon after their arrival in the country as possible.

The General has understood unofficially that you have been sick since your arrival at Vera Cruz and he desires me to say that if your health requires it and you wish to do so, you can leave your station and come to this City. Should you leave it is hoped you may be able to leave the command in the hands of an officer of experience.

I am Sir,  
Very Respy your Obt. Sevt.  
L. Thomas  
Asst. Adj. Gral.

Brig. Genl.  
S. W. Kearny  
Comdg. Dept. Vera Cruz

[Endorsed]

Mexico, May 6, 48

Maj. Thomas

As. Adj. Gnl.

Recruits to be sent forward to join their Regts——



Genl K—y may come up to Mexico, if he desires to do so  
May 11th, 48

ADJUTANT GENERAL TO MRS. KEARNY

The Adjutant General, deeply sympathising with Mrs. Kearny in her bereavement, has the honor of enclosing to her the General Orders announcing the melancholy event to the Army.

Adjutant General's Office

Washington, Nov<sup>r</sup>. 9, 1848

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RIO GRANDE  
PUEBLOS, NEW MEXICO

By ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

## Part I — 1536 to 1542 (continued)

The next day, García López de Cárdenas approached one of the Tigua villages with a view to a parley, but he found the place barricaded by means of "big pieces of wood"<sup>74</sup> (The cottonwood trees growing in the Rio Grande valley furnished this material.) The Indians were shouting and killing with arrows the horses that ran hither and thither in fright. No headway could be made, the Indians obstinately refusing to have a talk.<sup>75</sup> They kept themselves with their pueblos. Hence Coronado gave orders to Cárdenas to attack and give no quarter. The village first assailed was the one where the affair with the woman had taken place. The Spaniards succeeded in surprising the aborigines and in reaching the housetops, although many of the whites were wounded by arrows. The Spaniards maintained themselves on the roofs all of that day, the night, and the following day in part, but they had to defend themselves constantly with crossbows and harkbusses, without being able to reach the interior of the village. During that time the horsemen were scouring the near neighborhood and protecting the Mexican Indians. The latter

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74. *Cibola*, p. 434. Compare with: *Relación del Suceso*, p. 324. I have already referred to the interesting confirmations by Espejo. Francisco López de Gomara, *Primera y Segunda Parte de la Historia de las Indias*, (in Vedia, *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, I, p. 288). Gomara had the first edition of this work printed in 1553, or twelve years after the events, but he was not himself in America. Hence his statements are somewhat confused. Thus he alludes to the loss of thirty horses and, afterwards, to the death of several Spaniards and fifty of their animals, mentioning also the capture of one Ovando, which occurred at Tiguex.

75. They also, in all probability, knew that animals could be used as beasts of burthen, since the Indians from the plains used dogs for that purpose.

76. *Cibola*, p. 434: "y halló los pueblos serrados con palenques."

77. *Ibidem*.

were engaged in digging under the houses. Into these excavations brush was piled and set on fire. The smoke arising therefrom at last compelled the besieged to surrender.<sup>78</sup>

What follows is told, not only by Castañeda<sup>79</sup> but also by Mota Padilla, as will be found hereafter. The Indians having laid down their arms were led to the tent in which Cárdenas was at the time. The latter (so Castañeda asserts) was not informed of their surrender and ordered them to be burnt at the stake. Noticing the unmistakable preparations that were being made for it, the prisoners took hold of anything for their defense. A struggle followed, in which the Tigua prisoners were driven from the tent into the open, where the cavalry charged them. A few only escaped, hiding in the villages till after nightfall, when they fled. This action on the part of García López de Cárdenas (for which he was afterwards severely punished in Spain)<sup>80</sup> made further negotiations impossible. War had begun and war continued for sometime. At that time began also the great fall of snow that had overtaken Tristan de Arrellano<sup>80a</sup> with the main force on their way to Tiguex. They reached the pueblo where the Spaniards had been quartered, almost at the same time that Cárdenas came in from his unfortunate success. Castañeda assures us that the snowfall was of such long duration that, for two months, no military movements were possible. All efforts of Coronado to treat with the Tiguas were fruitless.<sup>81</sup>

78. *Ibidem.*

79. *Cibola*, p. 435.

80. Mota Padilla, *Historia*, p. 161: "Esta acción se tuvo en España por mala, y con razón, porque fue una crueldad considerable: y habiendo el maese de campo García Lopez pasado a España a heredar un mayorazgo, estuvo preso en una fortaleza por este cargo." The occurrence related is well known. Castañeda gives the detailed account, *Cibola*, p. 435. *Relación del Suceso*, p. 325, only states: "hicieron fuertes en sus pueblos, dióseles luego guerra, y el primero fue D. Garcia-Lopez é le tomó é hizo justicia de muchos dellos." — Gomara, *Historia* (in Vedia I, p. 288) mentions the Tigua war in a general way.

80a. As first suggested by Lowery, this was the officer, Tristán de Luna y Arrellano, who later (1559-1561) commanded an expedition for the conquest of Florida. (v. "The Luna Papers," ed. and tr. by H. I. Priestley). —L. B. B.

81. *Cibola*, p. 435-6 and 437.

It is not to be overlooked that, in this emergency as well as later on, no efforts were made by other Pueblo tribes, however near the Tigua range, to take part in favor of their congeners. Not even the *other Tigua villages* came to the rescue of their relatives at once. Several possibilities present themselves in explanation. There may not have been a formal obligation, on the part of other Pueblo stock, to come to the assistance of their endangered neighbors. The outsiders may have judged of the cause of hostilities in a different way than the party directly concerned, or, lastly, they may have been held back by fear of Spanish armament and bravery. No explanation of any kind is furnished by the documents; the Indian side of the matter is unknown to us. Castañeda mentions that the fugitives sent messengers "all over the country to inform [other pueblos] that the Spaniards violated the treaties, which did us much harm in the future." We shall see that such was hardly the case, according to Castañeda's own statements.<sup>82</sup>

Coronado left nothing untried to re-establish connections with the Tiguas. He sent messengers "in every direction" to that effect, but the Indians refused, upbraiding the Spaniards for their treacherous conduct, and also with the captivity of the Pecos chiefs. For one of the peace seekers the unlucky selection of García López de Cárdenas was made. Castañeda here makes the following statement: Cárdenas "one day set out with thirty soldiers for Tiguex." (Tiguex, heretofore mentioned as a tribal range, here appears as a village!) Cárdenas intended to communicate with the Indian already alluded to as "Juan Alemán." When he approached the place and made signs that he wanted a parley, the aborigines replied that he should dismount, come nearer and leave his escort behind, that Alemán and another chief would come to him. These two envoys gave him to understand that, as they carried no weapons, he

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82. *Cíbola*, p. 435.

also should divest himself of his arms. Against the warnings of his companions (from a distance probably) Cárdenas disarmed and Juan Alemán embraced him, but at that moment two other Indians struck him with their clubs, so that he fell fainting. Two horsemen who had remained at a lesser distance than the rest, saved him from capture or death, but the Indians had withdrawn to the village and, when the main escort reached the spot, showered arrows upon the whites wounding many seriously and compelling them to retire. At another village "a league and a half further" Cárdenas was also received with a shower of arrows. The Tiguas, at least, had become thoroughly aroused and had mostly gathered in the two last mentioned villages, so that Coronado found himself confronted by nearly the entire available force of that Rio Grande Pueblo stock.<sup>83</sup>

From the last mentioned of the two villages "the Indians . . . . came out in great numbers to attack them [the whites]." The latter feigned a retreat, luring the Tiguas into the plains, where the cavalry charged and routed them, killing "some of the most daring ones."<sup>84</sup>

Thereupon Coronado resolved to put "siege to Tiguex." (I again call attention to the possible contradiction in Castañeda, of calling here a village by the name of what he previously termed a "province.") That siege was initiated by an unsuccessful assault, in which the storming party used ladders. The Indians held stones in readiness on the housetops and hurled them on the assailants wounding more than twenty, of which number several died, owing to the inefficiency of the surgeon, says Castañeda.<sup>85</sup> The siege or rather blockade lasted fifty days, during which time several

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83. *Cibola*, 435 and 436: "porque en estos dos lugares se auia recogido toda la gente de aquellos pueblos." *Relación del Suceso*, p 325: "desampararon los pueblos salvados."

84. *Ibidem*.

85. *Cibola*, p. 435. I call attention to the title of cap. XVI. "como se puso cerco a tiguex y se gano." also (p. 436.) "haciendo rostro al pueblo de Tiguex." Still it might be that, in this instance, the whole tribe might have been meant, since most of the people had gathered in that particular village.

fruitless assaults were made. But the people within the pueblo suffered greatly from lack of water and they "dug a deep well inside the village, without finding any, and even the soil gave way while the digging went on, "burying thirty persons."<sup>86</sup>

In the statements concerning this blockade or siege indications are found concerning the situation of the pueblo in question, as well as the approximate date of events. Speaking of the sally of the Indians (attempting to take the offensive) Castañeda observes that, when the Indians had been routed to the level, they fled to the heights. This may indicate that the village was on the right bank of the river where, indeed, the rim of a mesa approaches the Rio Grande, whereas on the left bank quite an extensive plain extends to the base of the abrupt Sandia chain.<sup>86a</sup> In regard to dates, it has been stated already that warlike operations were begun by the Spaniards in December. The fifty days given as duration of the "siege" would carry to the beginning of April, which indeed (as will hereafter be seen) coincides fairly with the date of Coronado's departure for Quivira.<sup>87</sup>

The Indians defended themselves obstinately, more than two hundred of their number perishing in the engage-

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86. *Ibidem*. "el cerco duró sinquenta dias . . . y lo que mas les Aquexo fue no tenian agua y hiçieron dentro del pueblo un poso de grandissima hondura y no pudieron sacar agua antes se les derrumbó a el tiempo que lo haçian y les mató treinta personas murieron de los çercados docientos hombres de dentro en los combates y un dia que se les dió un combate reço mataron de los nros a francisco de obando capitan y maestre de campo. . . ." This is the officer alluded to by Gomara.

86a. Of the "twelve villages" of the southern Tiguas (v. p. 332) occupying both sides of the Rio Grande from Isleta to Sandia, it will probably never be decided which this particular village was. It should be noted, however, that Dr. Hackett (*Old Santa Fe*, II, 381-391) has definitely shown that the pueblo of Alameda was west of the river and seven and a half or eight leagues north of Isleta; that Puaráy was east of the river and one league above Alameda; and Sandia also was east of the river, a league north of Puaráy. This would put the pueblo of Alameda about where the old plaza of Corrales is today.

One of the Otermín documents (v. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, II, p. 51) was dated: "A: this camping place of the Rio del Norte overlooking the three pueblos of Alameda, Puaráy and Zandia. . ." —L. B. B.

87. *Ibidem*, p. 436, "los demas se recogieron al pueblo y a lo alto." In regard to Coronado's departure, see later.

ments. The besiegers also suffered sensible loss, at least two officers being killed; one of them after his capture by the natives. The besieged at last asked for a parley, the purpose of which was almost startling.<sup>88</sup> They demanded that the women and children should be allowed to leave the pueblo, whereas the men insisted upon staying and continuing to resist. Castañeda attributes this request to the conviction, on the part of the Tiguas, that the Spaniards would not offend women and children. About 100 of the defenceless then came out, more remained, and all overtures for peace made by Coronado failed. Two weeks later the Tiguas made a determined effort to evacuate the pueblo at night. They "came out, the women marching in the center of the troop." But they were noticed by the sentinels, and the Indians thereupon attacked desperately killing one soldier, a horse, and wounding several men. The outcome was the almost total destruction of the fugitives. The action must have taken place close to the river, since many of the fugitives were driven into it and a large number of wounded were afterwards found on the opposite bank. This indicates again that the action took place on the right bank. The pueblo was easily taken in consequence, very few Indians continuing to resist in what Castañeda calls the "suburbs" of the place, where they defended themselves for a few days yet.<sup>89</sup>

During this time the other village had also been taken. Its inhabitants also tried to escape, but were overtaken and scattered. The village was sacked and about a hundred women and children that had been left there, were made prisoners. Castañeda here makes the extraordinary statement that "that siege was concluded at the end of

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88. *Cíbola*, p. 436 and 437. Usually, Indians are careful to hide their women and children from an enemy and to save them if possible.

89. *Cíbola*, p. 437. *Relación del Suceso*, p. 325, "e aunque otra vez en el mismo tiempo tornamos a entralle, al fin no se pudo ganar todo, y a esta causa estuvo cercado todo este tiempo e los tomamos por sed, e duraron tanto a causa que les nevó dos veçes ya que estaban para rendirse; al fin los tomamos I murieron muchos porque se salian de noche."

1542," — so Ternaux-Compans has translated the passage which, in the original reads: "this siege ended at the close of March of the year forty-two."<sup>90</sup> The date of the year shows, that Castañeda's memory had faded somewhat during the many years elapsing between the events and the time he wrote — the month however, agrees well with the previous indication concerning the length of the blockade.

While the blockade of "Tiguex" lasted, Coronado had gone in person to Cicuyé (Pecos) and permitted the return of the chief "Bigotes" to his home.<sup>91</sup> It is noteworthy that the Pecos Indians received Coronado peaceably thus showing that there was no solidarity between them and the Tiguas. After hostilities on the Rio Grande had come to an end, exploring parties were sent in several directions and their experience proved (what I have already stated) that the other Pueblo stock did not consider themselves affected by the straits in which the Spaniards had placed the Tiguas. The village of Cia on the Jemez river even sent in a message which Castañeda calls "submission." He describes the place (which he calls "Chia") as "a large village, very populous, four leagues west of the river." Coronado reposed so much confidence in the Cia people that he left them four pieces of small artillery that were in bad condition. They were of bronze.<sup>92</sup> The people of Cia belong, as is well known, to the *Queres* stock, speaking that

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90. This is from Ternaux-Compans. The original reads: *Cibola*, p. 437, "acabose este cerco en fin de Março del año de quarenta y dos." Ternaux-Compans does not mention the month.

91. *Cibola*, p. 439. How he was received by the Pecos is related as follows: "y como llegó a cicuyé fue recibido de paz y entró en el pueblo con algunos soldados ellos recibieron a su governador con mucho amor y fiesta." — Coronado had taken with him the so-called "governor." While he possibly had no knowledge of the true character of that functionary, his action in this case proved to be very wise. What is today called the cacique can leave his village only in extraordinary circumstances and it was very wise on the part of Coronado to surrender that prisoner first, keeping "Bigotes" as hostage. The latter was of not so much consequence to the tribe, whereas the former, as religious head, could not be missed by his people.

92. It is to be noted that no artillery was used against the Tigua pueblos as the pieces were out of service "mal acondicionados." *Cibola*, p. 439. More information on this matter is furnished by Mota Padilla, as will be seen later.



language. Six Spaniards went up the Rio Grande to the Quirix, who dwelt in "seven villages." The "Quirix" were manifestly the Rio Grande Queres, east of their relatives at Cia. Only the first Queres pueblo showed signs of apprehension by fleeing at the approach of the strangers, but the latter soothed them, so that they came back to their homes. The other Queres settlements were soon reassured and brought to friendly terms.<sup>93</sup>

Here Castañeda mentions but one village of Cia, later he alludes to one also; but the seven Queres pueblos of which he writes can only be identified in part, at the present time. Proceeding up the river from Bernalillo, the nearest Queres pueblo met with today is *Katishtya* or San Felipe, some distance above it *Kiua* or Santa Domingo is found. In 1541 that pueblo was called either *Guipuy* or *Huashpa-Tzena*, probably the former. Southwest of Guipuy, between it and the Jemez river lay *Tamaya* or Santa Ana, and three miles to the north of Guipuy, on the west bank of the stream *Kotyiti* or Cochití. The sites of these pueblos have been changed since the middle of the sixteenth century. Thus "Katishtya" has been moved twice and from the east bank to the west, across the stream, and even for a time its inhabitants sought refuge on the abrupt mesa overlooking their present abode. Guipuy moved from its former situation on the Galisteo creek above its mouth to the river banks; Santa Ana has slightly shifted its location; and even Cochití is no longer exactly where it stood in Coronado's time. But the shiftings have been to comparatively short distances. The three other villages Castañeda enumerates would be difficult to point out among the several abandoned Queres pueblos within the actual range of the Rio Grande stock.<sup>94</sup> Besides, it is not absolutely sure

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93. I again call attention to the pronunciation of the consonant "X". Hence Quirix should read "Quirish" or "Quiris." For the events narrated see, *Cibola*, p. 439. The first village is said to have contained about "çien ueçinos". This would indicate a small pueblo only.

94. In regard to the shiftings of the Queres villages see my *Final Report*, vol. II, pp 139 to 199.

the Spaniards were properly informed, or that they properly understood the Queres language which they heard, most probably, for the second time only and for which language they, with equal probability, had no interpreter. It *may be* that the three pueblos in question lie now in ruins within the actual Queres range, but it may also be that the Queres of Katishtya, when asked about the number of their villages (which question they undoubtedly understood) included in their reply Cia (or Tzia) and two pueblos now in ruins but known to stand near the main village.<sup>95</sup> I hold it useless, in view of lack of trustworthy information, to speculate on the matter. The conclusion of the strife with the Tigua Indians marks a definite period in the History of the Pueblos. Their people became, through the unfavorable exit of that war, convinced of the great superiority of the white men's military power over their own, and the subsequent unexpected reappearance of the Spaniards on the Rio Grande (in 1580) led to no conflicts, notwithstanding the small number of the latter. The lesson of 1541 was not forgotten, since the tradition of the occurrences remained among the Tiguas.

Almost as detailed on the subject of the war on the Rio Grande as Castañeda, are the data given by Mota Padilla, the importance of which data I have emphasized several times. In what they agree with, or differ from, Castañeda's statements must now be examined.

After confirming the fact that the group of Tiguex consisted of twelve villages, the largest of which contained about "two hundred Indians," Mota Padilla states that the pueblo in which the Spaniards quartered themselves was called "Coofer."<sup>96</sup> This name, or any other resembling it, appears, to my knowledge, in no other document and I am

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95. The two villages were, and their ruins are today, called respectively "Kakan A-tza Tia" and "Ko-ha-sa-ya." The former lies opposite the Cia of today, the latter north of it. According to the traditions told me, however, the abandonment of both pueblos would appear to have taken place previous to the arrival of Coronado. *Final Report*, vol. II, p. 196.

96. *Historia*, p. 161 "Coofer"; p. 165, "Coofert".

unable to identify it. In case (which is subject to doubt however) the name should be correctly reported, it was at all events one of the twelve villages of the Tiguex group. I must remark, here, that Jaramillo (who has but a brief mention of Tiguex) gives the number of villages as fifteen, but expands the range over which these were scattered to "twenty leagues."<sup>97</sup> Mota Padilla mentions how the Tiguas at first received the Spaniards kindly, but further on he states: "But some wars [conflicts] broke out at Tiguex because, when the horses once were pasturing by the river, the Indians of a small pueblo fell upon them, killing more than forty, and forthwith fortified themselves in their village. Our people went to avenge this outrage, and, after some fighting, the unfortunates surrendered. When they had been bound our people cruelly killed more than one hundred and thirty, holding them to be beasts and because there was no interpreter. This action was held in Spain to be evil, since it was a considerable cruelty, and when the Maestro de Campo García López went to Spain to inherit a *mayorazgo* he was imprisoned for it in a fortress."<sup>98</sup> The attempt to take Cárdenas prisoner is then described almost exactly as we learn it from Castañeda,<sup>99</sup> but in regard to subsequent events Mota Padilla is more detailed.

"Forthwith it was resolved to destroy the pueblo by all our people and, siege being put to it, the Indians proved rebellious to all summons, and it was attempted to make a breach. But when the clay coating on the surface had been broken it was noticed that the wall inside was of palisades, tree trunks and willows firmly planted in the ground, and these resisted the blows given by poor iron bars, while, at the same time, they (the Indians) did much damage with

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97. *Relación hecha*, p. 309, "llegado al río de Tiguex, hay por él, en distancia como de veinte leguas, Quince pueblos."

98. *Historia*, p. 161. "á heredar un mayorazgo."

99. *Ibidem*. Mota Padilla represents that the Indians tried to carry Cárdenas alive into the pueblo.—editor.

stones from the roofs and with arrows through loopholes."<sup>100</sup> The mention of the use of timber for the walls, covered by a coating of clay, and the mention of loopholes deserves attention. The Spaniards placed a ladder, after losing three of their number in efforts to close the loopholes with mud, to enter by narrow openings and other fruitless endeavors of the kind. On that ladder some of them reached the top of the wall, but there they found that the natives had removed the roofs of many (upper) rooms, so that there was no communication between them, and as there were little towers at short distances from each other, from which missiles were showered upon the assailants on the top, the Spaniards had more than sixty of their number hurt, three of whom died of their wounds.<sup>101</sup> The wounded recovered with difficulty. Castañeda attributes it to the unskilled surgeon of the Spanish force whereas Mota Padilla, from his sources, gives an entirely different explanation when he writes, "they tried to heal the wounded although the wounds festered and formed scars. From what became ascertained, the cause of it was that the Indians kept poisonous snakes in vessels made of willows. These [snakes] they touched with the arrows in order that they might bite and communicate the poison."<sup>102</sup> The use of timber with a view to obstructing the perforation of walls is here mentioned again and the custom of the Pueblos to keep poisonous snakes in the villages is for the first time alluded

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100. *Ibidem*, p. 161-162, "por lo que se intentó abrir brecha, y rota la argamasa superficial, se advirtió que el centro del muro era de palizada troncos y mimbres bien hincados en la tierra, por lo que resistían los golpes que daban con unas malas barras, en cuyo tiempo hacían de las azoteas mucho daño en los nuestros con las piedras y con las flechas por las troneras."

101. *Ibidem*, "pero con arte, los Indios tenían muchas piezas á cielo descubierto, para que no se comunicasen, y como á cortas distancias había torrecillas con muchas saeteras y troneras, hacían mucho daño, de suerte que hirieron mas de sesenta, le los que murieron tres."

102. *Ibidem*, "y según se supo, era la causa el que en unas vasijas de mimbre encerraban los indios vívoras, y con las flechas las tocaban para que mordiesen las puntas y quedasen venenosas." The same is stated of various tribes, for instance, the Seris. I refrain from comments upon the question, whether or not weapons thus placed in contact with snake-poison may become dangerous.

to. Elsewhere I have referred to this custom, which has been as often denied as it has been asserted and which, in the presence of sundry proof, can hardly be unworthy of belief.<sup>103</sup> In regard to the poisoning of arrows through snake-bites, this is so frequently stated in former times and was so universally believed in, that it is not worth while to attempt a discussion thereof.

Castañeda mentions the digging of a "well" by the besieged. Mota Padilla converts this well into a simple cistern, dug within the beleaguered village for the purpose of collecting snow that was falling at the time and by means of which the Tiguas, "sustained themselves for two months." The digging was found by the Spaniards when at last they succeeded in entering the abandoned pueblo.<sup>104</sup>

During the whole siege no use was made by the whites of their artillery. Castañeda has told us already that the bronze cannon (stonehowitzers) had become useless and had been entrusted by Coronado, during the siege, to the friendly Indians of Cia. The source I am now considering affirms that in default of cannon the Spaniards tried, but vainly, to use "tubes of wood tightly bound with ropes (cords) after the manner of rockets," also that they constructed battering rams such as "were used against fortresses at the time when gunpowder was unknown," which made no effect either.<sup>105</sup> He mentions with a sort of surprise that no attempt was made to fire the village by heaping brush against the walls and burning it there. The wall being at least covered with mud, and largely built of that

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103. *Final Report*, I, pp. 305 to 307.

104. *Historica*, p. 162, "Luego que amaneció se trató de reconocer el pueblo y entrando, se halló abastecido pero sin agua, y se reconoció un pozo profundo en la plaza que aquellos indios abrieron en busca de agua, y por no encontrarla, se resolvieron á la fuga." I recall the passage in *Relación del Suceso*, p. 325, "e duraron tanto a causa que nevó dos veces . . . ." In the sandy soil of the Rio Grande valley digging, even with very primitive implements, is quite easy.

105. It seems that the first time when the artillery was used was when Hauicu was attacked. *Relación del Suceso*, p. 319. The allusion to the artillery reads, "por falta de artillería, intentaron hacer unos cañones de madera bien liados de cordeles á modo de cohetes; mas tampoco sirvió;" *Historia*, p. 162.

material, it is obvious the attempt would have been fruitless.<sup>106</sup> Finally the flight of the Indians and the capture of the village are related in terms quite similar to those used by Castañeda. The agreement between two sources which cannot have had the same basis nor have been communicated in any way, is creditable to the reliability of both. Mota Padilla makes no mention of the excursions to Cia and to the Queres villages, but at once proceeds to relate the journey to Quivira, with which however we have but little to do. The notorious "Turk" is of course spoken of, as well as his stories of fabulous wealth. Incidentally, I must remark that Mota Padilla, although towards the end of his narrative he also uses the word "Quivira," in the beginning applies the name "Copala" twice to the region whither the "Turk" professed to lead the Spaniards. Copala is the name of a lagune in northern Mexico and has nothing to do with the Rio Grande and the country through which the river flows. It was also a "province" and called "Topiame." Mota Padilla must have been familiar with the name, because, in years following the Coronado expedition, it was accidentally coupled with that of "Nuevo Mexico."

With the Indian called "Turk" we would have nothing to do, were it not for one reason, which is the part the Pueblo Indians may have played in inducing Coronado to go in search of Quivira. That many of the statements of that Indian from the east were either not understood at all or misunderstood, was inevitable. That he misrepresented and exaggerated seems also very probable if not certain. But the marked suspicion is also expressed, by the chroniclers of Coronado, that some of the Pueblo Indians prompted the "Turk" to make false statements, in order to allure the Spaniards away from New Mexico and into destruction.

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106. *Historia*, p. 162, "y no arbitraron el arrimar leña á los muros y prenderles habia dado que por el crédito que allí le dábamos á la guia" Jaramillo, *Relación hecha, fuego.*"

The earliest intimation of such a plot on the part of the Pueblos is found in the "Relación del Suceso" in which it is said: "Francisco Vazquez [Coronado] left for these plains in search of Quibira, rather for the sake of the report which he gave us on the river [the Rio Grande] than on account of the faith which then we placed in the guide." This is no direct accusation, but the Captain Juan Jaramillo is very positive.<sup>107</sup>

Castañeda states that the first notice concerning Quivira came directly from the "Turk." Later however, when the Spaniards saw they had been led astray and took him severally to task, this individual, seeing that he would be killed said "that the people of Pecos had begged him to lose [lead to destruction] the Spaniards in the plains, hoping that the lack of food would cause the horses to perish and that, on the return, it would be easy for them to kill the men, returning exhausted from hunger and fatigue. He finally said that he had consented to the project, believing that we did not know how to hunt and could only live on maize. . . ."<sup>108</sup> While this is a direct statement, the extraordinary circumstances in which the "Turk" was then placed must be taken into account. He saw death before him, and his accusation of the people of Pecos may have been due to various motives. He may have harbored a faint hope that, by slandering the Pueblos, he might save himself; he may have accused the Pecos out of motives of re-

107. *Doc. de Indias*, vol. 14, p. 326, "más por la relación que en el rio nos p. 310, "entendimos tambien que no distrajo de la derrota que habíamos de llevar, y nos metiese por aquellos llanos como nos metió, para que gastasemos la comida y por falta della viniésemos en flaqueza nosotros y los caballos, porque si volviésemos con este atrás u adelante, no tuviéramos resistencia a lo que quisieran jacer de nosotros."

108. *Cíbola*, p. 431. The Turk's confession is found on page 444, "preguntaron a el turco que porque auia metido y los auia guiado tam abieso dixo que su tierra era haçia aquella parte y que allende de aquello los de cicuye le auian rogado que los truxese perdidos por los llanos porque faltádoles el bastimento se muriesen los cauallos y ellos flacos quando bolbiesen los podrian matar sin trabajo y bengarse de lo que auian hecho y que por esto los abia desrumbado creyendo que no supieran caaar ni mantenerse sin maiz . . . esto dixo ya como desesperado" — the last sentence is noteworthy. In my text I have given that of *Ternaux-Compans*, which

venge, but it may also have been a frank confession of real fact. Castañeda makes still another statement. Among the Pecos, Coronado (or rather his officers) had met two more Indians from the plains one of whom, called "Yso-pete" or "Sopete," accompanied him to Quivira and persistently contradicted the statements of the "Turk", declaring that the latter was lying and leading the Spaniards astray.<sup>109</sup> That Indian remained at Quivira. Another one, to whom the name of "Xabe" is attributed, remained with the main force during the time of Coronado's dash to the northeast. When the latter's return was announced, "Xabe" affected great satisfaction based upon the expectation that much gold had been discovered, but when it came out that this had not been the case, Xabe became suddenly very sad and dejected.<sup>110</sup> Was this perhaps due to deception, the Pueblos having calculated upon a definitive removal of the whites to Quivira? Another suspicious sign is, that while Coronado had left the Pecos in a friendly mood, upon the return of Arellano (see later) and himself, they were in arms against both!

In the foregoing I have already had occasion to allude to some customs of the Pueblos, but much more yet is contained about them in the documentary sources of the time. To this material I shall now turn ere proceeding with the narrative of events.

The "Relación postrera" informs us in regard to the people of Tiguex: "The river is nearly as wide as the one of Seville, although not as deep; it flows through a level country. its water is good; it has some fish and rises in the north. He who says this saw twelve villages within a certain circumscription of the river. Others say they saw more higher up the river. Below, all pueblos are small except two, that may have two hundred houses; these houses are with walls

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109. This is repeatedly stated by Castañeda. *Cíbola*, pp. 441, 442, 444, etc. is shorter but incomplete.

110. *Cíbola*, p. 446.



like of mud and sand, very hard and as wide as the breadth of a hand. The houses are of two and three floors and the woodwork is like that at Sivola. It is very cold, the estufas are like the ones at Sivola. The river freezes so that loaded pack animals pass over it and it might be crossed by carts. They harvest as much maize as they need, also beans and squash. They keep some fowl, in order to make feather-mantles. They raise little cotton, wear cotton mantles and shoes of hides, as at Sivola. These people defend themselves well, and from their houses, as they do not care to sally. The soil is all sandy." "Four days march from Tiguex four villages were met with. The first one may contain thirty houses. The second one is large, but destroyed by their wars, still it has thirty-five inhabited houses, the third (lacking) houses. These three are after the manner of those on the river. The fourth one is a big village situated among timber and is called Cicuic. It has as many as fifty houses with as many floors as those of Sivola and the walls are of soil and clay as at Sivola. They have much maize, beans, calabashes and some fowl." For the first time we learn of the existence of three pueblos between the Rio Grande and Pecos (Cicuic) and also obtain a hint of an event that had transpired, a bit of pre-colonial history of the Rio Grande Indians, namely, that war was carried on not very far from the river and that one village had been partly destroyed, before the whites arrived. This point will be touched upon later.<sup>111</sup>

What the "Relación del Suceso" has to say concerning manners and customs has already been referred to.

Not quite as explicit as the two preceding sources is the report of the Captain Jaramillo. He affirms that: "On the river of Tiguex, within the extent of twenty leagues, there are fifteen villages, all of houses of flat roofs of mud,

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111. Compare original text in Winship, *Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* 14, Part I, p. 567. In regard to the village reported as destroyed I call attention to the words "destruido de sus guerras." This might allude to wars between pueblos also, and is not impossible.

and not of stone . . . and away from it [the river] are other pueblos on brooks [torrents] that rejoin the same. Three of these, for among Indians, are well worth seeing, especially one called Chia, another Uraba and another Tienique. Both Uraba and Tienique have plenty of houses, the others all of two stories and these have maize and beans and calabashes [squash], hides, and a kind of feather cloaks of plumes which they twist and attach the plume by threads and then form a sort of curious texture with which they make the mantles with which they cover themselves. All have estufas underground and while these are not very handsome they are very sheltered [warm]. They have and gather a little cotton, making the mantles of which I have spoken."<sup>12</sup> Jaramillo thus reiterates the statements of the documents already quoted, adding to it the description of how the feather mantles were made, (which have come into disuse centuries ago) and mentioning a village which he calls "Uraba" that, according to him, lay outside of the Rio Grande valley proper and which recalls the "Yuraba" already alluded to. He also mentions the underground "estufas," designating them as places of warmth. In regard to the culture of cotton by the Pueblos he is more conservative than any other source. His village of "Chia" is doubtlessly Cia, and Tienique a misprint for Cicuique, "Tshiquique," "Tshiquite," that is Pecos. It is noteworthy that the contemporaneous chroniclers of Coronado insist that Cia, Pecos and another one which can hardly have been anything else but Taos, were the most important ones in New Mexico.

Castañeda is by far the most detailed of all on Pueblo customs. Of the Tiguas (Tiguex) he states:

First: that "the Province of Tiguex contains twelve villages situated on the banks of a great river; it is a valley that has a width of about two leagues. On the east there is a snowy mountain range, very high and rugged, at the

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12. *Relación Hecha*, p. 309.

foot of which and in the rear there are seven villages, four on the level and three on the slope of the mountain."<sup>113</sup>

The mountain range is the Sierra de Sandía with lower collateral chains lying to the northeast and east of it. Hence the seven pueblos are those of the *Tanos* tribe, of which more hereafter. He mentions, as neighbors of the *Tiguas*, "Quirix" (seven villages); in the northeast (it should be northwest) "Hemes" with seven villages; at forty league in the north, "Acha" (from the direction and distance that pueblo corresponds to Taos or possibly, Picuries, and probably the latter); and four leagues to the southeast "Tutahaco" (eight villages), the settlements of the *Piros*. He follows with the important remark: "All these pueblos in general have the same rites and customs although they have some in particular which the others have not."<sup>114</sup> "They govern themselves by the resolutions of the oldest men."<sup>115</sup> In regard to the building of their houses we are informed that: "the edifices of the village are made in common, the women busy themselves with preparing the mixture [the mass] and making the walls, the men fetch the timbers and place them." This division of the joint work is in accordance with the ancient Pueblo custom that the outside labor incumbs upon the men, because the dwellings were not theirs, but belonged to the women. It will be alluded to again further on, and there are traces of it at the present day.<sup>116</sup> "They have no lime, but make a mixture of ashes,

113. *Cíbola*, p. 451. Hence the villages were on the east (slope and base) of the Sierra de Sandía. Compare, for the ruins in the former country of the *Tanos*, my *Final Report*, II, pages 87 to 125.

114. *Cíbola*, p. 451, "todos estos pueblos en general tienen unos ritos y costumbres aunque tienen algunas cosas en particulares que no las tienen los otros." This applies, not merely to the *Tiguas*, but to the *Queres*, *Jemez*, and to "Acha," which is here mentioned for the first time and is probably *Picuries*.

115. *Ibidem*. "gobiernanse por acuerdo de los mas viejos."

116. *Cíbola*, p. 451, "labran los edificios del pueblo de comun las mugeres entienden en hacer la mezcla y las paredes los hombres traen la madera y la asientan no ay cal." At the time when I established myself first among the *Queres* of the *Rio Grande* for purposes of study (1880) it was the custom that only the female head of the household (mother or, if she was no longer alive, the eldest daughter) could dispose of anything that was in the building, whereas the males had exclusive control of what was outside.

charcoal and mud, which is little less strong than lime [mortar] for, although the houses are four stories high, the walls are not thicker than half an ell. Gathering a large

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quantity of sagebrush and reeds they set it on fire, and when it is part charcoal and part ashes they throw upon it much mud and water, mixing it, and shape the mixture into round lumps. These they place in lieu of stones after they have dried, and bind them with the same mixture so that it results like one mass of clay."<sup>117</sup> This description of the ancient method of forming the so-called adobe is as yet unique in literature on the Pueblos and shows, that the mold was unknown to those Indians in pre-Spanish times. Castañeda continues: "The marriageable youth serve to [help in] the village in general. They carry firewood, placing it in courts of the pueblo, whence the women take it to carry to the houses. The homes of the young men are the estufas, which are in the courts [squares] of the village. They are square or round, and with pillars of pine-wood. Some of these were seen with twelve pillars and four in place of a vault as big around as two fathoms, the usual ones have had three or four pillars. The floor is of large and smooth flags as in the baths that are used in Europe. Inside [of the estufa] is a hearth like the binnacle of a ship. On it they burn a handful of sage brush with which they keep up warmth and one can be inside as in a bath. The top is on the level of the ground; some have been seen that were as spacious as [the place for] a game of ball."<sup>118</sup> This description of an estufa is by far the most exact and de-

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117. *Ibidem*. This passage is somewhat confused in the original: "juntan gran cantidad de rama de tomillos y corriso." It should be "carrizo," reeds. "Tomillo" is thyme, but I have substituted sagebrush, since it is the common covering of levels in the valleys, next to bunch grass.

118. *Ibidem*, "algunas se bieron de doce pilares y de quatro por nabe de gordor de dos braças," — Since there were no arches or vaults, "nabe" means the roof or ceiling, supported by four heavy crossbeams or treetrunks functioning as such. In 1880 there was still such a support, of unusual size, sallying horizontally from the upper rim of a ruined estufa at Pecos. The size given by Castañeda is much exaggerated and certainly not from actual measurement.

tailed found in older literature as yet. The mention of very large beams as "arch" is to be understood as follows: the beams rested on the pillars thus supporting the roof of the estufa and therefore performing the duty of an arch or vault.<sup>119</sup>

There follows the most explicit description of marriage customs known from older literature on the Pueblos: "When one is to marry, it must be by command of those who govern."<sup>120</sup> This must be understood in the sense that medicine-men (who play an important part in the social life of the Pueblos) are and were consulted on the proposed marriage. The replies of the Principal ones among them have, or had at least, the weight of oracles so that, while Castañeda's statement cannot be understood as implying an intervention of the leaders as *civil authorities*, it is still true in a sense. "He (the man) must spin and weave a mantle and place it before the woman; she covers herself with it and (thereby) she is his wife. The houses are of the women, the estufas of the men. When a man repudiates his wife he has to go for it to the estufa. It is an offence on the part of a woman to sleep in an estufa or to enter one, except to fetch food to the husband or to the sons. The men spin and weave, the women raise the children and cook."<sup>121</sup> Strict separation of the sexes to a certain extent is no longer observed, and the estufas are no longer the exclusive male quarters. "The land is so fertile, that weeding is necessary only once a year, at planting time, for then snow falls, covering the plantation and the ear grows under

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119. See preceding note. Mota Padilla, *Historia*, cap. XXVIII, p. 115, describes the estufa as follows: "en medio de la plaza habia una portañuela ó escotillon por donde se bajaba á una subterránea sala, cuya techumbre era de grandes vigas de pino, y en el suelo un pequeño fogon, y las paredes encaladas; allí se estaban los indios dias y noches jugando, y las mugeres les llevaban de comer, y esta era la vida de los indios de los pueblos comarcanos, Gomara, *Historia*, p. 287, distorts these descriptions as follows: "Tiene delante cada casa una cueva, donde como en estufa, se recogen los inviernos." *Relación del suceso*, p. 320, makes of the estufas houses for the winter.

120. *Cibola*, p. 451.

121. *Ibidem*, p. 452.

the snow. In one year they harvest for seven."<sup>122</sup> Early planting is indeed customary among the Rio Grande Pueblos, but the fertility vaunted by Castañeda should be taken with allowances. "There are a great number of cranes, geese, crows and starlings, that maintain themselves in the plantations; withal, when they go to plant again for another year the fields are still covered with maize they have not been able to house."<sup>123</sup> The entire chapter is so full of valuable and mostly reliable information that I cannot resist the temptation to proceed giving it textually.

"There were in this province a great number of [female and male] turkeys. These, when dead, would keep for sixty days without being plucked or opened and yet there was no bad odor from them. The same is with people and especially in winter. The villages are free from filth, because they go outside to secrete, and also into vessels of clay which they empty outside of the village. They keep their houses well arranged and very clean where they eat. Where they grind the meal, it is an apartment or closet with a trough and three stones fastened by mortar [mud] where three women enter, each one [goes] to her stone, one crushes, another grinds, and the third grinds it still finer. Before they enter, they bare their feet at the door, fasten their hair, shake their clothes and cover their heads. While they grind, there is a man seated at the door who plays on a bagpipe and they grind to the measure [rhythm] of the sound and sing at three voices. They grind much meal at the time because all the bread is made of flour diluted with hot water and in the shape of wafers. They gather a large quantity of herbs and dry them for cooking all the year through as food. There is no other fruit in the country but piñones. They have their preachers. Sodomy was not met among them nor the eating of human flesh, or human sacrifice. They are not cruel . . . From

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122. *Ibidem.*

123. This description of remarkable fertility is not greatly exaggerated.

one of our Indians who was a captive among them for a year I came to know something of their customs, especially asking him why the girls, in that province, went naked notwithstanding the great cold, he told me that the maidens had to go thus until they married but that afterwards they covered themselves. The men there wore undershirts of hide of tanned deerskin and over them their pelts. In the whole province there is pottery glazed with antimony [galena?] and jugs of striking forms and decoration, well worth seeing."<sup>124</sup>

It is not necessary to dwell upon the general agreement of the above description with many Pueblo customs, today yet in vigor. Castañeda like everybody before the time of my lamented friend Cushing, has mistaken for "preachers" what are but public criers. His allusion to the absence of sodomy is not correct. It is committed today, occasionally, and tolerated to a certain extent. The Captain Gaspar Perez de Villagr  mentions a case (an attempt upon the person of a young Spaniard) perpetrated in one of the Tigua pueblos in 1598, and not at all censured by Indian bystanders.<sup>125</sup>

The gloss or glaze on pottery from the period of the conquest has not, to my knowledge, been as yet analyzed. No mineral substance appears to have been used, since neither antimony nor lead were known to the Pueblo Indians. I have repeatedly requested that an analysis of the glaze be made, but my request has always been disregarded.

Casta eda emphasizes that the customs of the Tiguas, as described, are those of all the other Rio Grande tribes,

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124. *Ibidem*. "Alcohol" is galena (sulphuret of lead) as well as antimony, Neither was known to or used by the Pueblos.

125. *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, Canto XV, fol. 136.

"Tambien notamos, ser aquestas gentes,

"Manchadas del bestial pecado infame,

"Y en esto fue tan suelta su soltura,

"Que sino diera gritos un muchacho,

"De nuestra compania, le rindiera,

"Vn baruario de aquellos que por fuerça,

"le quiso sugetar. . . . ."

and he turns to Cicuyé or Pecos for a continuation of his ethnographic statements.<sup>126</sup>

Although I have treated at some length of those features in my report on Pecos from the year 1881, I repeat some of it here. "Cicuyé is a village of as many as five hundred warriors and it is feared all over the country. Its form is square and it is built on rock. It has in the middle a great court or square with its estufas, the houses are all equal [in height] and on the top one can go around the village without being impeded by streets. The two lowest stories have galleries all around on which to walk, these are like balconies jutting out and on which there is shelter. There are no doorways below, on movable ladders they traffic and ascend to the galleries which are inside the square, and the doorways of that side open to the inner gallery which serves as a street. The houses that look out on the field are built against the inner ones and in case of war are commanded by those within. It [the village] is surrounded by a low wall of stone . . . They are of the same condition and [have the same] customs as the other villages. The maidens also go naked until they marry for they say that in case they act wrongly it will be seen and so they stay pure, neither shall they be ashamed of going [naked] since they were born that way." By comparing this description with my Pecos report and with the ground plans accompanying it, the near approach to truth may be noticed.<sup>127</sup>

Referring to the data already taken from the "Relación postrera" it will be seen that that document mentions three villages, between the Rio Grande and Pecos. Castañeda enumerates one that is situated *between Cicuyé and "the Province of Quirix,"* a second one which was almost depopulated, and another large but ruined village further on.<sup>128</sup>

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126. *Cíbola*, p. 451.

127. *Report on the ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos*, in vol. I of *Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America*, American series, second edition, 1883.

128. *Relación postrera*, p. 567, "desde la provincia y rio de Tiguex, á cuatro jornadas toparon cuatro pueblos."



The first of these pueblos was small but "strong," the second had but a single ward occupied and appeared to have been recently destroyed. The Spaniards called this pueblo "of the *Ciños*" because it contained large storage places for maize.<sup>129</sup> The third village was completely destroyed and wrecked. In its squares were seen many balls of stone of the size of a vessel containing an arroba (twenty-five pounds of liquor.) It looked as if these balls had been hurled into the Pueblo with aid of a machine.<sup>130</sup> Now follows a piece of historical information antedating clearly the coming of the Spaniards. "What could be learned was, that about sixteen years previous, certain people called *Teyas* had come to this country in great numbers and had destroyed these pueblos and besieged Cicuyé, without being able to take it, owing to its strength. When [these *Teyas*] left the land they made friendship with all the people. They must have been powerful and have had engines for destroying the villages. All that was known of them was, that they came from the north [east]; they [the Pueblo Indians] call them *Teyas* because they are brave . . . for the *Teyas* whom our forces afterwards met were valiant and also known to the villages, and were their friends. They came to winter under the walls of the settlements. It is not safe to receive them inside, as they are not trustworthy, and although they receive them kindly and barter with them, at

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129. *Cibola*, p. 453, "ay entre cicuye y la prouincia de quirix un pueblo chico y fuerte a quien los españoles pusieron nombre ximena y otro pueblo casi despoblado que no tiene poblado sino un barrio este pueblo era grande segun su sitio y fresco parecia aber sido destruydo aqueste se llamo el pueblo de las cilos porque se hallaron en el grandes silos de maiz, adelante auia otro pueblo grande todo destruido y asolado en los patios del muchas pelotas de piedras tan grandes como botijas de arroba que parecia aber sido hechadas con ingenios o trabucos." While not attempting to identify any of these villages I still permit myself to remark that they appear to have been in the range of the Tanos. "Silo" is usually a subterraneous room.

130. Although I have investigated carefully, the region where these villages must have existed, going through it on foot in 1885 and taking the plans of several ruins, I have not noticed anything like the stone balls described by Castañeda in *Cibola*, (p. 453) but there are several ruins which I could not investigate. The *Teyas* were, of course, Indians that came from the plains, since they were found there on Coronado's excursion to Quivira. Quotations are superfluous.

night they do not stay in the pueblos and the inhabitants keep watch and give signals with trumpets and by shouting."<sup>131</sup>

"There are seven more pueblos along this road towards the snowy mountains, one of which is half destroyed by the people aforesaid that are under the control of Cicuyé. Cicuyé is in a small valley among mountains and forests of great pines; it has a small brook in which there are very good trout and also otters, there live around here very large bears and good falcons."<sup>132</sup>

The *Teyas* above mentioned came from the east, hence from the plains. I do not attempt to conjecture what tribe they belonged to, neither is it essential to the object of this work. What is of importance however, is the fact stated by Castañeda, that, about sixteen years previous to 1541 or near the year 1525, nomadic Indians invaded the region between Pecos and the Rio Grande and even, possibly, the eastern bank of the river, doing permanent damage to some of the pueblos and seriously threatening Pecos itself. The manner in which this irruption is related may lead us to suppose that it was a very usual occurrence or else, that it was the first contact the Pueblo Indians had with the so-called *Teyas*. The outcome of the invasion was singular, the invaders remaining afterwards in regular and peaceable intercourse with the Pecos, always with due caution on the part of the latter. The seven villages mentioned as "along the road and towards the snowy mountains" are undoubtedly the Tano settlements already alluded to before by

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131. *Ibidem*, "generalmente llaman estas gentes teyas por gentes ualientes como dicen los mexicanos chichimecas o tules. . ." Hence the word "teyas" may be a term in the language of *Jemez* and not the proper name of the nomadic tribe.— p. 454: "y los pueblos se belanabo çina y grito grito." (It should be "se belauaba con") "Bocina" means also a horn used for giving signals. It is very possible that the Pecos, living so near the plains, might have used buffalo horns for signalling.

132. *Ibidem*. Castañeda clearly distinguishes here the three villages alluded to before from the seven, "otros siete pueblos ay a la orilla deste camino hacia la sierra nebada." It seems therefore as if the latter seven had been situated south of the former three. There are, south of a line drawn from the station of Lamy to Santo Domingo at least ten pueblo ruins which the Tanos claim to have been settlements of their tribe. *Final Report*, vol. II, part II.

Castañeda, for the said mountains were not, as the text of Ternaux-Compans' often misleading translation had led me to suppose, the Santa Fe range, but the Sandía. It must be remembered that the latter are snowcovered in winter, that the winter of 1540-41 was unusually long and severe, that Castañeda left with the whole Spanish force at the end of April when the Rio Grande had just become free from ice, hence that it is very likely the Sandía chain still bore some snow which the chronicler may well have believed to be permanent.<sup>133</sup>

Before leaving Castañeda I must mention yet a short notice preserved by him concerning the Pueblo custom of prayer sticks and prayer plumes. He mentions what he believes to be a sign of adoration of the cross by the Pueblos: "because at Acuco, by a spring that was in the plain, they had a cross two spans in height and as thick as a finger, made of wood, with its stone [base?] an ell square, and many little sticks adorned with plumes around and many withered and torn flowers. . . . At Tutahaca in a grave, outside of the village it seemed as if somebody had been recently buried, there was another cross at the head, made of two sticks tied together with cotton thread and also torn flowers."<sup>134</sup> Thus the use of prayer sticks and prayer-plumes is mentioned, not only among the Tiguas, but also among the Queres and the Piros, and this again confirms the assertion that the customs of the Tiguas, with minor local variations, were general to all the Pueblo Indians. But Castañeda also observes, as a singularity of the Pueblos: "between the villages, there are no settlements nor other dwellings, only uninhabited country, from which we may glean that, as they are few and so different in manners, government,

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133. In regard to the incursion or incursions, of the "Teyas," I call attention to the tale preserved by the Queres and told in my *Final Report* (II, p. 111, p. 116) of an irruption into the Rio Grande valley by a savage tribe called "Kirauash" that threatened Santo Domingo and, failing in their attempt to surprise it, devastated the Tano villages.

134. *Cíbola*, p. 467.

and polity from all the nations that have been seen and discovered in these western parts. . ." Castañeda could not, of course, at his time, know the fundamental similarity of the Pueblos with other sedentary Indians and even to a certain extent with roving tribes, but he was struck by the isolated situation which they in appearance held, like an oasis among nomads. He then discourses upon their probable origin from the Indies and conjectures on their migrations which, he thinks, was from a northern direction and controlled by mountain chains and the course of the rivers. He alludes to a point where the Rio Grande sinks and where, therefore, further southerly advance of the Pueblos was arrested. These speculations are interesting, but do not come within the scope of a "Documentary History" since they do not seem to be based upon any Indian traditions ascertained at Coronado's time.<sup>135</sup>

The preceding documentary information must, now, still be checked by the statements contained in the work of Mota Padilla.

These statements agree very well with the ones recorded in the preceding. In some instances they are even amplifications. Thus, while they repeat the assertion that the doorways of the houses open to the inside of the village, and that ladders are used for ascent to the roofs he adds: "and by these a hall is reached and by another ladder they go down to the ground-floor of the settlement." The grinding of maize is more briefly described than by Castañeda although there is no contradiction of the latter's description. But we get here the earliest mention of the thin corn cakes (vulgarly called "paperbread") made with *atole* or maize meal diluted in water and cooked or toasted on a flat and smooth stone. The beverage called "atole", is also described and mentioned as very good for the sick. These comestibles are well known.<sup>136</sup> Mota Padilla continues: "The

135. *Ibidem*, p. 454.

136. *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, cap. XXXII, p. 159, "no lo hacen así las indias de Tigues: sino que deshecha la harina en agua, se hace como atole, y en unas piedras lisas que usan por comales sobre la lumbre, echan de aquel caldo, y lo tienden por toda ella hasta que coge cocimiento, y es tambien pan muy sabroso."

Indians are well built and the women of good appearance; they wear white mantles that cover them from the shoulders to the feet and, though these are closed still they leave the arms free, also they wear over the said mantles other ones over the left shoulder and one end they draw under the right arm like a cape."<sup>137</sup> This capelike wrap is still worn today. "They take much care of their hair, combing it carefully and looking at themselves in a jar with water as in a mirror. The hair they part into two tresses tied with cotton ribbons of diverse colors, and on each side of the head they form two wheels or circles, leaving the ends raised like plumes, while the circles, are rolled up inside. On little boards as wide as three fingers they glue, with gluing, some green stones which are called *chalchihuites*, of which it is said there are veins . . . of the same stones they shape trinkets which are fastened on the hair like flower bunches. The female Indians are clean and proud of not doing anything wrong."<sup>138</sup> The manner of wearing the hair braided, and rolled up as wheels, is often seen in photographs taken in the region of Moqui within the last thirty years, but the use of turquoises is seldom if ever seen. The term "chalchihuite" is, as well known, a Nahuatl term imported among the Pueblos by the Spaniards and Mexican Indians. What follows is of special interest.

"It is customary in the case of marriage that, when a youth intends to woo a maiden he waits for her in the neighborhood of where she goes to obtain drinking-water, he takes the jug away from her, wherewith he shows to the relatives of the girl his wish to marry [intentions of marriage]. These Indians have but one wife. On one occasion the Spaniards saw that an Indian having died, they [the Indians] built a large float or wood pile on which they

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137. *Ibidem*, p. 160. Coronado, in his *Letter to Mendoza* dated August 3d, 1540, (Report Bureau of Ethnology, 14, part I, p. 563) describes as follows the dress of two old women: "These had on two long skirts reaching down to their feet and open in front, and a girdle, and they are tied together with some cotton strings."

138. Mota Padilla, *Historia*, p. 160.

placed the body, covered by a mantle, and then the entire pueblo [tribe], men and women, placed upon this bed of firewood, piñole, squash, beans, atole, toasted maize and whatever else they used as food and set fire to it on all sides, so that it was very soon reduced to ashes, together with the body. No temples were seen, and no idols, from which it was deduced that they worshipped the sun and moon, and this was confirmed, since one night when there was an eclipse, they all raised great shouting. The village where [the Spaniards] quartered themselves was called Coofert."<sup>139</sup>

There is, between the statements of Mota Padilla on marriage customs and those of Castañeda, an apparent variation, but we must not overlook that the former mentions the *proposal to the girl* and the latter the *conditions of obtaining her hand*. Hence both may be true. In regard to the cremation described, I say that it may be true *if* the Spaniards saw it, and if it is not perhaps some interpolation by Mota Padilla of a funeral custom of other Indians. It is the only statement of the kind I am aware of, concerning the Pueblos, whereas Castañeda positively mentions *graves and a recent burial in one of them*. I hold it to be prudent to leave the matter in suspense until further information.

(to be continued)

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139. Mota Padilla, *Historia*, p. 160, "y en una ocasion vieron los españoles que habiendo muerto un indio, armaron una grande balsa ó luminaria de leña, sobre que pusieron el cuerpo cubierto con una manta, y luego todos los del pueblo, hombres y mujeres, fueron poniendo sobre la cama de leña, piñole, calabazas, frijoles, atole, mais tostado, y de lo demas que usaban comer, y dieron fuego por todas partes, de suerte que en breve todo se convirtió en cenizas con el cuerpo; no se vió templo alguno, ni se les conoció ídolo, por lo que se tuvo entendido adoraban al sol y á la luna, lo que se confirmó, porque una noche que hubo un eclipse, alzaron todos mucha gritería." If Mota Padilla has not confounded the above cremation ceremony with a custom of some other tribes (as has happened and of which there is proof elsewhere, on the part of writers who wrote at second hand) then it is important, since it shows the belief of the Pueblos in the Journey of the soul, after death, to the mythical region of last repose, for which Journey, even at this day (or at least less than twenty years ago) food, drink and some weapons are placed in the *grave* with the body. The ceremony or ceremonies performed during an eclipse are *always* quite noisy.

THE SAN CARLOS APACHE POLICE II<sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN P. CLUM

Referring to my official proposal in 1877, to assume responsibility for the conduct and control of all Apaches in Arizona, provided I was furnished with two companies of special Apache Police, and that then the troops might be removed from the Territory, it seems desirable that some additional facts should be presented in support of my assertion that this proposal *was not only sane and feasible, but that it offered the only sensible, practical and effective solution of the Apache problem at that time.*

If this proposition had been accepted it was my purpose to assign the command of one of these special companies to Captain Beauford, who was then serving as Chief of Police at San Carlos, and to tender the command of the other special company to Al Sieber, the well known scout and guide then in the employ of the military. The removal of the troops would have released Sieber and there is no doubt that I could have secured his services. No better men ever commanded Indian police or scouts than Beauford and Sieber. They were energetic, courageous, just and sympathetic. These qualities won for them the confidence and esteem of the Indians and the citizens alike. Of course, each of these two special companies would be equipped with a suitable pack train for use on extended scouting trips. With my Special Apache Police Force thus organized I would have established a mutual confidence at the very outset of this important undertaking that would have marked a definite and gratifying advance toward the goal of success with our first official stride.

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General August V. Kautz, commanding the Department of Arizona, submitted an elaborate annual report under date of Prescott, Arizona, August 15, 1877, which was prodigal in its hostile references to me and to my job, but, inasmuch as we are presenting the events of the period as they were officially recorded at the time we may be pardoned for quoting several paragraphs from this report. It begins thus:

The Apache is a savage of the lowest type. He held high carnival in this land until my predecessor availed himself of his savage nature in order to control him. He used Apache against Apache. He can be bought for a small figure to kill his father or his mother or any of his relations, and there is no difficulty in enlisting allies in one band to fight another.

This is the principal means by which peace is preserved in the Territory at the present time. No agent would remain on the San Carlos reservation without troops if the Indians were all harmonious among themselves.

Although unfriendly to me, it may be noted that General Kautz asserts that the use of "Apache against Apache" is "*the principal means by which peace is preserved in the Territory at the present time.*" No more cordial endorsement of my plan could be desired. Although there had been no troops on the reservation for nearly two years, a general condition of peace prevailed throughout the Territory, and the San Carlos Apache Police Force represented "*the principal means*" by which this peace was preserved.

Furthermore, *my plan insisted upon justice for, and sympathy with the Apache, and denied that he was "a savage of the lowest type."* In passing it should be stated that no one harboring the violent prejudices against the general character of the Apaches as officially expressed by General Kautz, ever should have been permitted any voice in their management or control. General Chaffee declared that the Apache Police were alert, trustworthy and obedient, and



that it is only in the discharge of their duties under orders that "they know neither family nor friend." No higher commendation can be given a guardian of the peace. General Chaffee lived among the Apaches and wrote his endorsement while he was acting agent at San Carlos. General Kautz recorded his prejudices at Department Headquarters.

General Kautz's assertion that "no agent would remain at the San Carlos reservation without troops if the Indians were all harmonious among themselves" is another *long distance* bit of fiction and absolutely absurd. In my annual report for 1875, referring to the development of the agency police force, I said: "On July 31, after the removal of the White Mountain Indians, I increased the number to twenty-five. *They were carefully chosen from the various tribes and bands, armed with needle-guns and fixed ammunition, placed under the command of Mr. Clay Beauford.*" It is obvious that the San Carlos Apache Police Force never would have achieved its splendid record for efficiency and dependability if its members had been *on fighting terms among themselves*. It was because each tribe and band desired to express its appreciation of, and *loyalty to our near-self-government plan*, and to share in the honor and emoluments of the service, that *they sought representation on the reservation police force, and this situation made the selection of the several members of this force a matter of diplomatic importance.*

If the conditions suggested by General Kautz had actually prevailed; if a fierce and deadly enmity had existed among tribes of *savages* "of the lowest type," THEN *no agent would have been able to "remain at San Carlos without troops."* When Indian Inspector Daniels returned from the reservation to Tucson late in 1874, he told of "Agent Clum and his 'happy family' at San Carlos." In the summer of 1875 Mr. Davis and Mr. Gaby removed with their families from Colorado Springs, Colo., to San Carlos. Mr. Davis

was employed as head farmer, and Mr. Gaby as carpenter. Mr. Davis brought with him his wife and youngest daughter, a bright attractive girl about fifteen years of age, and Mr. Gaby was accompanied by his wife. I had been acquainted with Mr. Davis' family for several years, and, assuredly, would not have consented to the bringing of Mrs. Davis and daughter and Mrs. Gaby to San Carlos if I had felt there was any danger of violence from the several bands of Apaches then on the reservation. Mr. Davis and Mr. Gaby remained with their families at San Carlos for nearly a year, and then left — not from fear of the Apaches — but because they desired to locate in California.

I was married in Ohio on November 9, 1876, and arrived at San Carlos with my bride the last week in December, 1876. This young bride was a lady who had known something of the better home life and better social conditions of such communities as Cincinnati and Columbus, Ohio, and Washington, D. C., and she had lived in the latter city several years immediately preceeding our marriage. I purchased a suitable conveyance at San Francisco, which was shipped on the steamer with us to San Diego, where I acquired four horses. We *drove* through to San Carlos — “camping out” most of the way. Assuredly we were in the “Apache country” during the 200-mile drive from Tucson to San Carlos. I knew there were 4500 “wild” Apaches *at large upon the reservation* with no restraint except that exerted by the San Carlos Apache police, as all troops had been removed from San Carlos more than a year previous. And yet, without hesitation, or fear of harm, or thought of an escort, this young city-bred girl and I proceeded with our four-horse outfit over the regular stage road to Cienega. San Pedro and Point-of-Mountain, and thence via Sulphur Springs valley and along the Gila river to San Carlos. I admit that I carried a six-shooter, but it is obvious that I was not anticipating an attack by maurauding hostile Apaches. *For several weeks this young bride was the only*

*white woman on the reservation with those 4500 unrestrained Apaches — but not a single soldier.*

In February, 1877, when I took the company of 60 Apaches to Tucson for enrollment as Territorial Militia, my wife remained at the agency during my absence of eight or ten days — unalarmed. In the latter part of March, 1877, when I was arranging for my trip into New Mexico on the trail of Geronimo and his band of renegades, I took my wife to Tucson where she remained during my absence — anxious, but composed — as the guest of Mrs. Dr. C. H. Lord. And this same young bride *had expected to resume her residence at San Carlos immediately upon my return from New Mexico*, and would have done so had I not retired from my position as agent — *not from any apprehensions as to the Apaches* — but because of the disastrous consequences certain to follow the *proposed deadly mixture of civil-military rule on the reservation.*

Dr. Chapin, the agency physician, *brought his bride to San Carlos* in February, 1877, and they remained there until some time after the end of my administration. These simple facts speak volumes in denial of the assumption that in that period San Carlos was an unsafe place of residence — *even for ladies.* Mrs. Chapin is now living in Washington, D. C., where she has resided for many years. Mrs. Davis and her daughter, Mrs. Gaby, Mrs. Chapin and my wife were the only white women who came upon the reservation during my entire administration.

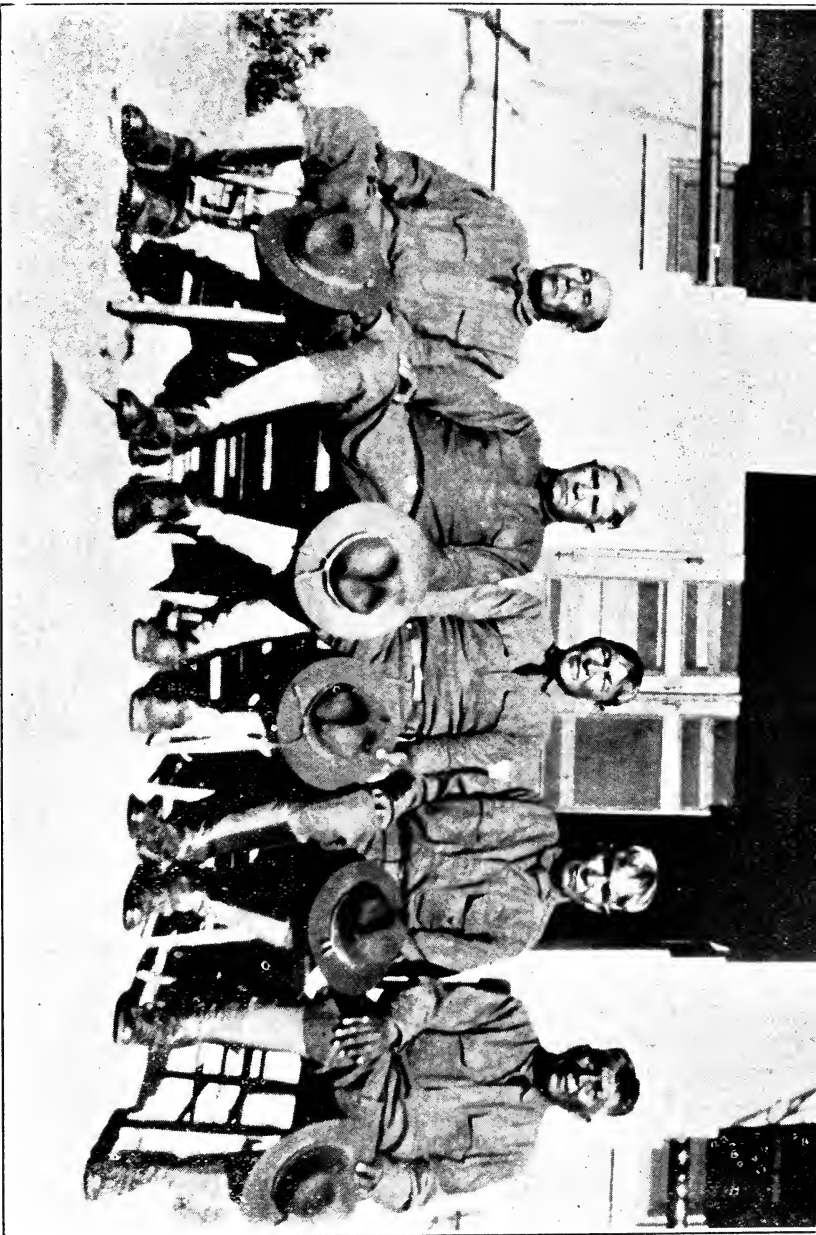
Another thing. In August, 1876, I arranged to take a group of twenty Apaches on a trip to “the states,” the details of which may appear later. *This group included representatives from the several identical tribes, or bands, which, a year later, were declared by General Kautz to be inharmonious, hostile and antagonistic among themselves.* Tah-zay, the older of the sons of Cochise, and Cullah were Chiricahuas. Diablo was chief of the Coyoteros. Captain Jim of the agency police, Es-kim-in-zin and Casadora re-

presented the Pinals and Arivaipas, and Sagully was chief of the Yumas. Es-kim-in-zin, Casadora and Captain Jim took their wives with them, and Diablo was brave enough to take with him his little son — a sturdy kid five or six years of age.

This group was absent from the reservation about three months. We were about a month driving from San Carlos to the railroad depot at El Moro, Colorado. Our visit in "the states" occupied about a month, and another month was consumed in the return to the reservation. Everyone knows that a long trail trip is one of the very best means for determining whether the members of any group are *inharmonious, hostile and antagonistic*. The dramatic stampede along the trails to the Klondike left a tragic record of *much wrangling* among parties of friends — and even between brothers of the pale-face race. Occasionally the feud became so bitter that when the parties finally separated they *even sawed their boat in two*.

When our group arrived in St. Louis we forthwith organized ourselves into a *Wild West Show*. Without hesitation or delay we appeared in first-class theaters in St. Louis and Cincinnati. *At each entertainment we shot and cut and killed each other* (on the stage). We gave a good show. *It was a thriller, all right*. But when we found we were going on the rocks, financially, we quit the show business and went to Washington (where Tah-zay died), and to the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, — and then returned to Arizona.

We saw many things and did many things, but in all the vicissitudes of that memorable trip *there was no wrangling among the members of our group*. In fact, I have always regarded it as most remarkable that we were able to make that long, tedious trek by team; to take those Indians so far from their homeland to meet conditions new and strange to them, without developing a single instance which would indicate that any members of the group were *inharmonious, hostile or antagonistic among themselves*.



Apache Old-Timers at Fort Huachuca, under command of Captain Hawley, 10th U. S. Cavalry.

From left to right: DeKlay, 23 years, 3 months service; Charles Bones, 26 years, 6 months; Chow Big, 29 years, 11 months; Eskibyrjojo, 26 years, 5 months; Thomas Syc, 24 years, 1 month. Photograph by Captain Hawley, Dec. 1928



A little later in this same report General Kautz, inadvertently, gave generous commendation to my administration and to the efficiency of the San Carlos Apache Police in enforcing order and discipline among the 5000 Indians on the reservation when he wrote:

With the exception of some depredations in the extreme southeastern portion of the Territory, *peace has prevailed in this department, and the country has advanced materially in its mining, agricultural and stock-raising interests.* The population has received a considerable increase in the past year by immigration.

Particular attention is invited to *the quality of the peace* which then prevailed in Arizona. The term did not mean a mere cessation of hostilities, but it represented a *condition of confidence and security* that encouraged "immigration" and enabled the citizens to go about their business in the wide open spaces unhindered and unafraid, with the result that *the chief industries of the country "advanced materially."*

In this connection it will be of interest to read the following editorial comment published in the *Arizona Citizen* on April 15, 1876. to wit:

The outbreak of the Chiricahua Apaches is a serious blow to southeastern Arizona. We had enjoyed peace so long the people were off their guard and were scattered over the country in small parties, prospecting, stock-raising and farming, and in many instances were poorly armed.

This editorial refers to the outbreak of April 6th, led by Pi-on-se-nay, who was arrested on June 9th by the San Carlos Apache police at the time of the removal of the Chiricahuas to San Carlos. It is a simple statement of facts. The Chiricahuas had not indulged in hostilities in American territory since the treaty made with Cochise by General Howard in 1872. The troops had been removed from San Carlos and the agency police were maintaining order and discipline on that reservation. The people "had enjoyed peace so long" they were "off their guard." *They were going about*

*their business of prospecting, stock-raising and farming, giving little heed to the matter of arms. The "peace" the people were enjoying meant "a condition of confidence and security."*

On the same date (April 15, 1876.) the *Citizen* published the following item:

Agent John P. Clum who has lately been in town on a short visit, rode out on Wednesday afternoon, to go to San Carlos, traveling by way of the trail. He didn't go there from any fear of trouble with his Indians, as whatever might happen, he has perfect reliance in Mr. Sweeney, whom he had left in charge. But he wished to be on hand in event of the least possible emergency, and if allowed he would like to lead a few hundred of his tried and trusted Indians against the Chiricahua fiends. The public opinion seems to be that if Agent Clum were just permitted to take 200 of the San Carlos Apaches, and furnished with their small needs, they would in a short time effectually clean the Chiricahua dish and leave nothing but the bones, — with the aid of the coyotes.

This is probably the first editorial comment suggesting that the jurisdiction of the San Carlos Apache Police under my direction *be extended to include all Apaches within the Territory of Arizona.*

The following are additional excerpts from the general's annual report:

He [the agent] has been particularly careful to avoid anything that seemed like dependence on the military service.

He [the agent] recently made public a telegram to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, offering, if his salary would be increased and two companies of Indian Police given him, to be responsible for the conduct of the Indians, and the troops in Arizona could be withdrawn from the Territory.

The reason why I avoided "dependence on the military service" in Arizona was because that service was unfriendly



— was hostile toward me and my administration. General Kautz devoted pages of his report to the presentation of his *reasons why the military should have absolute control of all the Apaches, both on and off the reservation*. He regarded the Apache as “a savage of the lowest type,” and he had difficulty in finding words and phrases that would adequately express his estimate of the depravity of the agent.

Fortunately, within the limits of the reservation I had no need to place any “dependence on the military service.” When I was ordered to remove the Chiricahua Indians from Apache Pass to San Carlos I took with me a company of fifty-four special Apache Police, and, therefore, personally, I was relieved of the necessity of placing any “dependence on the military service.” But I felt that some troops should be sent to positions in the field where they would be *conveniently available in an emergency for the protection of citizens and the punishment of hostiles*. In these circumstances I asked General Kautz, officially, how many troops he could send to the vicinity of the Chiricahua reservation. In reply the general informed me, officially, that he could not send any troops to co-operate with me in the proposed removal of the Chiricahuas. He persisted in his refusal until ordered to co-operate. In this report the general comments on this incident as follows:

He (Governor Safford) was mainly instrumental in securing the order for the removal of the Chiricahua Indians last year. The heaviest portion of the expense of this removal fell upon the War Department, which was not consulted in regard to it. I have heretofore given my opinion against concentrating large numbers of hostile and antagonistic Indians on one reservation. I was not disposed, therefore, to aid in a movement the consequences of which could not be foreseen, without the instructions of the War Department in the matter. I had the impression also that there was an ulterior motive in bringing about this removal.

General Kautz has supplied a concise and forceful illus-

tration of some of the reasons why I avoided "dependence on the military service" in his department, and why I was willing to assume full responsibility for the conduct and control of all Apaches in Arizona, provided I was given a free hand with an extended Apache Police Force.

In connection with my narrative of the removal of the Chiricahuas, and the comments of General Kautz on the same subject, it will be entertaining to read General Carter's reminiscences of this campaign as recorded by him in his "Life of Lieutenant General Chaffee," to wit:

In the spring of 1876 conditions had become so bad along the Mexican border of Arizona and New Mexico, owing to the proximity of the Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apache reservations, that a removal of the Indians to San Carlos was determined upon. The troops of the regiment were promptly put on the march for the rendezvous in southeastern Arizona.

Upon arrival of all the troops *several expeditions were organized*. Captain Chaffee's troop accompanied the squadron sent into the San Simon valley on the eastern side of the Chiricahua reservation, and when it reached Horse Shoe Canyon, on the east side of the Chiricahua Mountains, the trail of a large part of the tribe was found leading toward Mexico. The trail was followed, but the Indians had already crossed the line.

The Chiricahuas consisted of four bands, that of Natchez (Nah-chee), son of the famous Cochise, the other three under Ju, Geronimo and Nolgee. Of the four that of Natchez was the only one which moved to the San Carlos reservation; the others escaped into Sonora, and from the inaccessible fastnesses of the Sierra Madre Mountains began a series of raids which lasted ten years and involved the loss of hundreds of lives. Upon the completion of the movement of Natchez' band *the several expeditions were abandoned*.

General Carter recalls that in the spring of 1876 *conditions were so bad along the Mexican border that a removal of the Chiricahua Indians to San Carlos was determined upon; that the troops were promptly put on the*

*march*: that upon their arrival in southeastern Arizona "several expeditions were organized" (the purposes of which are not stated); that the squadron to which Captain Chaffee's troop was attached followed an Indian trail from Horse Shoe Canyon to the Mexican line (about 25 or 30 miles) and observed that the band led by Geronimo, Ju and Nolgee had escaped into Mexico, and as soon as the Chiricahuas under Nah-chee left for San Carlos "the several expeditions were abandoned" but no reason is given for this abrupt action.

From this record the reader is compelled to the conclusion that *the only active service performed by the regiment in this campaign* was the march of Captain Chaffee's squadron on the Indian trail from Horse Shoe Canyon to the Mexican line — and this was true. However, having ignored the actual circumstances that had brought the Sixth Cavalry into southeastern Arizona at this time, General Carter found it necessary to substitute some excuse for the movement, and so he mingled a bit of fog with the facts by his reference to "several" mysterious "expeditions" which were so blythly "organized" and so unceremoniously "abandoned."

The fact that depredations had been committed in southeastern Arizona, and the Indians who fled into Mexico were known to be of a renegade character who had been raiding in Mexico and along the border for years, demanded that this area should be patiently and persistently patrolled by the troops as a protection to citizens against these marauders. But this was not done. Not only were the mythical "expeditions" summarily *abandoned*, but likewise the exposed areas were left unguarded and the troops ordered back to their several posts.

Complete details of the removal of the Chiricahuas were published in the *New Mexico Historical Review* for January, 1928, in connection with the story of Geronimo. From a brief analysis of the facts as presented by General

Kautz, General Carter and myself, we find that General Kautz *was strongly opposed to the removal*. He also feared "an ulterior motive." The troops of the regiment were *not* "promptly put on the march." Not a soldier was moved until positive orders to that effect had been received from the War Department. When General Kautz arrived in Tucson he sent his adjutant, Colonel Martin, to me *for suggestions as to the placing of the troops in the field*, thus shifting all responsibility to the Secretary of War and myself. I escorted the colonel of the regiment through Apache Pass with my special company of San Carlos Apache Police. A detachment of this police force arrested the murderer Pi-on-se-nay on June 9th, and at the same time discovered that Geronimo had abandoned his camp and fled toward Mexico. I immediately furnished this information to General Kautz at Fort Bowie, and asked that troops be sent in pursuit of the fleeing Indians. General Kautz ordered the squadron under the command of Major Morrow, which had been stationed in the San Simon valley, to take up the trail of Geronimo and his band. Major Morrow followed the trail to the Mexican line, but inasmuch as Geronimo had moved a day in advance of the troops, and the distance to the Mexican line was only about 25 or 30 miles, Major Morrow's command did not see any Indians. The Chiricahuas formerly under Cochise, then under his sons Tah-zay and Nah-chee, were removed to the San Carlos reservation *entirely under my direction, and were escorted only by the special company of fifty-four San Carlos Apache Police that had accompanied me to Apache Pass*. The murderer, Pi-on-se-nay, *was conveyed by Sergeant Tau-el-cle-ee of the Apache Police and myself from Apache Pass to Point-of-Mountain stage station, where the dangerous prisoner was delivered into the custody of two deputy sheriffs of Pima county*.

It was upon my request that the troops were ordered to positions in the field *where they would be available in an*

*emergency.* The only "emergency" that developed calling for active service by the troops was the flight of Geronimo and his band to Mexico, and the squadron to which Captain Chaffee's troop was attached "reached Horse Shoe Canyon" and "found" the trail "leading toward Mexico" *several hours — probably a full day — after that trail had been discovered by the San Carlos Apache Police and this information had been conveyed through me and General Kautz to the commander of said squadron.*

It will be of special interest to present here the exact facts as they were recorded at the time and place in the following letter from me to General Kautz.

(Note. This letter was published in full in the *Arizona Citizen* on July 29, 1876. See copy of said paper on file in the Library of Congress.)

Office of U. S. Indian Agent,  
Chiricahua Agency, June 9, 1876.

General August V. Kautz.

Commanding Department of Arizona,  
Fort Bowie, Arizona.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform you that yesterday about noon, three principal men of the Southern Chiricahua Apache Indians came in and had a talk with me regarding their removal to the San Carlos reservation. After I had explained to them the nature of my orders and the conditions of the transfer, they all consented to go, but asked for twelve days to bring in their families. I considered four days ample time for them to gather such of their people as might be scattered about the reservation, and accordingly gave them a pass for four days to bring in their respective bands. They were named E-ron-e-mo, Whoo and Nolgee, respectively.

This morning I learned that Pi-on-se-nay, the murderer of Messrs. Rogers and Spence, was camping within ten miles of the agency. I accordingly sent out a detachment of Indian Police to bring in the outlaw and such others as might be in his camp. This party have just returned, bringing with them Pi-on-se-nay and thirty-eight others, mostly women and children.

My Indians inform me that they found the camp where Whoo, E-ron-e-mo and Nolgee had their families while they were in to talk with me yesterday; that the camp had been deserted some time yesterday evening; that camp-kettles, axes, hatchets, cowhides, corn, dead dogs, horses, etc., were strewn about the camp, and a large trail leads from the camp in the direction of the Sonora line.

From this it is evident that the Indians above named do not intend to return to the agency, and that they desired a pass for twelve days, not to bring in their people, but to enable them to place their families beyond the reach of the troops. The killing of their dogs that they might not be betrayed by their bark, and the fact that they left such camp equipage as was unnecessary or cumbersome, and killed their old horses and threw away corn and other provisions, — all indicate their intention to make a secret and hasty move into Sonora.

I, therefore, respectfully request that you pursue them at once with troops, and if possible overtake and punish them. The limits of the reservation, or the pass given to Whoo, *shall not in any manner interfere with your movements.*

It is my opinion that all friendly Indians are within ten miles of the agency, hence, should you desire to scout the reservation outside of these limits you may issue such orders at once.

I further wish to inform you that after June 13th I shall leave the reservation entirely under your supervision, and such Indians as remain on the reservation after that date are to be considered hostile, and you are respectfully requested to treat them as such.

Very respectfully, Your Obedient Servant,  
(Signed) John P. Clum,  
U. S. Indian Agent.

Here we have the major facts concisely and officially set forth. The only service performed by the troops was the march along the Indian trail from Horse Shoe Canyon to the Mexican line. The only *force* exerted by the Apache Police was in connection with the arrest and careful guarding of the murderer Pi-on-se-nay.

It is obvious, therefore, that if my proposed plan had

been in operation at that time the removal of the Chiricahuas would have been accomplished effectively with the San Carlos Apache Police Force, and the military would not have been disturbed. General Kautz would not have been compelled to *co-operate against his will and his conscience*, and General Carter would have been relieved of the necessity of *organizing and abandoning* "several" imaginary "expeditions." The whole situation would have been immensely simplified, and if the Apache Police had been impressed with the fact that *they were responsible for the conduct of all Apaches in Arizona*, it is more than probable that their careful observation of everything occurring on the reservation would have enabled them to pick up the trail from Horse Shoe Canyon to the Mexican line in time to have captured a goodly number of Geronimo's followers.

Very recently my attention was drawn to the following comments which were published in the *Arizona Citizen* on July 8, 1876, to wit:

If Agent Clum had more arms and a little more cash to pay Indian Scouts, he could safely engage to guarantee no trouble from any and all straggling Indians off reservations, and to fully take care of those on them. No officer that ever handled Indians in Arizona, begins to equal him in managing them.

This item is of peculiar interest for the reason that it establishes the fact that the proposition to extend the jurisdiction and services of the San Carlos Apache Police to include *all Apaches in Arizona* was being favorably discussed in 1876, just before and immediately following the removal of the Chiricahuas. In fact, the proposition met with the most cordial popular endorsement *until my telegram of June 7, 1877, included the suggestion that the troops might be removed*. That suggestion precipitated a near-panic in Arizona business circles. The Apaches might be controlled without the troops, but the plump military contracts were vital to the business interests of the Territory! My

proposal might mean the true solution of the Apache problem and the actual and permanent development and prosperity of the Territory, but the military contracts meant much real money — immediately available. *The military contracts won!*

If I had omitted reference to the removal of the troops I would have received substantial support from my many friends, *but my plan made the withdrawal of the troops inevitable in order to avoid that deadly mixture of joint civil and military authority and responsibility which was even then driving me from my position at San Carlos.*

I am tempted to indulge in just one more quotation from the report of General Kautz for 1877. It is this:

Whatever credit, if any, is due the management of the San Carlos Indians, it cannot justly be awarded the late agent, as he was habitually absent from the agency during the past year. There have been employed at the agency several men of great personal influence among the Indians, who have had far more to do with their control than the agent.

This paragraph was intended as *a deadly slam*, but I choose to accept it as *a very high compliment*. An essential qualification of a successful executive is the ability to select an efficient cabinet, and I imagine that *even in the army* it often happens that the general who plans and directs a great battle *does not do all of the fighting himself*. It is true that there were “employed at the agency several men of great personal influence among the Indians.” These men had been selected and appointed by me for the reason that they seemed well qualified to perform the respective duties assigned them in line with the plan of my administration, and these same men soon gained that “great personal influence among the Indians” because their actions were just and their manner sympathetic and they displayed a keen interest in the welfare and progress of the Indians. I had employed these men because I believed their conduct



would win the confidence of the Indians. My policy was to advance the Apaches gradually to a condition of self-support and self-control through friendly advice and sympathetic encouragement and expressions of confidence in their willingness to co-operate.

In the developement of this policy I was very much in need of the services of such men as Sweeney, Beauford, Hoag, Pangborn, Ming and others, among whom special mention must be made of that fine Mexican character and faithful interpreter — Marijildo Grijalba. And I admit that I was hoping to secure the services of at least one other man of "great personal influence among the Indians," — and that man was Al Sieber. Mr. Sweeney and Captain Beauford occupied the positions of greatest responsibility and most vital importance and I did not fail to acknowledge their faithful, efficient and loyal services in my annual reports and in the columns of the territorial press.

It was inevitable that insubordinate manifestations and occasional desperate characters would develop at intervals among a population of 5000, or more Indians *that could be controlled only by the strong arm of force* — and that force was willingly and promptly and effectively exerted through the medium of the San Carlos Apache Police.

There was peace on the San Carlos reservation because *the great mass of the Apaches living thereon knew what was being done, and realized that everything was intended for their best interests.* They were very anxious that those conditions should continue, and therefore they were eager to co-operate in suppressing every act of insubordination and in apprehending every criminal within the limits of the reservation.

As a matter of fact, *we had actually established a system of self-government. The Apaches were enforcing discipline and order within the limits of their reservation.* There were only about a dozen paleface employes at the agency, and it is obvious that these could have been swept

away in an instant if that great body of Apaches had been hostile. But each day these Indians were realizing more fully the benefits of the conditions they were enjoying. *I had delivered them from the persistent aggression and oppression and depression of the military menace by causing all troops to be removed from the reservation. Instead of being threatened and harassed they were being consulted and encouraged and assisted. They were invited to sit in the councils of their government, and impressed with their personal responsibility in the matter of the proper functioning of that government to the end that order might be maintained and peace perpetuated.* The sincere and persistent efforts to carry out this *policy of common sense and common decency* in the management of the affairs of the Apaches was daily being more fully comprehended by them, and it was this fact — *and this fact alone* — that gave to me and to several of my employes “*great personal influence among the Indians,*” and made San Carlos as safe a place of residence for ourselves and our familias as could be found anywhere in Arizona.

It is true that I was absent from San Carlos while directing the removal of the Chiricahuas in the summer of 1876, and again in the spring of 1877 while leading the campaign into New Mexico which resulted in the capture of Geronimo and the removal of the Warm Springs Apaches — and that’s that. Also, I had submitted my resignation before I left with the group of Apaches for a trip to “the states.” Anyhow, I knew that *the Apaches on the reservation had already arrived at a condition of very-near-self-government*; that there were “employed at the agency several men of great personal influence among the Indians” *who would faithfully carry on my common sense policy*; that there were no troops stationed there to create a disturbance, and therefore I did not hesitate to leave the affairs of the reservation in charge of my loyal employes,

And events proved that my judgment in this matter was not faulty.

In fearful contrast with my policy of mutual confidence and peace and progress, the military mind believed that these "wild Indians" could be *held in check only by a display of troops in their midst in sufficient force to fill their savage souls with "awe", and to impress upon their untutored minds the futility of opposing the armed forces of the United States.* And the sad record tells us that upon my retirement from the service *my common sense policy was gradually consigned to the scrap heap*, and it was not so long thereafter until the military idea prevailed and the military arm was set in motion and the Indians were duly "awed" and the SEVEN YEARS OF PEACE WAS BROKEN *and the welfare and progress of the Apaches were "held in check" for a quarter of a century.*

As heretofore stated, the San Carlos Apache Police Force was established in August, 1874, with the installation of its original BIG FOUR members; and the United States Indian Police Force was organized under the provisions of the Act of Congress approved May 27, 1878. Within four years this national Indian police system had been put in operation at 40 of the larger agencies, with a grand total of 848 members. Five years still later, Commissioner of Indian Affairs J. D. C. Atkins, in his annual report dated Washington, D. C., September 21, 1887, in commenting upon the efficient services of this national Indian police force, as a whole, submitted the following unqualified commendation:

Experience has demonstrated that the Indian Police Force will compare favorably as to fidelity, courage, loyalty and honor with any similar body, even though composed of men who boast of a higher civilization. During the year there have been a few discharges on account of neglect of duty, but it is a fact worthy of note that dismissals for cowardice are almost unknown, the Indian policeman being

willing to face any danger, and, as has been the case several times during the past year, to sacrifice life itself in obeying orders and faithfully discharging duty.

There is no doubt that the records at the forty, or more, agencies throughout the United States where the Indian police system was in operation, fully justified the splendid tribute paid to the force by Commissioner Atkins, *and we are sure that no unit was more deserving of this high commendation than that which served at the San Carlos agency.*

The decision of my own department to re-introduce a mixed civil-military administration at San Carlos drove me from the reservation in 1877, and the *same deadly mixture finally succeeded in driving the Chiricahuas from the reservation on September 30, 1881*, — as we may read in a later chapter.

Captain Adna E. Chaffee was acting agent at San Carlos from July 19, 1879, until June 1, 1880. The troops were recalled for police duty within the reservation in August, 1881, and Captain Emmet Crawford was placed in charge of the San Carlos agency police on July 24, 1883. This last action was taken under the agreement arrived at on July 7, 1883, at Washington, D. C., between the Interior Department and the War Department, by which General Crook was entrusted with the entire police control of all Indians within the San Carlos reservation. *This was the inauguration of a military regime at San Carlos which became supreme when Captain F. E. Pierce assumed charge of that agency on September 1, 1885. This absolute military administration was continuous until February 5, 1901; in the meantime six army officers succeeded Captain Pierce as acting agent.*

In June, 1890, Special Agent Stephen Whited of the Census Bureau, visited San Carlos for the purpose of obtaining certain data covering general conditions among the Indians on that reservation to be included in the official report of the Eleventh Census. Among other things, Agent

Whited found that on June 1, 1890, *there were five companies of troops and sixty Indian scouts stationed at San Carlos; four companies of troops stationed at Fort Apache, and two companies of troops stationed at Fort Thomas. This means that there were nine companies of troops stationed within the reservation, and two companies stationed about five miles east of the eastern line of the reservation.*

A strange, but most interesting array of facts is presented by the official record. *From 1875 until 1881 there were no troops on the San Carlos reservation, and during my administration the agency police force never exceeded twenty-five members. In 1879, when Captain Chaffee was the acting agent at San Carlos he reported that the agency police force then consisted of "one lieutenant, seven sergeants and thirty-one privates." But in 1890, fifteen years after Lieutenant Carter led two troops of the Sixth Cavalry away from San Carlos and abandoned that military camp, the military administration deemed it necessary to have five companies of troops and sixty Indian scouts stationed at the agency.*

And the record presents the further astounding fact that this extraordinary and extravagant military regime was permitted to continue eleven years longer — until February 5, 1901. In 1877 a plan of administration promising the true solution of the Apache problem, and which meant peace for all and the progress and uplift of the Indians, was pitted against a sordid lust for plump military contracts — and *"the military contracts won."* It is obvious that for twenty-four years — *nearly a quarter of a century thereafter, the same sordid lust after plump military contracts prevailed over a just and honorable consideration for the true interests and progress of the Apaches.*

With this record fresh in our minds we shall read with peculiar interest an excerpt from the report of Special Agent Whited, published on page 154 of the Census Bureau's report on "Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed" in 1890, to wit:

As to army control, I venture the suggestion that 200 mounted Indian scouts, officered by efficient white men, would preserve order among the Apache tribe much better and vastly cheaper than the garrisons that are maintained there at this time. If they are to remain, however, I would move them just outside the reservation. On the other hand, the present garrisons are great consumers of food and produce, and the camps furnish a ready market for many things produced by the Indians, but I believe the day is past when a large force of soldiers should be maintained on reservations.

When the San Carlos reservation passed under military rule the famous San Carlos Apache Police Force was practically merged with the military scouts. And we shall not forget that the Apache military scouts — enrolled from the same heroic tribes — have left a record that is quite as loyal efficient and honorable as that of the San Carlos Apache Police. When General Crook led his campaign into Mexico in 1883 the most important unit of his force consisted of 193 Apache scouts under the command of Captain Emmet Crawford. When Geronimo and Nah-chee led their followers from the reservation again in May, 1885, we learn that a telegram from Washington under date of June 9th “authorized the enlistment of 200 *additional Indian Scouts.*” Between 300 and 400 Indian scouts participated in this campaign against Geronimo.

Surgeon (later General) Leonard Wood, who accompanied Captain Lawton’s command in this campaign, has left the following sincere testimonial to the willing and effective services and tireless devotion to duty of the Apache scouts:

The Indian scouts were very efficient and hard workers and constantly in the advance; always willing and ready, and physically equal to the hostiles. The greatest good feeling existed between the scouts and the soldiers, and I can say from my own experience, that they are obedient and kind to their officers.

During the campaign against Victorio in New Mexico, an application for permission to enlist scouts had been disapproved, whereupon Colonel Hatch, commanding the troops in the field, sent the following telegram to Department Headquarters under date of Fort Craig, New Mexico, May 26, 1880:

Refusal to allow Indian scouts will postpone settling Indian troubles. Experience certainly advises obtaining them in some manner. Troops cannot find Apaches in the mountains without incurring great risk and exposure. To be successful they must be pursued in the Indian way, keeping the troops off the trail, and Indians are best adapted for this service.

Singly and in groups the Apache scouts have performed a service that cannot be overestimated. Always they were in the advance of every column to follow the trails and to give timely warning that would save the white troopers from the perils of ambush. Too little has been said in praise of their fidelity and tireless devotion to duty. Right now the War Department is doing a fine thing in connection with the sole surviving regular army unit made up of Indians. The conditions out of which the enrollment of Indian Scouts grew have disappeared, and their military importance in an era of tanks and bombing airplanes and high-power artillery barrages has dwindled to a mere shadow, but for sentimental reasons; because of the invaluable services rendered by the Indian scouts in the winning of the West; because this conquest has depended so much on their loyalty and tireless devotion to duty, this last detachment of veteran Apache Scouts is retained in the service of Uncle Sam and is stationed at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and was, until recently, under the command of Captain Donald C. Hawley, Tenth Cavalry, U. S. A.

During the closing weeks of 1928 Captain Hawley, with marked courtesy, furnished me with two photographs of members of this detachment, and some exceedingly in-

teresting information regarding their status, employment, etc. Captain Hawley stated that at that time (Dec. 1928) the detachment consisted of 1 sergeant, 2 corporals and 16 privates. These scouts are enlisted exactly like any other soldier, for a term of three years, with the privilege of re-enlisting on completion of each enlistment. The plan of the War Department is to permit these scouts to continue in the service until each shall have a full term of 30 years to his credit, when each will be retired with the rank and pay of a sergeant. This, of course, means that all who complete thirty years of service will be carried on the army pay roll as long as they live. It also means that this sole surviving unit of Indian Scouts will be gradually reduced in numbers and will completely "fade out" when its last member is placed on the retired list.

The following exact details are quoted from Captain Hawley's statement:

Sergeant Chow Big, a veteran of the Geronimo campaign, several minor Indian campaigns, and the Mexican Punitive Expedition of 1916, will retire on completion of 30 years service in January, 1929. Eskipygojo, Tom Sye, Charles Bones and Deklay are all veterans of the Indian Wars and the Punitive Expedition; they have around 27 years service and will retire about 1931. Of course they will retire as sergeants. *Those are the only real old-timers;* several others have 15 to 20 years service and were with the Punitive Expedition. There are only two or three young ones, one of whom is the son of a scout who retired a couple of years ago.

The scouts draw the same pay and have exactly the same privileges and rights as any soldier, with two exceptions; first, they are required to provide their own mounts and horse equipment, and receive forty cents a day for doing so, in addition to which the government furnishes forage for the horse; second, they are allowed to live with their families in a tepee (wicki-up) village near the post and to draw the value of their rations, amounting to about \$17, per month, in cash.

They are not armed except in time of war — or when



on maneuvers, and do not drill or do any guard duty. They are employed at the present time in various capacities about the post; one as assistant to the carpenter; one as assistant to the plumber; three running the Post ice plant; two running the saw in the wood yard; two patrolling the reservation for stray cattle and horses — and similar jobs.

Their health is good, and they seem happy and contented, except that some of the younger ones think they should have houses to live in instead of the tepees. I am planning to get them out from time to time for some real scouting work — to keep them in practice; and if the Tenth Cavalry goes to Texas next spring, as seems probable, I hope to take a part of them along. However, I am afraid they will not be as valuable in maneuvers as in actual war.

I have been deeply impressed with the kindly mental attitude evinced by Captain Hawley toward these veteran Apache scouts. His genuine interest and sympathetic enthusiasm in his command are refreshing and inspiring, and I am sure that if he could have joined me during my administration at San Carlos, and we had been allowed to direct the destinies of the Apaches since that time through the medium of the Apache Police — then I should have had the pleasure of writing a very different story.

The members of the famous San Carlos Apache Police Force have been less fortunate than the military scouts in the matter of obtaining any substantial or definite recognition of their long years of efficient service. The civil system under which they were employed did not provide either pensions or retirement with pay. An ungrateful public and a soulless government have never done anything to recognize or reward the distinguished services of even the most deserving members of that splendid organization. Some, in ill health and poverty, have appealed in vain for a pittance that might in some degree alleviate their distress. All were glad to have the protection their services afforded when they were young and strong and faithful guardians of the peace, but when they grew old and decrepit they were easily and quite completely forgotten. Some day

a noble saga will be written that will honor and perpetuate the memory of their sterling qualities and worthy deeds. But it is now forever too late to minister to their temporal needs. Wearied with the strife and sorrows of their unequal struggle under adverse conditions imposed upon them by their pale-faced brothers (?), they have gradually resigned themselves to their inevitable fate. One by one they have unresistingly responded to the call of the Grim Reaper, and very soon the last of those fine old guards will follow along the well-worn trail that leads all mortals

“To the kingdom of Ponemah,  
To the land of the Hereafter.”

THE SUPPLY SERVICE OF THE NEW MEXICAN  
MISSIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY<sup>1</sup>

FRANCE V. SCHOLES

The year 1609 is an important date in the history of New Mexico. In that year the government of the province was finally assumed by the Crown, and Don Pedro de Peralta was appointed governor with instructions to found a new villa and to reorganize the political administration of the province.<sup>2</sup> At the same time the Crown also assumed full responsibility for the support of the missions. Reports concerning the success of the friars in converting the Indians had probably saved the province from being abandoned, and henceforth the mission phase of New Mexican life was the most significant. It was evident, however, that the missions must have support from without, so the Crown made them a charge on the treasury of New Spain. It is not surprising, therefore, that Torquemada hailed the change, rejoicing that the strong arm of the king was now

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1. The sources for this study consist in the main of—

a. Numerous manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico City, in a series arranged by the author of this study. For convenience this series is called *Manuscritos para la Historia del Nuevo México*. For a hastily made calendar of these papers, see the author's "Manuscripts for the History of New Mexico", *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Vol. III, no. 3 (July, 1928), pp. 301-323. The general series will be cited as Bib. Nac. Mex., *M. H. N. M.*

b. A general report on the supply service in Archivo General de Indias, *legajo* 58-4-9 (old system). The title of this report is: *El Virrey de la Nueva España informa a S. M. del asiento de los carros del Nuevo México con testimonio de los autos y acusa recibo de una cédula de 12 de Octubre de 1665*. The report covers the period from 1631 to 1666, and includes copies of some of the important items on the supply service in Bib. Nac. Mex., *M. H. N. M.* The report will be cited as *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

2. For Peralta's instructions, see *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Vol. IV, no. 2 (April, 1929), pp. 178-187, in which will be found Spanish text and English translation of the instructions which are in A. G. I., 58-3-16.

actively supporting missionary enterprise in New Mexico.<sup>3</sup>

For the first twenty years following the adoption of this policy, there is little information concerning the details of the system of royal support. Supply trains were supposed to be sent out every three years, but, at times, the interval must have been longer than that. For example, one of the supply trains probably arrived in New Mexico in the autumn of 1621, and one member of the party was Fray Miguel de Chavarría, the predecessor of Benavides as Custodio;<sup>4</sup> the caravan returned to Mexico the following year.<sup>5</sup> It appears that the next caravan did not arrive in New Mexico until December of 1625, or very early in January, 1626. It was this despatch that brought to New Mexico both Fray Alonso de Benavides, the newly-appointed Custodio of missions and the first Commissary of the Inquisition in New Mexico, and Don Felipe de Sotelo Ossorio, the successor of Governor Eulate.<sup>6</sup> The next supply train was probably the one in which Fray Estévan de Perea, re-elected prelate of missions to succeed Benavides, returned in 1629.<sup>7</sup> Benavides himself testifies to the long intervals between the arrival of the caravans. “. . . five or six years pass without our knowing in New Mexico (anything) of the Spanish nation until the dispatches go which are assigned for the succor of the Religious and churches which Your

3. *Monarchia Indiana*, (ed. 1723). I, 678.

4. Documents in the papers of the Inquisition in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación, Mexico City, give valuable hints concerning the points discussed in this paragraph. That Chavarría preceded Benavides as Custodio is indicated in letters of Perea and others in *Inquisición*, Tomo 486, ff. 45 *et seq.* See also Bib. Nac. Mex., *M. H. N. M.*, leg. 9, núm. 8.

5. *Inquisición*, Tomo 486, ff. 45 *et seq.*

6. Benavides was elected Custodio in 1623. Bib. Nac. Mex., *M. H. N. M.*, leg. 9, núm. 8. His appointment as Commissary of the Inquisition was probably made soon afterward. As Commissary he had jurisdiction over the Cuéncame-Santa Bárbara region as well as over New Mexico. He exercised inquisitorial jurisdiction over the Cuéncame-Santa Bárbara region from late August to mid-October, 1625, and then set out for New Mexico. *Inquisición*, Tomo 356, ff. 318-370. The first document in the Inquisition papers written after his arrival in New Mexico is dated Jan. 6, 1626. *Ibid.* f. 291. The edict of the faith was read in Santa Fé, Jan. 25, 1626. *Ibid.* ff. 291, 292.

7. Benavides, *Memorial*, (Ayer edition, Chicago, 1916), *passim*; Perea, *Verdadera Relación*.

Majesty supports with so Catholic zeal. For though it is true that this dispatch is assigned and determined to be made punctually every three years, five and six (years), are wont to pass without the Royal officials bethinking themselves about us—and God knows what is costs to remind them”.<sup>8</sup>

The growth of the missions made the supply service more and more important. The gradual increase in the number of friars serving in New Mexico and the heavy freighting charges paid for the transport of supplies made the cost of the caravans a considerable sum. For the caravans sent prior to 1620 the cost was about thirty eight thousand pesos.<sup>8a</sup> In 1626 Benavides appealed for more friars, and the Crown assumed the extra cost of providing them. These new missionaries went out to New Mexico with Fray Perea in 1629,<sup>9</sup> but, even with this reinforcement, the number of friars was found to be insufficient to care both for the older missions and for the new conversions among the Hopi, Zuñi, Ácoma, Piro, and Jumano. Consequently Perea appealed for still more friars to carry forward the rapidly expanding missionary enterprise.

This plea was presented to the viceroy in 1630 by Fray Tomás Manso, Procurator-General of the Franciscans in New Mexico, who seems already to have had general charge of the supply service. This new request for more friars forced the viceroy and treasury officials in Mexico to consider the situation carefully and to effect economies in the service. The cost of the 1629 caravan, which had provided for forty six friars, had been more than 81,000 pesos, but, despite this very considerable expense, the friars had not been satisfied with the service. In order to watch expenses and to improve the service, the treasury officials and the superior authorities of the Franciscans re-considered the

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8. *Memorial*, (Ayer edition), pp. 14, 15.

8a. *Carta del Virrey Marqués de Guadalcazar a S. M. sobre hacienda y gastos en el Nuevo Mexico*. Mexico, 19 Febrero, 1620. A. G. I., 58-3-18 (old system).

9. Benavides, *Memorial*, p. 5.

whole problem, and the service was reorganized on a formal, efficient basis. By patent of the Provincial of the Franciscan Province of the Santo Evangelio, Fray Manso's position was formalized, and he was authorized to arrange with the treasury officials for the amount of the royal aid and for the organization and management of the supply trains. The second step was the formulation of a viceregal decree in which the details of the contract with Fray Manso were set forth.

The documents in which these arrangements are described are so important that they are presented below in translation.<sup>10</sup>

#### VICEREGAL DECREE CONCERNING THE CONTRACT

Don Rodrigo Pacheco Osorio, Marques de Cerralvo, of the Council of War, Viceroy . . . . . etc.

Inasmuch as it has been customary since the time of Marqués de Salinas,<sup>11</sup> in conformity with orders of His Majesty, to send to the Province of New Mexico every three years the customary aid, not only the friars of the Order of St. Francis requested for the new conversions being made and for preaching and administration of the sacraments to the native Indians of the [province], but also of wine tapers, oil, ornaments, and other things necessary for the said ministry, and [also] the clothing and maintenance for the friars who are serving in that Custodia and for those going out for the first time; in accordance with past custom, the period of the said three years since the last dispatch was made in August, 1627,<sup>12</sup> having terminated, Padre Fray Tomás Manso, Procurator-General of that Custodia, by order of his superiors sought the said customary dispatch.

He [also] brought me letters from Don Francisco Nieto de Silva, Knight of Alcántara, the present Governor and Captain-General of

10. The documents are in *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9, ff. 65-82, and also in *Bib. Nac. Mex., M. H. N. M.*, leg. 1, núm. 9. The title of the latter item is: *Traslado del asiento . . . se hizo por el fiscal de su magestad y oficiales Reales con el Padre Fray Thomás Manso. . . sobre el inuio que cada tres años se haze para aquellas prouincias . . . 1631*. The translation is based on the A. G. I. copy. Any variations in the *Bib. Nac. Mex.* copy will be described in the notes.

11. Luís de Velasco (son of the second viceroy) had the above title during his second term as viceroy of New Spain, 1607-1611.—L. B. B.

12. The grant of funds was made in August, 1627, and it was from that date that the three year term ran. The caravan did not leave Mexico until later, and reached New Mexico in the spring of 1629. (It was assembled at Zacatecas, starting north from there in September 1628.—L. B. B.)

the said New Mexico, and from Padre Fray Estévan de Perea, Custodio of the [province], in which they relate and describe the state of the province. And in petitions presented by the said Padre Procurator I have been given an account of fourteen conventos newly founded in various localities in addition to the eighteen that [the Custodia] had; that several thousand souls of the provinces of Zuñi, Moqui, and the Piros have been converted, and [also] those of the Rock of Ácoma who are newly baptized; that [the friars] are about to do the same for a great number of people of the Apache nation and the Jumano who live a hundred leagues from the Villa of Santa Fé at the portal of the much-sought-for Kingdom of Grand Quivira; that from the said province of the Jumano twelve captains came to ask for friars to baptize them and teach them the Christian Doctrine, and that to this end two priests were sent [to them]; but that there are not enough workers, for the agreement [of 1627] did not provide for those needed by the Jumano nation, and the forty six friars — thirty five priests and eleven lay-brothers — at present serving in the said province can not take care of all. [Therefore], I have been requested to authorize the sending out of twenty more friars — eighteen priests and two lay-brothers — which would be a sufficient number of missionaries for the said new *conventos* and conversions which have been made, in which there are more than 60,000<sup>13</sup> souls who have been baptized and, in addition, a great number who seek Holy Baptism; also that I grant the customary dispatch of clothing for all the friars, both for those who remained in the said province and for those going out for the first time, and of the supplies it has been customary to send, conforming to the statements of past dispatches and to those newly presented.

Consequently, I ordered that the Padre Commissary-General of the said Order should make a formal statement, which should be sent to the *fiscal* of His Majesty, and, with the latter's comment, to the *acuerdo de hacienda*.<sup>14</sup> And in the [*acuerdo*] which I attended, together with its members, on August twentieth of the year 1630, I ordered that all the papers should be turned over to the *oficiales reales*<sup>15</sup> of this city, in order that the statement of supplies and other things which have now been requested might be compared with the [statement] of what was granted in the last dispatch, separate statements to be made of what is asked for [now] over and above [the last grant], and, [after] conferring with the said Padre Procurator con-

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13. An obvious exaggeration.

14. Members of Audiencia and Treasury officials meeting to discuss fiscal problems.

15. Treasury officials.

cerning the reason on which is based the request of such a large number of friars, the one and the other to be reduced to what seems to be absolutely necessary; so that in this occasion, on the basis of clear and exact information concerning the amount of the last dispatch, both the cost in this *Real Caja*<sup>15a</sup> and that of Zacatecas, and after further consideration in another *acuerdo de hacienda*, it might be decided what is necessary.

The said *oficiales reales* having carried out the orders of the said decree, it appears that the cost of the last dispatch which provided for the forty six friars — thirty five priests and eleven lay-brothers — who serve in those conversions, and including the thirty two wagons [in the caravan], and the two *mayordomos* for the same, and the twelve soldiers and captain who were the escort, was eighty eight thousand one hundred eighty *pesos*, five *tomines*, and ten *granos*.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, the Padre Procurator-General in various petitions and memorials has represented to me that the said friars suffer great inconvenience due to the delays usually experienced in those dispatches because the supplies are bought at auction, and nearly a year is used up in this way; that for this reason the caravan can not leave this city in time to make the journey with ease, with the result that the friars are in need of wine, tapers, oil, and other things necessary for the administration of the Holy Sacraments; that the supplies purchased at the said public auctions were neither so good nor so favorably priced as those which could be obtained if a special endeavor were made in seeking them out, with the result that in each dispatch His Majesty could be saved a great sum of money. Therefore, he requested that a contract should be made, once and for all, to determine what is necessary, not only for this dispatch, but also for others to be made [in future], and which shall stipulate the sum of money to be given for the three year term to each friar already serving in those conversions, and also to each one of these being sent out for the first time, and also for the cost of the wagons, their preparation and upkeep, in conformity with what was granted in the last dispatch; and [he stated] that the said friars would assume responsibility for the care and management of the [wagons] to be granted both for this dispatch and for all the others.

The request having been submitted to the *acuerdo de hacienda*, and having been considered in the [*acuerdo*] which I attended, together with its members, on March eleventh, [1631], the eighteen priests and two lay brothers, who were requested by the Padre Pro-

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15a. The Treasury.

16. *Tomín*—eighth part of a *peso*. Cf. *real. Grano*—twelfth part of a *tomín* or *real*.



curator for the new conversions, were authorized; and I ordered the *oficiales reales*, in conjunction with the *fiscal* of His Majesty, to negotiate with the said Padre Procurator concerning the contract to be made for this dispatch and for the others to be made in future, and, on the basis of the advices which have been communicated and presented, to arrange in detail for whatever is deemed to be necessary.

And in order that the said contract might be negotiated with greater formality, the said Padre Procurator presented a patent and permit from Padre Fray Francisco de Velasco, Provincial of this Province of the Santo Evangelio, to which the said Custodia of New Mexico is subject. And in fulfillment of my order and in virtue of the said patent the contract was made in the following form.

Patent of the Provincial to Fray Tomás Manso

Authorizing him to make the Contract.

Fray Francisco de Velasco, of the Order of the Friars of the Regular Observance of Our Serafic Father St. Francis, *Calificador* of the Holy Office, *Lector Jubilado* in Holy Theology, Minister-Provincial of this Province of the Santo Evangelio, Custodias of Tampico and New Mexico, and Sisters of Santa Clara, etc.

To Padre Fray Tomás Manso, Preacher, and Procurator of the Custodia of the Conversion of St. Paul of New Mexico, health and peace in Our Lord Jesus Christ:

Inasmuch as His Excellency, Marqués de Cerralvo, Viceroy of this New Spain, and the members of the *Real Acuerdo de Hacienda* have agreed to make a contract for the dispatch which is made every three years for that our Custodia in order to avoid the difficulties due to purchase in the public auctions and other delays which have occurred, resulting in loss to the *Real Hacienda*, and [in loss] of time and inconvenience for the friars; and it being necessary to make certain valuations, contracts, and agreements concerning the supplies to be granted and transported for the said friars who serve in the said Custodia and [who] administer the Holy Sacraments in the new conversions; and having complete confidence in the religious character of Your Reverence, and because other dispatches made for this purpose have been sent out in your charge, and [because of] the complete knowledge you have of all these things:

[Therefore] by these presents, signed by my hand, sealed with the great seal of our office, and countersigned by our secretary, I grant to Your Reverence our authority to appear before His Excellency and the members of the *Real Acuerdo de Hacienda* and before any other tribunals whatsoever that it may be necessary concerning the aforesaid, and in them to make and execute whatever

pacts, agreements, and contracts, and to execute whatever legal instruments may be necessary and applicable to the efficient dispatch of the alms which His Majesty gives and sends to the friars of the said new Custodia.

All that Your Reverence shall and may do in this regard I will consider well done, as if done by myself; and for all and to all appertaining thereto I give and concede our said authority.

Given in Our Convento of San Francisco, Mexico, the eighth day of the month of February, one thousand six hundred thirty one.

Fray Francisco de Velasco,

Minister-Provincial.

By authority of His Paternity,

Fray Antonio Vázquez, Secretary.

(The Contract)

- I. Statements of Supplies to be given every three years to each Friar-Priest [already] serving in the Conversions of New Mexico, for the Administration [of the Mission], for Clothing, and for the Infirmary.

Forty five gallons of sacramental wine.<sup>16a</sup>

Eighty five and a half pounds of prepared candle wax.

Twenty six gallons of oil for illuminating the Holy Sacrament.

Eight gallons more for the friar.

Four gallons of vinegar.

One hundred yards of sack-cloth.

Twelve yards of Rouen-cloth.

Twelve yards of linen.

One ream of paper.

Two blankets.

Two *declas*<sup>17</sup> of butcher knives.

Two pairs of scissors.

One pound of domestic yarn (or thread).

One dozen awls with handles.

One dozen angled (or square) needles.

One dozen coarse needles.

Also two dozen ordinary needles.

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16a. Many of the terms used in the Spanish version of these lists are difficult adequately to translate. Some are obsolete, others are Mexican, and in the case of others it is almost impossible to find a good English equivalent. In many cases, therefore, the Spanish term is left in the text, and an English equivalent, where one can be used, is given in the notes. In some cases, however, the Spanish term is used currently and no note was necessary. In dealing with terms for weight and measure, the English equivalent is given in the text for *arroba*, which was twenty five pounds weight, or four gallons liquid measure.

17. *Decla*—a set of ten.

One dozen horseshoes.  
 Three pairs of sandals.  
 Two pairs of woolen stockings.  
 One friar's hat.

One *candado que llaman de fraile*.<sup>18</sup>  
 Six common rosaries.  
 Two bundles of plaited cord.  
 One white *cedazo*, and a black one.<sup>19</sup>  
 One pair of spurs and a Jérez bridle.

Thirty five *pesos*' worth of medicines.  
 One sheet [made] of Rouen-cloth.

One shirt.  
 For the One pillow.  
 Infirmary. One blanket.  
 Six and a half yards of coarse linen.

Five boxes of conserves.  
 Six and a half pounds of sweetmeats.  
 Twenty five pounds of sugar.  
 Three ounces of saffron.  
 One pound of pepper.  
 Six ounces of cinnamon.  
 Ten and a half pounds of raisins.  
 Six pounds of almonds.  
 Five pounds of conserves in syrup.  
 Two jugs of Campeche honey for the entire infirmary.  
 For every two friars, the price of copper cupping instrument.  
 For every two (friars), one syringe.  
 For every two (friars), one razor.  
 For every two (friars), one lancet.  
 For every two (friars), one pair of barbers' scissors.  
 For the entire infirmary, one grindstone.  
 Also two stills for distilling water.  
 Four pairs of razor hones.  
 One large brass basin.  
 One box of *loza de Puebla* (Puebla tile or porcelain).

## II. Statement of other supplies to be given at each dispatch for general use during the journey.

Three tin-plate flasks for transporting the Holy Oils.  
 Two tin-plate lanterns for saying mass.  
 One rug for the base of the altar.  
 Table and benches with which to construct an altar.  
 Six staffs with iron mountings for the awning [covering for the altar].  
 Two cruets of tin-plate.  
 Two tin-plate funnels.  
 One large brass basin.

18. *Candado*—padlock or pendant.

19. *Cedazo*—usual meaning, a strainer, filter, or sieve, made of horsehair.

Six *bateas de Mechoacán*.<sup>20</sup> One dozen *jicarillas*.<sup>21</sup>  
 Two barrels for transporting water.  
 Two *metates*.  
 Two table cloths and twenty four napkins.  
 An hundred weight of tallow candles.  
 Two iron spoons for the kitchen.  
 One tin grater.  
 Two mountain axes for cutting wood.  
 Three spits, one of them large.  
 Two sieves.  
 Four dozen hens for those who may be sick during the journey.  
 Two suits of clothing, with shoes and shirts, for the two Indians who accompany the two friars in charge of the dispatch.  
 Thirty yards of sackcloth.  
 Twelve yards of linen, two pairs of sandals, two [pairs] of shoes, and a hat, for a Spanish lay-brother named Diego Gomez.  
 Boxes needed for packing the aforesaid; rawhide thongs; *Jergas*<sup>22</sup> for the covered hampers; coarse *sarapes*; and a warehouse in which all the aforesaid may be collected and loaded.  
 In addition, things to replace [ecclesiastical] ornaments and things for the sacristy, and other necessities.

602 p. 6-ts. According to information concerning the past dispatch, all the aforesaid cost six hundred two *pesos* and six *tomines*; and [the cost] is now reduced to four hundred fifty *pesos*. 450 *pesos*.  
 For each lay-brother who is serving in those conversions, there will be granted the same supplies, except for the wine, tapers, and oil for illuminating the Holy Sacrament. In the past dispatch the cost for each [lay-brother] was four hundred *pesos*, and is now reduced to three hundred *pesos*. 300 *pesos*.  
 400 *pesos*.

Statement of Ornaments and other things for Divine Worship to be given each Friar-Priest the first time that he goes to those Conversions.<sup>23</sup>

One ornament of Chinese damask. Chasuble, stole, maniple, frontal and frontal trimming, and bundle of corporal-cloths.  
 One alb [made] of Rouen-cloth.  
 One surplice.  
 One pair of altar-cloths [made] of Rouen-cloth, each six yards in length.  
 One embroidered altar-cloth.  
 Some coarse corporal-cloths.  
 One missal, with the office of the Order.

20. *Batea*—wooden bowl. Sometimes painted or lacquered.

21. *Jicarilla*—small Mexican bowl. Frequently made of gourd. Also word for chocolate cup.

22. *Jerga*—coarse woolen stuff.

23. The Bib. Nac. Mex. copy adds: "and also things for founding his church."

One enameled silver chalice, the paten and cup gilded.  
 One small bell to sound the *Sanctus*.  
 One bell, two hundred pounds in weight.  
 Iron framework from which to swing the bell.  
 One pair of gilded wooden processional candle-holders.  
 One pair of brass candlesticks.  
 Snuffing scissors.  
 An oil painting [of saint], two and a half yards in height, with gilded frame.  
 Small chest with *crismeras*.<sup>24</sup>  
 Two papers of pins.  
 One pair of cassocks [made] of Chinese stuff.  
 One piece of damask to cover the altar.  
 Cupboard for the chalice.  
 One rug for the altar steps.  
 One copper vessel for the Holy Water.  
 One tin plate with *vinajeras*.<sup>25</sup>  
 One crucifix, with gilded brass handle.  
 One wafer-box. [For the unconsecrated host].  
 Three yards of Rouen-cloth for amices and *cornvultares*.  
 Two and half pounds of incense.  
 Two and a half [pounds] of copal.  
 Three ounces of silk wicking.  
 Three pesos' worth of soap.  
 One white *cedazo*, and a black one.  
 For every five [friars,] two choir robes of chinese damask.  
 For every five [friars], two sets of *dalmaticas* [made] of the same stuff.<sup>26</sup>  
 For every five [friars], two carved images of the Christ.  
 For every five [friars], a ciborium.  
 For every five [friars], an iron utensil for making *hostias* [the wafer, or host].  
 For every five [friars], a brass lamp.  
 For every five [friars], a pall for the Holy Sacrament.  
 For every five [friars], a set of clarions and bassoons.  
 For every five [friars], a set of trumpets.  
 For every five [friars], three books of chants.  
 For every five [friars], three *mangas* of velvet with gold edgings.<sup>27</sup>  
 For every friar for building his church, ten axes *de la Calle de Tacuba*. [Bought or made in Calle de Tacuba, Mexico City.]  
 For every friar, three adzes.  
 For every friar, three spits.  
 Ten hoes.  
 One medium-sized saw.  
 One chisel with collar and handle.  
 One large latch for the church door.  
 Two augurs.  
 One plane and box for same.  
 Ten pounds of steel.  
 Six hundred tinned nails for the church doors.

24. *Crismeras*—small phials for the chrism.

25. *Vinajeras*—vessels for the water and wine used during mass.

26. *Dalmática*—ecclesiastical vestment.

27. *Mangas*—strip of cloth hanging from the shoulder of clerical cloaks.

Sixty nails *palmares*.<sup>28</sup>  
 Sixty nails *gemales*.<sup>29</sup>  
 One hundred nails *de a quinientos en suma*.<sup>30</sup>  
 Four hundred nails *de a mil en suma*.<sup>30</sup>  
 Eighteen hundred nails *de taxamanil*.<sup>31</sup>  
 Twelve hundred nails *de medio almud*.<sup>30</sup>  
 Eight hundred tacks.  
 Two small locks.  
 One dozen hinges for doors and windows.  
 One dozen hook and eye latches.  
 One pair of braces for the two doors.

All the aforesaid cost, in the past dispatch  
 one thousand one hundred nineteen *pesos*  
 1119 *p.* 4 *ts.* and four *tomines*; to be reduced in this  
 [dispatch] to eight hundred seventy five  
*pesos.*

875 *pesos.*

III. Statement of Supplies to be given each Friar  
 in Preparation for the Journey and for Food the  
 first time that he goes to [New Mexico], and includ-  
 ing the Padre-Procurator and his companion.

One mule, with saddle and bridle.  
 Two pairs of shoes, and two of stockings.  
 Two blankets and two pairs of leggings.  
 Six yards of Rouen-cloth.  
 Saddlebags.  
 Nine yards of canvas for mattress.  
 One hat and box.  
 One wine-bottle.  
 One travelling canvas (or leather) bag for mattress.  
 One breviary.  
 One drinking jug.  
 One box and key.  
 One frying-pan and one *comal*.<sup>32</sup>  
 One grinding bowl.  
 Six pewter plates and two pewter bowls.  
 Fifteen yards of *jerga de Mechoacán*.<sup>33</sup>  
 One dozen *mecates de ystle*.<sup>34</sup>  
 For every three friars, one bronze *olla*.  
 For every three [friars], one bronze saucepan [or kettle].  
 For every friar-priest and for every lay-brother, fifty two pounds of  
 bacon.  
 Forty one pounds of cheese.

28. Nails the length of the palm.

29. Nails the length of a *geme*, which is the distance between the thumb and first finger when they are outstretched.

30. These terms probably deal with weight or measure and determine the size of the nail.

31. *Taxamanil*—having to do with the roof. Nails or cleats for the roof.

32. *Comal*—Mexican bowl or pan for cooking maize bread or cake.

33. Coarse stuff.

34. *Mecates de ystle*—ropes made of maguey fiber.

Twenty five pounds of shrimp.  
 Fifty four pounds of haddock.  
 Twelve and a half pounds of *tollo* [spotted dog fish].  
 Half a *fanega* of *habas*, and half a *fanega* of beans.<sup>35</sup>  
 Half a *fanega* of salt.  
 Two *almudes* of *garvanzos* and two of lentil.<sup>36</sup>  
 Six hundred pounds of flour.  
 Three hundred pounds of biscuits.  
 Two gallons of oil.  
 Five pints of vinegar.  
 Eight *fanegas* of corn.  
 Four *almudes* of chile.  
 Six pounds of oysters.  
 Twelve and a half pounds of lard [or butter].  
 Half a box of garlic and onions.  
 Ten heifers and ten sheep.  
 Thirty four yards of *jerga* for sacking.  
 Eight pounds of sugar.  
 Six pounds of raisins and four of almonds.  
 Four pounds of conserves.  
 Two gallons of wine.  
 One peso a day for the time that the caravan will be detained in Zacatecas,—at the least, two weeks.

478 *pesos*. All the aforesaid cost, in the past dispatch, four hundred seventy eight *pesos*; to be reduced in this [dispatch] to three hundred twenty five *pesos*. 325 *pesos*.

#### IV. Statement of the Cost of the Wagons in the past dispatch—including equipment, and food and salaries of the Indians and mayordomos.

In the past dispatch there were thirty two wagons, Sixteen of them were bought new, and each fitted out with sixteen mules. The cost was thirteen thousand one hundred eighty *pesos*. For fitting out sixteen others which His Majesty owned, and for equipping all the thirty two with everything necessary, the cost, during the year and a half taken up with the journey to New Mexico, the time the caravan remained there, and the return to this city, was nineteen thousand four hundred seventy five *pesos*; or an annual cost of twelve thousand nine hundred eighty two *pesos* and three *tomines*. This sum apportioned among the thirty two wagons, made an annual cost per wagon of four hundred six *pesos*. In the present dispatch it will be reduced to three hundred seventy four *pesos*, four *tomines*, as follows: 374 *p. 4ts*.

35. *Fanega*—dry measure, about 1.6 bushels. *Haba*—a variety of bean.

36. *Almud*—dry measure, about 1/12 bushels. *Garavanzo*—a kind of bean or pea.

## (A)

Forty yards of <i>jerga de Mehoacán</i> for each wagon for wagon top [or covering]. At four and a half <i>reales</i> [a yard]—total cost of twenty <i>pesos</i> and four <i>tomines</i> . The covering will last a year and a half, making a cost per year of fifteen <i>pesos</i> —	15 <i>pesos</i> .
Eight <i>mantas</i> of <i>jerga mexicana</i> for the eight mules usually hitched to the wagon. Four yards each <i>manta</i> , at two <i>reales</i> a yard—total—	8 <i>pesos</i>
One large <i>petate</i> , <sup>37</sup> at a <i>peso</i> and a half—	1 <i>peso</i> 4.
Six small <i>petates</i> for each wagon, at two and a half <i>reales</i> each—	1 <i>peso</i> 7.
Three dozen ropes [lassos] each wagon, for cinches and <i>uncideras</i> , <sup>38</sup> at six <i>reales</i> a dozen—	2 <i>pesos</i> 2.
Two dozen headstalls each wagon, at twelve <i>reales</i> a dozen—	3 <i>pesos</i>
Eight sheepskins each wagon for collars, at three <i>reales</i> [each]—	3 <i>pesos</i>
Eight cowhides each wagon, for packing the supplies; also for whips, halters, and for thongs for the wagon tongues. At two and a half <i>pesos</i> each—	20 <i>pesos</i>
Two sacks each wagon for transporting supplies. Four yards of <i>jerga</i> [each sack] at four and a half <i>reales</i> a yard—	3 <i>pesos</i> 3.
Three pounds of cord for sewing the wagon top, sacks, <i>petates</i> , and <i>mantas</i> , at a <i>peso</i> the pound—	3 <i>pesos</i>
Four needles each wagon, at one <i>tomín</i> each—	4
Twenty six two-pound tire nails for each wagon; three twenty-seven-pound tires for each wagon; four <i>hujas</i> , two large ones of twenty pounds weight and two of fifteen pounds; for two-pound harping irons; six two-pound cleats; four two-pound washers; two five-pound bolts; four pound-and-a-half lynch-pins; two seven-pound <i>costillas</i> : total of two hundred seventy one pounds, at two <i>reales</i> a pound—seventy <i>pesos</i> and two <i>tomines</i> —	70 <i>pesos</i> 2.
A total of one hundred thirty one <i>pesos</i> and six <i>tomines</i> ; to be reduced to one hundred twenty <i>pesos</i> —	120 <i>pesos</i>

37. *Petate*—fiber mat.38. *Uncidera*—some thing that unites or joins, Part of the harness.



## (B)

Statement of annual general expense for the caravan.

- The wagons are divided into two main *cuadrillas* (sections,) and each of these into two more. To the leading wagons are given eight bells each wagon.<sup>39</sup>  
At two *pesos* each, a total of thirty two *pesos*— 32 *pesos*
- For the mules of these leading wagons, eight *rebozos* each wagon. At a *peso* and a half each, a total of twenty four *pesos*— 24 *pesos*
- For each *cuadrilla*,<sup>40</sup> two bronze *ollas* thirty seven and a half pounds in weight, and capacity of half a *fanega*. At seven *reales* the pound, a total of one hundred thirty one *pesos* and two *tomines*— 131 *pesos* 2.
- For each *cuadrilla*, two more *ollas*, twenty pounds each, for cooking meat. At the same price [as above], a total of seventy *pesos*— 70 *pesos*
- For each *cuadrilla*, two twenty-five pound copper kettles for cooking *atole*<sup>41</sup> and other things. At the same price [as above] a total of eight seven *pesos* and four *tomines*— 87 *pesos* 4.
- One dozen large strainers and half a dozen small ones. The large ones at a *peso* each, and the small ones at a *toston*<sup>42</sup> each. Total— 15 *pesos*
- For each *cuadrilla*, one dozen *bateas de Mechoacán*, and another [dozen] *jicaras*. The *bateas* at six *reales* each and the *jicaras* at one *tomín* each, Total of twenty one *pesos*— 21 *pesos*
- For each *cuadrilla*, four twenty-pound iron pans. At four *reales* a pound, a total of eighty *pesos*. These will last for three years, so that the cost per year will be twenty six *pesos* and three *tomines*— 26 *pesos* 3
- For each *cuadrilla*, one dozen *metates* and two of *metapiles*. At fourteen *reales* each, a total of forty two *pesos*— 42 *pesos*
- Eight water barrels. At two *pesos* each, a total of sixteen *pesos*— 16 *pesos*
- Sixteen axles. At two *pesos* each, a total of thirty two *pesos*— 32 *pesos*

39. That is, eight bells for each leading wagon of the two main *cuadrillas*.

40. Each of the two main *cuadrillas*.

41. *Atole*—a gruel.

42. *Toston*—half a *peso*.

One hundred fifty spokes. At one <i>tomín</i> each, a total of eighteen <i>pesos</i> and six <i>tomines</i> —	18 <i>pesos</i> 6
Thirty two <i>camas</i> . <sup>43</sup> At a <i>toston</i> each, a total of sixteen <i>pesos</i> —	16 <i>pesos</i>
Sixteen yokes. At three <i>pesos</i> , a total of forty eight <i>pesos</i> —	48 <i>pesos</i>
Thirty two mules for the entire caravan to replace those which may be lost or may die. At twenty five <i>pesos</i> each, a total of eight hundred <i>pesos</i> —	800 <i>pesos</i>
One box of twelve dozen fabricated horseshoes. At six <i>pesos</i> a dozen, a total of seventy two <i>pesos</i> —	72 <i>pesos</i>
Two tool chests. At six <i>pesos</i> each, a total of twelve <i>pesos</i> . These can serve for three years, making a cost per year of four <i>pesos</i> —	4 <i>pesos</i>
Five hundred pounds of tallow for greasing the axles. At ten <i>pesos</i> an hundred weight, a total of fifty <i>pesos</i> —	50 <i>pesos</i>
For each <i>cuadrilla</i> , one thirty-pound sledge hammer, and one twenty-five-pound crowbar. At two <i>reales</i> the pound, a total of twenty seven <i>pesos</i> and four <i>tomines</i> . These can serve for three years, making the cost per year nine <i>pesos</i> and one <i>tomín</i> —	9 <i>pesos</i> 1
For each <i>cuadrilla</i> , half a dozen adzes at twenty <i>reales</i> each; half a dozen carpenters' axes at three <i>pesos</i> each; four mountain axes at twenty <i>reales</i> each. Total of eighty six <i>pesos</i> —	86 <i>pesos</i>
For each <i>cuadrilla</i> , three center-bits at ten <i>reales</i> each; three [ <i>barrenas</i> ] <i>de estornija</i> at two <i>pesos</i> [each]; three [ <i>barrenas</i> ] <i>de perno</i> at three <i>pesos</i> each. Total of thirty seven <i>pesos</i> and four <i>tomines</i> —	37 <i>pesos</i> 4
For each <i>cuadrilla</i> , four chisels with collars. At three and a half <i>pesos</i> each, a total of twenty eight <i>pesos</i> —	28 <i>pesos</i>
For each <i>cuadrilla</i> , one large saw at six <i>pesos</i> and one small [saw] at four <i>pesos</i> . Total of twenty <i>pesos</i> —	20 <i>pesos</i>
Two large callipers. Three <i>pesos</i> —	3 <i>pesos</i>
Two twenty-five-pound <i>barretas</i> for emergencies at two <i>reales</i> a pound, total of twelve <i>pesos</i> and four	

43. *Cama*—bed, Truck-bed or wagon-bed. Also straw litter for animals.

<i>tomines</i> . These can serve for three years, making the cost per year four <i>pesos</i> and one <i>tomín</i> —	4 <i>pesos</i> 1
[For] each [ <i>cuadrilla</i> ], half a dozen pick-axes for emergencies at three and a half <i>pesos</i> each. Total of forty two <i>pesos</i> —	42 <i>pesos</i>
Four banners with the royal [coat of] arms for the four wagons <sup>44</sup> at fifteen <i>pesos</i> each. Total of sixty <i>pesos</i> —	60 <i>pesos</i>
Forty <i>pesos</i> for the entire caravan for fish and vegetables for Fridays—	40 <i>pesos</i>
Four hundred <i>pesos</i> annual salary for each of the two <i>mayordomos</i> . Total of eight hundred <i>pesos</i> —	800 <i>pesos</i>
Four plains Indians at seven <i>pesos</i> a month. Annual cost of three hundred thirty six <i>pesos</i> —	336 <i>pesos</i>
Two <i>pesos</i> a day for corn [for the laborers in the caravan]. Total of seven hundred thirty <i>pesos</i> —	730 <i>pesos</i>
Six head of cattle a month [for food for the same] at six <i>pesos</i> each. Total of four hundred thirty two <i>pesos</i> —	432 <i>pesos</i>
Ten <i>fanegas</i> of chile at five <i>pesos</i> each. Total of fifty <i>pesos</i> —	50 <i>pesos</i>
Six <i>fanegas</i> of salt at ten <i>pesos</i> each. Total of sixty <i>pesos</i> —	60 <i>pesos</i>
Grand total of four thousand two hundred forty six <i>pesos</i> and five <i>tomines</i> —	4246 <i>pesos</i> 5.
Apportioned among the thirty two wagons, this make an annual cost per wagon of one hundred thirty one <i>pesos</i> and four <i>tomines</i> —	131 <i>pesos</i> 4.
(C)	
One hundred and eight <i>pesos</i> annual salary, at nine <i>pesos</i> per month, for the <i>chirrionero</i> <sup>45</sup> —	108 <i>pesos</i>
(D)	
Also fifteen <i>pesos</i> per year for each wagon for <i>media yndia</i> [sic] <sup>45a</sup> —	15 <i>pesos</i>

44. The Bib. Nac. Mex. copy reads: "cuatro carros capitanes," the four leading wagons.

45. *Chirrionero*—driver of the mule team.

45a. That is, an Indian women at 30 *pesos* per year would serve two wagons.—

[Total annual cost per wagon. Sum of costs stated  
in (A), (B), (C), and (D)]— 374 pesos 4

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General Summary of Costs in the past dispatch for each Friar-Priest [already] serving in the Conversions of New Mexico, and also for those who went out for the first time; and [summary statement] of the reduction and contract made herein for the dispatches to be made in future.

## (A)

In the past dispatch the cost for each friar-priest who, according to the contract, was serving in the Conversions of New Mexico, was six hundred two *pesos* and six *tomines*. To be reduced in this [dispatch] to four hundred fifty *pesos*— 450 pesos

## (B)

The cost for the lay-brothers is the same, except for the wine, tapers, and oil for the lamp [which illuminates] the Holy Sacrament. In the past dispatch the cost was four hundred *pesos* each. To be reduced in this [dispatch] to three hundred *pesos*— 300 pesos

## (C)

According to statement number two above, each friar-priest who was sent out for the first time received [in the past dispatch] one thousand one hundred nineteen *pesos* and four *tomines* for the construction of his church, for church bell, chalice, ornaments, and other things for Divine Worship. To be reduced in this [dispatch] to eight hundred seventy five *pesos*— 875 pesos

## (D)

According to statement number three above, the cost of supplies and food for the journey for each friar-priest and also for each lay-brother being sent out for the first time, and including the Padre Procurator and his companion who have charge of the caravan, was four hundred seventy eight *pesos* each. To be reduced in this dispatch to three hundred twenty five *pesos*— 325 pesos

## (E)

In the past dispatch the annual cost of the wagons used in transporting these alms was nineteen thousand nine hundred eighty two *pesos* and six *tomines*. Apportioned among the thirty two wagons, this made an annual cost per wagon of four hundred six *pesos*. See statement number four above. To be reduced in this dispatch to three hundred seventy four *pesos* and four *tomines*— 374 *pesos* 4

406 *pesos*

The Conditions of the Contract are the Following:

## (A)

For every two friars [already] serving in New Mexico and [for every two] going out for the first time, there will be given, for the transportation of these alms, one wagon and sixteen mules—as in the past dispatch . . . . The friars are under obligation to provide for the upkeep of [the same and] with the said number of mules, providing others in the place of those [mules] that may die or be lost, and branding them with the brand of His Majesty, like the others.

His Majesty, as is customary, will provide the necessary [military]escort.

## (B)

The friars are under obligation to deliver over the wagons, after their return from the journey to New Mexico, in such condition that His Majesty may use them as he wishes in His Royal Service during the time that they may be detained in this city until needed for another dispatch; it being agreed that there will be no obligation [on the part of the friars] to incur any expense except that stated above.<sup>46</sup>

## (C)

The caravan will take a year and half for the journey to New Mexico, the time it remains there, and for the return to this

46. That is, no expense except furnishing new mules in the place of those that die or are lost.

(Between dispatches to New Mexico, these wagons were later used repeatedly to send shipments of quicksilver from Mexico City to Zacatecas.— L. B. B.)

city. The costs for this period as stated above will be paid to the friars in advance so they can outfit; and on the return to this city another half year will be paid them, and at the end of that time the year remaining.

## (D)

It should be stated that the four hundred . pesos given to each friar-priest for the three year term is understood to be for wine, tapers, oil, and for the infirmary, and for replacing the things in the sacristy, and for other ordinary and extraordinary costs such as are customarily incurred for the said friars.

Done in Mexico the thirtieth of April, one thousand six hundred thirty one. This contract will continue indefinitely until His Majesty or the Viceroy, for reason, may be pleased to change it.

Mexico, April thirtieth, one thousand six hundred thirty one.

Don Juan González de Peñafiel—Diego de Ochandiano.—Don Gabriel de Moscoso.—Fray Tomas Manso.

The Viceroy Approves the Contract and for the future until His Majesty or the Viceroy for reason may change it.

Seen and considered in the *acuerdo de hacienda* which this day I attended, [and] in which were present Licenciado Don Juan de Álvarez Serrano, *Oidor* of this *Real Audiencia*, Doctor Don Juan González de Peñafiel, *Fiscal* of His Majesty in the [*Real Audiencia*]. Don Juan de Cervantes Casaus, Knight of the Order of Santiago, *Contador* of the Tribunal of Accounts of this New Spain, and the said *oficiales reales*, *Contador* Diego de Ochandiano, *Factor* Martín de Camargo, and *Tesorero* Don Gabriel de Moscoso; and being informed concerning all [the aforesaid] and concerning the benefit and saving which would result to the *Real Hacienda* and concerning the means of avoiding embarrassment and delays in these dispatches; therefore, for the present, I approve the said contract, the same to be executed and fulfilled as herein set forth, both for the dispatch now being made and for those to be made in future until His Majesty or the Viceroy in his name for reason may be pleased to change it.

And I order you, the *jueces oficiales* of the *Real Hacienda* of this New Spain, that in regard to whatever is or may be under your control with respect to the expense accounts of the Chichimecas and of New Mexico, instead of the supplies in kind which it has been usual to give to the said friars, you will turn over to the said Padre Procurator Fray Tomás Manso, understanding him to be the legiti-

mate person to receive them, the sums of money due the forty six friars—the thirty five friar-priests, including the Padre Procurator and the companion who came with him from New Mexico, and the eleven lay-brothers—whom the said Padre Provincial has certified to be in the said Custodia of New Mexico; and also for the twenty friars—eighteen priests and two lay-brothers—now being sent out to the said provinces,—making a total of sixty six.

In regard to the twenty eight wagons which His Majesty has at his account in this city out of the total of thirty two which made the past journey to New Mexico, it being stated that four of them remained in the hands of the said governor of that province and for which he must make an accounting; you will buy the wagons and mules necessary to fill out the number needed for this dispatch at the rate of one wagon for every two friars, including both those already in New Mexico and those being sent out for the first time, and turn them over to the said Padre Procurator; and also the other supplies for the fitting out of the caravan as set forth in the said contract, which will begin to run from the third of August of the past year, 1630, which was the date when the three-year term of the past dispatch terminated.

You will execute this order as soon as you may have finished with the business of the fleet of General Miguel de Chazarreta which is at present anchored in the port of San Juan de Ullua; ensuring that the friars may not be detained in this city and that they may make their journey in good season; *que con este mandamiento recibo del dicho Padre Procurador y los demás recaudos que se an necesarios y bastantes se os pasará en datta lo que montare.*<sup>47</sup>

Done at Mexico, the sixth of May, one thousand thirty one.

Marqués de Cerralvo.

By order of His Excellency,

Luis de Továr Godínez,

(Certified copy of the contract which is in the *Libro de la Secretaría del Gobierno*, from which it was copied in order to present it to His Excellency. Mexico, May nineteen, one thousand six hundred forty eight.

(Pedro de Auncarri. (Rubric)

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47. "[So] that with this order, [the] receipt of the Father Procurator, and the other validating papers which are necessary and sufficient, the [total] which may result shall be credited to you in *datta*."

The officials of the *Real Hacienda* kept their accounts in the two main divisions of *Cargos* (receipts, debits) and *Datta* (expenditures, credits.) It was the regular procedure to justify every expenditure by vouchers or supporting documents, as above. Unless a disbursement was so justified, the officials were personally accountable.—L. B. B.

The documents presented above in translation are of unique importance for New Mexican mission history. They were drawn up only after prolonged discussion, and they incorporated the lessons and experience derived from some twenty years of supplying the far-away frontier mission posts. For this reason, they became the basis of all later arrangements for the supply service. Several changes were made by the viceroys who followed Cerralvo, but the fundamental principles remained essentially the same.

The statements of costs indicate clearly the very considerable expense which the Crown had assumed in supporting the New Mexican missions. The total cost of the dispatch provided for in the contract was more than sixty thousand pesos; and, in addition, there was the expense of the military escort, the amount of this charge not being stated in the contract.<sup>48</sup> It is estimated that during the period between 1609 and the Pueblo Revolt the total cost of the missions must have been more than one million pesos,—a considerable sum for that time, and very much larger if considered in terms of modern money values. The cost of the missions, as a charge on the treasury of New Spain, was much larger than that of the civil and military government of New Mexico during the same period, although it should be noted that the cost of military defense in New Mexico was largely taken care of by the use of the *encomienda*. That the Crown was willing to assume a considerable expense, especially for a province which returned little, if anything, to the treasury, is an excellent example of the effectiveness of the religious motive in Spanish colonial enterprise.

For the student of the history of overland transportation, the seventeenth century caravans should have a rare interest. Two centuries before the Santa Fé trade was started, New Mexico had an overland freight service of

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48. The cost of the escort in the early 1660's was 4,000 pesos. See *Certificaciones de los Jueces Oficiales Reales de la Ciudad de Mexico* . . . . . 1663. f. 45. A. G. I., 61-1-17 (old system).



considerable proportions. The caravan with its thirty two wagons, its more than five hundred mules, its herds of livestock, and its military escort is in every respect worthy of comparison with the later overland freight services. The journey from Mexico City to New Mexico presented quite as many difficulties as the Santa Fé trail, even the problem of hostile Indians which harassed the caravan on the route between Santa Bárbara and the Rio Grande. In one respect, this seventeenth century service was unique: it was not a service for profit. It is true that the governors of New Mexico tried to use the return service for shipping salt, hides, and cotton cloth to the mines of New Spain, but this phase of the service was secondary to the real end—the supplying of the missions.

The seventeenth century supply service deserves to be included in the list of famous overland and transcontinental freight and mail services that blazed the trail before the coming of the "Iron Horse."

(To be continued)

## E R R A T A

Pages 3 to 15. For page-heads, *read* Kearny and "Kit"  
Carson.

Page 32, lines 2-3 belong on page 33, following line 2.

Page 112, in signatures to the contract, *read* Don Juan  
González de Peñafiel, Don Gabriel de Moscoso, Fray  
Tomás Manso.

# THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(INCORPORATED)

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 26, 1859

## PAST PRESIDENTS

- 1859 — Col. John B. Grayson, U. S. A.  
1861 — Maj. James L. Donaldson, U. S. A.  
1863 — Hon. Kirby Benedict

- 
- 1881 — Hon. William G. Ritch  
1883 — Hon. L. Bradford Prince  
1923 — Hon. Frank W. Clancy  
1925 — Col. Ralph E. Twitchell  
1926 — Paul A. F. Walter

## OFFICERS for 1930-1931

Paul A. F. Walter, president  
Francis T. Cheetham, vice-pres.    Lansing B. Bloom, cor. sec'y-treas.  
Col. José D. Sena, vice-pres.    Mrs. Reed Holloman, recording sec'y  
Henry Woodruff, museum curator

## FELLOWS

Ralph P. Bieber	Charles W. Hackett
William C. Binkley	Edgar L. Hewett
Lansing B. Bloom	Frederick W. Hodge
Herbert E. Bolton	Alfred V. Kidder
Aurelio M. Espinosa	J. Lloyd Mecham
George P. Hammond	Rev. Theodosius Meyer, O. F. M
	Paul A. F. Walter

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(as amended Nov. 19. 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historical nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have by published work contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election,

and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publication of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at Eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

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Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, Santa Fe, N. Mex.

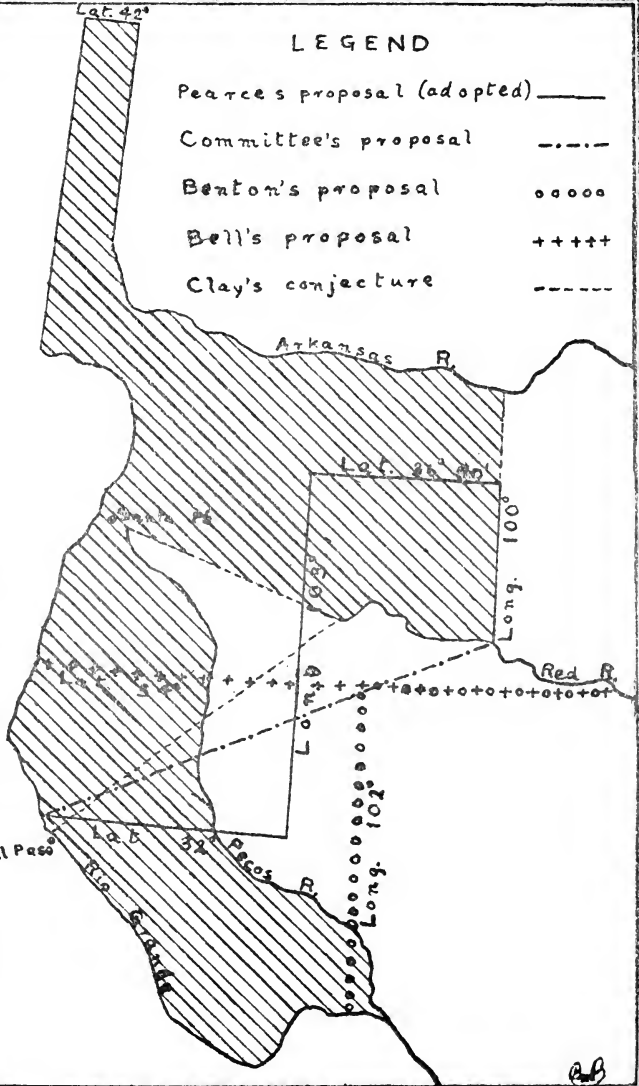




The cross-hatched area is Santa Fe county, Texas, as created by act of the Texas legislature, March 15, 1848.

LEGEND

- Pearce's proposal (adopted) ———
- Committee's proposal - - - - -
- Benton's proposal ooooo
- Bell's proposal + + + + +
- Clay's conjecture - - - - -



PROPOSALS FOR TEXAS-NEW MEXICO BOUNDARY, 1850



# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## A HISTORICAL NOTE ON THE BOUNDARIES OF NEW MEXICO BY P. M. BALDWIN

The question of boundaries, being intimately connected with property rights and political jurisdiction, is a prolific source of serious disputes whenever the lines have not been precisely determined. The settlement of such disputes, whether by war, diplomatic negotiation, arbitration, litigation, or legislative action has led to events of major historical importance. Of stubbornly fought contests of this character New Mexico has had its full share.

Under the Spanish and Mexican régimes the need for precise boundaries did not exist. The settlements on the upper Rio Grande and adjacent territory, under the authority of the governor at Santa Fé, were separated from other jurisdictions by broad zones uninhabited by civilized people. But the transfer of sovereignty from Mexico to the United States changed the situation. The aggressive American pioneer would inevitably push out into the unappropriated area and take up every foot of available land. The question arose: Would such settlers be entering upon the public domain of the United States or upon land comprised within the state of Texas?

The western limits of Texas, according to its own claim, were definite enough. They were the Rio Grande to its source, and from there a line drawn due north to the paral-

lel of 42 degrees. Everything between this line and the international boundary, as laid down in the treaty with Spain in 1819, was Texas. But the United States was unwilling to acknowledge so broad a claim, on various grounds. It would have made Texas disproportionately large, compared with even the most extensive states of the Union; it would have thrust a long projection of Texan territory between the public domain in the Missouri basin and the new acquisitions in the Southwest; it would have placed a considerable population of Spanish-speaking people, who had been promised by treaty all the privileges and immunities of American citizens, under a jurisdiction which they regarded with dislike and suspicion; it would have meant handing over to Texas a region which was indubitably a part of New Mexico, for it had been settled and known by that name before Texas was thought of; most important of all, it would have been surrendering to a slave state a vast area of "free soil", much of it lying to the north of the sanctified line of 36-30.<sup>1</sup>

The Senate committee, of which Henry Clay was chairman, which drafted the series of measures constituting the famous "Compromise of 1850", proposed as the boundary between Texan and United States territory a line drawn from a point on the Rio Grande twenty miles above El Paso to the intersection of the 100th meridian with the Red river.<sup>2</sup> (It must be especially remembered in all these discussions that the place referred to as El Paso was the Mexican town of that name, now called Juarez.) Clay himself conjectured that the nearest approximation to a true line would be one drawn from El Paso, or just above it, to the head of the Red river. The line suggested by the Committee, he said, cut off from New Mexico a small triangle

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1. For a scholarly analysis of the complex political currents which found their vortex in this famous boundary squabble, see W. J. Spillman, "Adjustment of the Texas Boundary in 1850," in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, vol. 7, pp. 178-195.

2. *Cong. Globe*, vol. 21, part 1 (31st Cong., 1st sess.), p. 945.

north of El Paso, but compensated the territory with a much larger triangle further to the north and east. (See map.) The justification for this procedure was that certain settlements above El Paso were said to desire union with Texas, and that the larger triangle, which Texas would lose, was land of dubious value, inhabited only by Indians.<sup>3</sup> Texas was further to be compensated for acceptance of this boundary and the relinquishment of its claim to all the country east of the Rio Grande, by a large sum of money, the amount of which the Committee left blank, to be filled in by Congress.

In support of his contention that the true line ran just north of El Paso, Clay cited: first, a decree of the Mexican Congress in 1824, in which the northern boundary of Chihuahua is declared to be a line "drawn from the east to the west of the point, or pueblo, called Paso del Norte;" second, the language of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which speaks of the international boundary as going up the Rio Grande and then "along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso)". The Treaty did not state how far north of the town, but Clay thought it was "a league or something less," because, as he explained, the line had been shifted a little from the decree of 1824, so as to place the military post of Paso del Norte within the jurisdiction of the governor of Chihuahua.<sup>4</sup> It may be noted incidentally that a line could easily be drawn "something less" than a league to the north of this post which would have placed the present town of El Paso, Texas, in New Mexico.

The boundary proposed by the Committee was subjected to serve attack from various quarters. Senator Benton of Missouri declared that it would "cut New Mexico in

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3. *Ibid.*, vol. 22, part 2, p. 1262. It is difficult to see how Clay arrived at his conclusion, because a few sentences previously he had stated that by Mexican law, the southern boundary of New Mexico was a line drawn "east and west of the Rio Grande," a little to the north of El Paso.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 1262.

two just below the hips, and give the lower half to Texas, leaving New Mexico to stump it about as best she can, without feet or legs.”<sup>5</sup> Citing in Spanish the language of the Mexican decree of 1824, “tirada de oriente á poniente del punto ó pueblo llamado Paso del Norte,” he maintained that this had meant a line beginning at El Paso and proceeding thence westwards. East of that town, he contended that the southern boundary of New Mexico should be the Rio Grande as far down as the mouth of the Puerco (Pecos). He flourished a map published by the Texas Land Office which, he averred, proved that the western boundary of the State was the meridian of 102°, beyond which no Texas land titles had been granted. He therefore proposed an amendment that the boundary should be the 102nd meridian from the Rio Grande north to latitude 34°, and then should turn eastward along that parallel till it met the Red river.<sup>6</sup> This boundary, its proponent declared, would leave Texas a compact state, yet amply large enough to be later divided, should its citizens desire it, into two states, by a line along the 98th meridian and the Colorado river.

Benton's line was the most generous to New Mexico of any of the proposals made in Congress, but his contention that New Mexico extended southwards to the mouth of the Pecos can hardly be sustained. There is no doubt that, in the period preceding the Mexican war, the state of Chihuahua not only included El Paso, but jurisdiction over territory considerably to the north of it, in fact, over land included in what is New Mexico today. The Doña Ana Bend Colony held its title by virtue of a Chihuahua land grant,<sup>7</sup> although at an earlier period jurisdiction over the region had been exercised from Santa Fé.<sup>8</sup> If the Committee wished to include in Texas the settlements on the Rio Grande near

5. *Ibid.*, vol. 21, part 2, p. 1381.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 1380.

7. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, vol. III, p. 196.

8. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, III, 193.

El Paso, it is difficult to see why it did not go further north and include everything south of the Jornada del Muerto and, if it conceived that the proper line was the boundary between New Mexico and Chihuahua, the facts concerning the land titles would have given it good authority for doing so. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that Texas had no more right to part of Chihuahua than it had to New Mexico. In fact, to prove that San Elizario, Ysleta, and the other settlements on the left bank of the Rio Grande, across from El Paso, had formerly belonged to Chihuahua, would seem to constitute the very strongest denial possible of the Texan claim. This tract simply formed part of the territory obtained from Mexico by conquest and purchase. Of course, if the United States Congress wished to attach this part of the public domain to Texas, it could do so. This, however, would be a grant of additional territory, and is quite at variance with the idea that Texas was being asked to relinquish territory which was rightfully hers and was entitled to a large monetary compensation in consequence.

The Congressional joint resolution, by which Texas was admitted into the Union, had provided for its future division into several states, not exceeding five in number.<sup>9</sup> Such division would, of course, need the consent of the State and of Congress. Accordingly, it was natural that some legislators should seek to take advantage of this provision to solve the difficulty of disposing of the Texan claim to the satisfaction of all parties. Benton's suggestion has already been noticed. Senator Foote of Mississippi introduced a bill providing for a state of Jacinto to include that portion of Texas lying east of the Brazos, as well as for three territories, namely, New Mexico, Deseret, and California. The boundary between Texas and New Mexico was to be the Rio Grande. Senator Bell of Tennessee proposed that the

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9. Thorpe, *Constitutions and Charters*, 59th Cong., 2d sess., House Doc. 357, vol. 6, p. 3545.

parallel of  $34^{\circ}$  from the Rio Grande to the Red river should be the dividing line between Texas and New Mexico and that south of this line three states be formed, one east of the Trinity, a second between the Trinity and the Colorado, and a third between the Colorado and the Rio Grande.<sup>11</sup> He pointed out that the area contemplated as capable of division into five states was evidently the whole area claimed by Texas, and argued that this constituted a recognition by the United States of the full Texan claim at the time of annexation.<sup>10</sup>

While these various proposals and counter-proposals were being bandied about in the Senate, the state of Texas was taking measures to assert its authority over the disputed area. Its legislature had passed an act (March 15, 1848), creating a county of Santa Fé, with the following boundaries: "Beginning at the junction of the Rio Puerco with the Rio Grande, and running up the principal stream of the said Rio Grande to its source, and thence due north to the forty-second degree of north latitude; thence along the boundary line as defined in the treaty between the United States and Spain, to the point where the hundredth degree of longitude west of Greenwich intersects Red river; thence up the principal stream of said Red river to its source; thence in a direct line to the source of the principal stream of the Rio Puerco, and down the said Rio Puerco to the place of beginning."<sup>12</sup> The state government sent a commissioner to Santa Fé in February, 1850, to organize the county government, but he met with opposition from the commanding officer of the United States army stationed there. Governor Bell wrote a letter to President Fillmore asking him to disavow this act, but Fillmore was just as firm in maintaining the authority of the Union in 1850

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10. *Cong. Globe*, vol. 21, part 1, p. 166. The text of Foote's bill is given on pages 168-171.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 439.

12. *Ibid.*, vol. 22, part 2, p. 1258.

as Jackson had been in 1832. His reply to the Governor was courteous and conciliatory in tone, but quite unmistakable in meaning. In a message to Congress (August 6, 1850), transmitting the correspondence, the President declared that "all must be now regarded as New Mexico which was possessed and occupied as New Mexico by citizens of Mexico at the date of the treaty, until a definite line of boundary shall be established by competent authority." The New Mexicans had been guaranteed certain rights by treaty, and he considered it to be the duty of the Executive to uphold the Treaty as the supreme law of the land.<sup>13</sup>

Fillmore's stand brought down upon his head bitter denunciations from the Southern politicians. In a debate in the House of Representatives, Howard of Texas declared that the President was assuming to declare that territory east of the Rio Grande was not in Texas, and concluded: "It now remains to be seen whether a sovereign State of this Union can be invaded by the Federal Government, and subdued within its own limits by military power and violence.. The solution of this question will form an era in the history of this government." Morse, of Louisiana, said that "since the days of the alien and sedition laws, there has been nothing in the history of this country that so completely annihilates every idea of state rights as this very message," and he opposed the printing of a document containing such "monstrous heresies."<sup>14</sup> Stephens of Georgia also addressed the House at great length, strongly condemning the presidential message.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, in the Senate, Henry Clay warned his colleagues that a clash between Texan and United States troops would be the signal for civil war,<sup>16</sup> and Daniel Webster said that of all the matters

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13. *Ibid.*, vol. 21, part 2, p. 1525.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 1528.

15. *Ibid.*, vol. 22, part 2, pp. 1080 *et seq.*

16. *Ibid.*, p. 1412.

then before Congress, the Texas-New Mexico boundary was the most important "because most immediately menacing evil consequences."<sup>17</sup>

The crisis undoubtedly hastened action on the boundary, yet the line proposed by the compromise committee was doomed to be defeated. Extremists on both sides combined in voting for a motion offered by Senator Pearce of Maryland, to strike from the compromise bill all that related to New Mexico and Texas. Pearce then presented a bill of his own, which laid down the present boundaries.<sup>18</sup> This bill passed the Senate on August 9 and the House on September 6, and so the vexed question of the Texas-New Mexico boundary was at last disposed of — except for the rather important detail of marking it on the ground. Of this, more will be said below.

Of all the various boundary proposals put forward in 1850, this one which was finally adopted drew the most inconvenient and illogical line. It gave to Texas a shape as peculiar as a gerrymandered country. Northward the "pan-handle" projected nearly, but not quite, to the southern boundary of Kansas, leaving room for the "no man's land" that later became the grotesque elongation of Oklahoma. The triangular extension westward, with El Paso at its furthest limit, belongs to the region of the high plains and is geographically, economically, and historically connected with southern New Mexico, yet the parallel of 32°, for no particular reason, throws this natural area into two political jurisdictions. In this respect the Committee's line would have been only a slight improvement. Benton and Bell's proposals would have avoided this particular difficulty, but Bell's state between the Colorado and the Rio Grande, stretching from near Socorro clear down to Brownsville, would have been a long, straggly affair. Taking later developments and the geography of the country into consideration, the

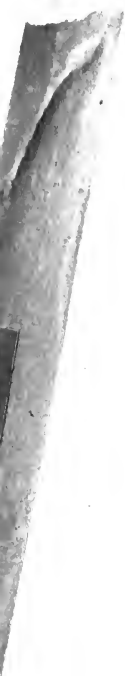
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17. *Ibid.*, p. 1267.

18. *Ibid.*, vol. 21, part 2, p. 1520. See also Spillman, *op. cit.*, p. 193.







unprejudiced thinker would probably come to the conclusion that Benton's suggested division of the region was the most sane and statesmanlike of any.

Pearce's boundary bill had been amended in the House to provide for the erection of a territory of New Mexico. The act so amended received the sanction of the President on September 9, 1850. The new territory might have been curtailed to the south and east in favor of Texas, but it was extended on the west to the limits of California. Between Texas and California it was bordered on the south by the Republic of Mexico and its boundary therefore coincided with the international boundary. In the language of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, this line, after leaving the Rio Grande, was to run "westwardly, along the whole southern boundary of New Mexico (which runs north of the town called Paso) to its western termination; thence, northward along the western line of New Mexico, until it intersects the first branch of the river Gila; thence down the middle of the said branch and of the said river, until it empties into the Rio Colorado." The Treaty further stated that "the southern and western limits of New Mexico," thus referred to, were to be those laid down in a map of Mexico published in New York by J. Disturnell in 1847.<sup>19</sup> On this map the boundary of New Mexico was shown as leaving

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19. Malloy, William M., *Treaties, Conventions, etc.*, 61st Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 357, vol. I, p. 1110. There is a facsimile of the relevant portion of the Disturnell map in the pocket of U. S. Geol. Survey Bull. 689.

The map at page 125 reproduces the relevant features of the Disturnell map, to which have been added the positions of the same features as shown on a modern map, and lines showing the claims of the two countries.

Since the Disturnell map was chosen by the treaty-makers to govern the placing of the international boundary, it may be supposed that it represented the best geographic knowledge of the region obtainable at the time. It may therefore fairly be taken as throwing some light on the vexed question of the Texas-New Mexico boundary. The name NUEVO MEJICO O SANTA FE (*sic*) has been placed exactly where Disturnell had it. It will be noted that the southern boundary of this province is marked — in a rather indefinite way, it is true — continuing *eastward* from the Rio Grande to join the old international boundary on the 100th meridian. This would support the line proposed by the Compromise Committee, but apparently the Disturnell map was not used as evidence in the senatorial debate.

the Rio Grande in latitude  $32^{\circ} 22'$ , proceeding westward for three degrees, and then turning northward at about longitude  $107^{\circ} 43'$ . However, the map was highly inaccurate in its location of many of the geographical features, and this gave room for argument that the boundaries were similarly misplaced. Its inaccuracy may be appreciated when we realize that if the Rio Grande could be shifted to where Disturnell had it, it would be in the valley of the Pecos, and El Paso would be in the vicinity of Carlsbad cavern. The extent of the error can be seen from the following:

Geodetic position of El Paso (Juarez)

	On Disturnell map	Actual position
Latitude, north	$32^{\circ} 15'$	$31^{\circ} 44'$
Longitude, west	$104^{\circ} 39'$	$106^{\circ} 29'$

Thus, the actual position of El Paso is over half a degree further south and nearly two degrees further west than as Disturnell showed it. Therefore, if the boundary were surveyed on the ground so as to preserve the same relative position to the town as given by the map, the boundary itself would have to be correspondingly moved to the south and west. This solution would be the one most favorable to the United States, whereas a determination based on the projection lines shown on Disturnell's map would be the best for Mexico. The difference was about as follows:

	Southern boundary	Western boundary
On Disturnell map	$32^{\circ} 22'$	$107^{\circ} 43'$
With reference to El Paso	$31^{\circ} 51'$	$109^{\circ} 33'$

The Treaty provided that the United States and Mexico should each appoint a commissioner and a surveyor to run the line. As it was impossible for these men to determine any line which was strictly in accord with the terms of the Treaty, the two commissioners, Bartlett and Condé, on December 25, 1850, agreed to a compromise; namely that the initial point on the Rio Grande should be in lati-

tude  $32^{\circ} 22'$ , that the line should be run thence westward for three degrees, and then due north till a branch of the Gila river was encountered.<sup>20</sup> This arrangement made the "southern limit" in favor of Mexico and the "western limit" in favor of the United States. As the Bartlett-Condé line left the Rio Grande just about opposite the present town of Las Cruces, it will be seen that it abandoned to Mexico the town of Mesilla (then on the west side of the river) and a strip of fertile land in the Mesilla valley. On the other hand, it preserved for the United States the rich mining region in the vicinity of Silver City, and Bartlett believed that he had made an advantageous agreement. But a more important interest than mining was involved. The most practicable route for a Pacific railroad — the one with the easiest grades and the only one free from the menace of snow — lay through southern New Mexico and the agreement was believed to prejudice this route.<sup>21</sup> When the American surveyor Gray put in his appearance — seven months after the agreement had been made and when part of the line was already run — he refused to recognize it, and was supported in his stand by Graham, the astronomer, and by Emory, who succeeded him.<sup>22</sup> This action precipitated a debate on the question in Congress, and the interests opposed to the Bartlett-Condé agreement were successful in getting an amendment tacked on to the appropriation bill of August, 1852, which deprived the boundary commission of funds "until it should be made to appear to the President of the United States that the southern boundary of New Mexico had not been established further north of El Paso than is laid down in the Disturnell map." In accordance with this provision, Fillmore decided that the

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20. Bartlett, J. R., *Personal Narrative*, vol. I, pp. 201-3.

21. *E. g.* see *Cong. Globe*, vol., 25, part 1 (32d Cong., 1st sess., App.), p. 777, where Representative V. E. Howard of Texas alludes to this point in strongly condemning Bartlett for making the agreement.

22. Rippey, J. Fred, *The United States and Mexico*, p. 110.

funds could not be used, and the commission was obliged to discontinue operations.<sup>23</sup>

The events which followed this action led to a serious international situation. Governor Lane of New Mexico decided to assert his jurisdiction over the contested area. Advancing to Doña Ana he there issued a proclamation declaring that Mesilla belonged to New Mexico, and mailed a copy to Angel Trias, governor of Chihuahua. The latter sent a bellicose reply and prepared to resist Lane's claim by military force.<sup>24</sup> As a result the little town of Mesilla blossomed for a time into front-page prominence and the newspapers of both countries were filled with discussions of a probable renewal of the war. However, even if the United States had secured the line for which it contended, it would really have made little difference as far as the route for a railroad was concerned, since it would in any case have had to run north of the Gila. What was wanted was additional territory, and James Gadsden was sent to Mexico City to purchase it. His mission resulted in the treaty of December 31, 1853, which secured for the United States an important strip of territory between the Rio Grande and the Colorado river, all of which was at the time added to New Mexico.<sup>25</sup> It rendered irrelevant all further dispute concerning the proper location of the line under the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

The new boundary established by the Gadsden treaty, that is, the section which deviated from the former treaty, provided for a line leaving the Rio Grande in latitude 31° 47', proceeding westward for one hundred miles, then turning due south to latitude 31° 20', westward along that parallel to its intersection with the 111th meridian, thence in a straight line to a point in the Colorado river twenty miles below its junction with the Gila, and up the channel

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23. Rippy, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-3.

24. Rippy, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

25. Malloy, *op. cit.*, pp. 1121-2. U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. 10, p. 575.

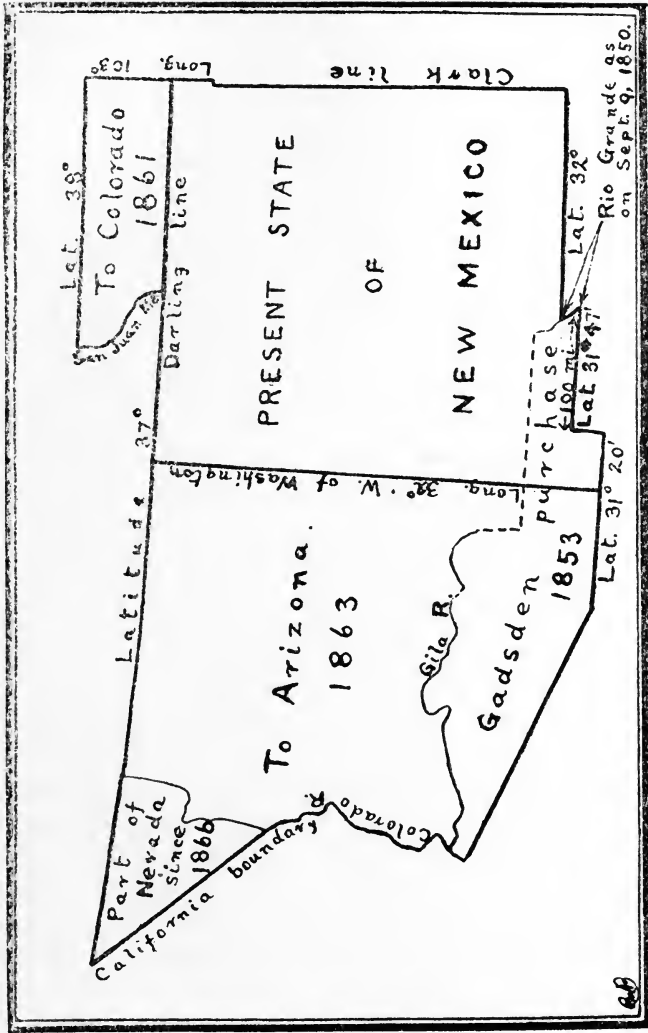


DIAGRAM SHOWING CHANGES IN SIZE AND BOUNDARIES OF NEW MEXICO





of the Colorado to the said junction. This line was run and marked by an international joint commission in 1855, Major Emory being the American commissioner and Señor Salazar the Mexican.<sup>26</sup> It was necessary for the surveying parties to be protected by military escort for fear of Indian attack. In the course of time many of the monuments along the line became obliterated, so a convention was concluded with Mexico in 1882, and renewed in 1889, for the re-survey of this portion of the international boundary. This work was done in 1891 and durable monuments erected.<sup>27</sup>

Let us now return to the Texas-New Mexico boundary and see how its actual survey on the ground was carried out. In 1853 the United States and Texas each appointed a commissioner to cooperate in running the line.<sup>28</sup> The United States commissioner was John H. Clark and the Texan, William R. Scurry. These men started work, with their party, in January, 1859. Their initial point was the intersection of the Rio Grande with the parallel of 32°. They established the position of this point by connecting it with Frontera, an astronomical station established by the international boundary commission in 1850. From the initial point on the river they then carried the line of 32° eastward for 211 miles, mostly by chaining, but partly by triangulation. The termination of this long line was assumed to lie on the 103rd meridian and was established as the south-east corner of New Mexico. In the meantime Scurry had withdrawn from the work, so Clark went on and finished it alone. Turning northwards, he surveyed for some distance along the supposed meridian of 103°, and then, owing to lack of water, decided to change his plans; namely, to establish the northwest corner of Texas and

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26. Emory's report on this survey is given in 34th Cong., 1st sess., House Ex. Doc. 135, 4 vols., Washington, 1857.

27. The report on this survey is contained in 55th Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 247, Washington, 1898.

28. Baker, Marcus, *The Northwest Boundary of Texas*, U. S. Geol. Survey Bull. 194, p. 15.

thence to survey the 103rd meridian southward. This he accordingly did, transferring his longitude from a point established on the Kansas boundary, one-half degree north of his new initial point. He then ran the line southward, apparently for about 172 miles, but left an unmarked gap of about 69 miles between the part surveyed from the northern and that surveyed from the southern end.<sup>29</sup> He made some observations for longitude at Rabbit Ear Creek, near the northeast corner of Texas, but in the hurried closing of his work apparently did not work up his results. In this connection it must be borne in mind that before it became possible to transmit instantaneous time signals by telegraph, the determination of longitude was a very tedious and difficult process and even then not perfectly reliable. The longitude of Frontera, upon which Clark's establishment of the south-east corner of New Mexico rests, was determined by Major Emory by a long series of observations of moon culminations extending over four lunations (January to April, 1852). Only a very well equipped commission could afford to make observations of that character. However, if Clark had worked up the observations he did make, he might have discovered that his line was too far to the west. It is now known that the northern section of the line is in longitude  $103^{\circ} 02' 13.80''$  and the southern part in  $103^{\circ} 03' 55.02''$ . This means that Clark's errors deprived New Mexico of a strip of land 310 miles long and from about two and a half to four miles wide, roughly half a million acres. Some of it is not worth much, but the towns of Farwell and Texline are situated within it and it runs adjacent to valuable oil fields, so that its value for assessment purposes may be considerable.

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29. Douglas, E. M., *Boundaries, Areas. . . . of the United States and the Several States*, U. S. Geol. Survey Bull. 689, p. 154. The text says the unmarked gap was 116 miles; the number 69 is given in an erratum slip accompanying the bulletin. Baker, *op. cit.*, p. 19, makes it 130 miles, but a reproduction of Clark's general map, which is bound in with Baker's article, confirms the 69 miles which Douglas gives as his final figure. This is further in agreement with the gap of one degree of latitude assumed by the Scott-Cockrell commission in 1911.

As New Mexico was not a state at the time the Clark survey was made, the line needed only to be ratified by the United States and Texas to become the legal boundary. It was accepted by the United States in an Act of Congress passed March 3, 1891, and by a joint resolution of the Texas legislature on March 25 of the same year. However, because the New Mexico constitutional convention in 1910 adopted a clause which stated that the boundary was the 103rd meridian, a joint resolution of Congress (approved February 16, 1911) was passed, which declared that the lines laid down by Clark were the legal boundary and that any provision of the New Mexico state constitution to the contrary was null and void.<sup>30</sup> Not satisfied with this, Congress inserted in the joint resolution admitting New Mexico and Arizona to the Union (August 21, 1911) a clause requiring New Mexico's acceptance of the Clark lines as a condition of admission.<sup>31</sup>

The act of February 16 had further provided for a new United States-Texas boundary commission, to resurvey the boundary and to re-establish the Clark lines. Accordingly, in 1911 the Scott-Cockrell commission, as it was called from its leading members, identified monuments placed by Clark at the north-west corner of Texas and at the south-east corner of New Mexico. From the former point a line was run south to the 34th parallel, and from the latter north to the 33rd. The intervening gap of one degree was bridged by a straight line joining the two terminal points; it bears N. 1° 00' 42" E. The 32nd parallel boundary was also resurveyed at this time, and its length was found to be a little over 209 miles.<sup>32</sup> The Scott-Cockrell re-establishment of the Clark survey was approved by executive order dated February 25, 1913.

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30. U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. 36, part 1, pp. 1454-5.

31. *Ibid.*, vol. 37, part 1, p. 39.

32. Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

The formation of Colorado territory in 1861 led to a reduction of New Mexico on the north-east. Prior to this reduction, the northern limit, from longitude  $103^{\circ}$  west to the summit of the Sierra Madre (San Juan mountains), was the parallel of  $38^{\circ}$ . The line then turned south and east, following the crest of the mountains, to latitude  $37^{\circ}$  and then went west along that parallel.<sup>33</sup> The new northern boundary was to be latitude  $37^{\circ}$  all the way. By this reduction New Mexico was deprived of the important coal-mining region around Trinidad and Walsenburg, and also of jurisdiction over the headwaters of the Rio Grande.

The Colorado-New Mexico line was surveyed by E. N. Darling in 1868, presumably on the 37th parallel, but he did not succeed in getting the line straight (if the expression "straight" can be used of a line on the earth's surface). Near Edith, Colorado, there is a jog in the line of nearly half a mile. In 1901 a re-survey in this vicinity was undertaken by the authority of the State of Colorado, but this was not binding on New Mexico. In 1902 Congress authorized a re-survey of the entire line between Colorado on the one hand and Oklahoma and New Mexico on the other. This survey was carried out by H. B. Carpenter and accepted by Congress as the legal boundary, only to meet with the veto of President Roosevelt. The Carpenter line is considerably north of the Darling line in some places and south of it in others.<sup>34</sup> This situation has led to a legal dispute between Colorado and New Mexico before the United States Supreme Court. According to a letter received by the writer from the District Cadastral Engineer (dated May 1, 1929), the decision of the Court is that Darling's line must stand as the legal boundary.

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33 . Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 202. The erratum slip changes "Saguache" to "San Juan" mountains, and further says: "Change western boundary of New Mexico north of latitude  $37^{\circ}$  so as to include the Rio Grande drainage basin."

34. Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

A second reduction of New Mexico was made in 1863 when the territory of Arizona was erected. (A portion of the area thus cut off was later surrendered by Arizona to Nevada.) The line between the two territories was made the 32nd meridian west of Washington. By an act of Congress of September 28, 1850, it had been ordered "that hereafter the meridian of the observatory at Washington shall be adopted and used as the American meridian for all astronomic purposes." The act was repealed August 22, 1912, but wherever meridian lines are used to define boundaries originally fixed between these dates, they will be found to be measured from Washington. The old naval observatory at Washington was  $77^{\circ} 03' 02.3''$  west of Greenwich.<sup>35</sup> Hence, the boundary between Arizona and New Mexico is  $109^{\circ} 03' 02.3''$  west of Greenwich. If Congress had not passed the act above referred to, it is probable that the line would have been made the 109th meridian, so the act gained New Mexico a strip over three miles wide along its whole western side. (On the other hand, New Mexico is fortunate that it so narrowly escaped having its eastern boundary defined by a Washington meridian. The act was passed only 19 days after the settlement of the Texas boundary. As it turned out, however, Clark's error placed the line approximately on the 26th meridian west of Washington, which is the line Congress might have been expected to use). The Arizona-New Mexico line was surveyed in 1875 under the direction of the General Land Office. Although the monument erected at the northern termination of this line is 1 mile 45 chains east of the mark established by Darling for the south-west corner of Colorado, it was nevertheless taken as the initial point by a party surveying the Colorado-Utah boundary in 1885, and thus described at that time. "A stone 7 feet by 12 by 6 inches set 3 feet in the ground, and marked on the northeast face

35. U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. 9, p. 515. and vol. 37. part 1. p. 342.

"COLO 37° N L," on the southeast "N MEX 32° W L," on the southwest "ARIZONA," and on the northwest "UTAH 1875."<sup>36</sup> It is remarkable as the only point in the United States which is the common corner of four states.

The short boundary between New Mexico and Oklahoma is known as the Cimarron meridian. It was established in 1881 by Messrs. Chaney and Smith, U. S. surveyors, by their own independent determinations of latitude and longitude.<sup>37</sup> Their work seems to have been done with commendable accuracy, although their establishment of the north-east corner of our State had later to be moved 14.11 chains further south. This corner has been recently determined by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey to be in latitude 37° 00' 00.645". In other words, the latitude of this corner is practically correct and the longitude is 6.75" (approximately 0.1 mile) too far west. The south end of this Cimarron meridian is 2 miles 14.65 chains east and 5.47 chains north of the northwest corner of Texas, as established by Clark, which explains the jog in our eastern boundary, so evident on inspection of the map.

There remains to be considered only the short length of the State boundary between the parallels of 32° and 31° 47', where the line between Texas and New Mexico is defined by law to be "the channel of the Rio Grande, as it existed on the 9th day of September, 1850." The river has shifted its channel considerably since that date. Shortly after New Mexico became a State, a suit was instituted by New Mexico against Texas in the Supreme Court of the United States to have the proper boundary judicially determined. The court appointed a special master to investigate the problem and make a report. The evidence taken covers 3,500 pages, supplemented by about 200 maps, photographs, etc. The case dragged on for many years and a

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36. Douglas, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

37. Baker, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-9. Further information derived from letter to the writer from the General Land Office, dated May 10, 1929.

decision was not rendered till December 5, 1927. It sustained the contentions of the State of Texas at all points. Samuel S. Gannett, a geodetic and astronomic engineer, was appointed by the Court to survey the line, and this survey is now going forward."

The most important evidence as to the location of the river in 1850 is a survey made along its west bank by a Mexican engineer named Diaz in 1852, by order of Salazar, astronomer of the Mexican commission appointed to assist in running the boundary under the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. According to the decision of the Court, the river is to be assumed to have been 300 feet wide, so that the center of its channel would be 150 feet east of the Diaz-Salazar line, or 150 feet west of certain Texas surveys made along the left bank in 1849 and 1860. At the 32nd parallel the river is to be taken as having been 600 feet west of Clark's monument No. 1, established by him in 1859 and re-established by the Scott-Cockrell commission in 1911. Mr. Gannett's task is to determine from these data, as nearly as it can now be done, the location of the channel of the river in 1850. The Gannett line, if approved by the Court, will then become the official boundary. The effects of this decision are likely to be important.

Although Texas won the case at law, it is expected that 2100 acres of land, now on the tax rolls of El Paso county, Texas, will be put into Doña Ana county, N. Mex., whereas only 300 acres, now in New Mexico will be thrown into Texas. The lands expected to go to New Mexico contain some valuable real estate. According to the *Rio Grande Farmer* (Las Cruces, N. Mex.) of September 26, 1929:

The new boundary line being run by Samuel Gannett, special boundary commissioner for the United States Supreme Court, throws the new \$5,000,000 plant of the El Paso Electric Company, the seed house at the Spear's Oil

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38. U. S. Supreme Court, *State of New Mexico v. State of Texas*, No. 2 Original, October term, 1927.

Mill, and about 2100 acres of land into New Mexico at Texas' expense. From 300 to 500 acres of the disputed lands go to Texas. It is estimated that the increased assessments will add about \$33,000 to Doña Ana county's tax rolls.

The new line will divide farms and, in some instances, buildings, throwing one-half in Texas and one-half in New Mexico. Concrete markers will be set at each angle of the boundary.

A study of state boundaries shows the importance of the science of astronomy and its practical application in geodetic surveying. Important political and proprietary interests depend upon the accuracy with which the surveyor performs his task. The original surveys of our State boundaries, which were accepted as the legal lines, were made when the methods and instruments in use did not permit so high a degree of accuracy as is now the case. In view of this fact, and the human failing to be sometimes a little careless, it is not surprising that the actual boundaries do not correspond exactly with those laid down by law. The following is a reasonably accurate description of the boundaries of New Mexico as they actually exist:

Beginning at a point in north latitude  $37^{\circ} 00' 06.745''$  and longitude  $103^{\circ} 00' 06.777''$  west of Greenwich; thence south for one-half degree following the Cimarron meridian established by Chaney and Smith in 1881; thence west 2 miles 14.65 chains, south 5.47 chains, to the north-west corner of Texas in latitude  $36^{\circ} 30' 01.603''$ , longitude  $103^{\circ} 02' 28.177''$ ; thence south along the line surveyed by Clark in 1859 and re-established by the Scott-Cockrell commission in 1911 to a point in latitude  $31^{\circ} 59' 58.02''$ , longitude  $103^{\circ} 03' 55.52''$ ; thence west again following the said surveys, along the reputed parallel of  $32^{\circ}$ , to a point 600 feet west of Clark's monument No. 1, as re-established by the Scott-Cockrell commission; thence southerly, following the line now being established by Samuel Gannett as the channel of



the Rio Grande on September 9, 1850, to a point in latitude  $31^{\circ} 47' 01.608''$ , longitude  $106^{\circ} 31' 45.109''$ ; thence, following the line surveyed by the international joint commission in 1855 and re-established in 1891, west for 100 miles, then south to the parallel of  $31^{\circ} 20'$ , then west again to the 32nd meridian west of Washington ( $109^{\circ} 03' 02.3''$  west of Greenwich); thence north along the said meridian, as established by the surveyors of the General Land Office in 1875, to its intersection with the 37th parallel; thence east along the said parallel, as marked by Darling in 1868, to the point of beginning.<sup>39</sup>

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39. The geodetic positions given in this paragraph were supplied to the writer by courtesy of the General Land Office.

APACHE MISRULE  
A BUNGLING AGENT SETS THE  
MILITARY ARM IN MOTION<sup>1</sup>

BY JOHN P. CLUM

The official records heretofore quoted<sup>2</sup> show that the San Carlos Police Force had proved itself efficient and sufficient in the matter of the enforcement of order and discipline within their reservation from 1874 to 1880; that the great body of Apaches on that reservation were quiet and obedient during said period, and that the troops were removed from the reservation in October, 1875, and were not recalled at any time up to or during 1880.

There was, however, one serious affair that occurred during the period above referred to, the exact cause of which I have not been able to ascertain. This was the breaking away from the reservation of more than half of the 453 Indians whom I brought over from Ojo Caliente, N. M., and located in the Gila valley near the San Carlos sub-agency in May 1877.

In his annual report for 1878, Agent H. L. Hart mentions this outbreak briefly as follows:

On September 2, 1877, about 300 of the Warm Spring Indians left the reservation, taking with them a number of animals belonging to other Indians. They were followed by the police and Indian volunteers. Nearly all of the stock they had was captured, thirteen Indians killed, and 31 women and children brought back as prisoners by the different parties that went in pursuit. *The Warm Spring Indians shortly after surrendered to the military authorities at Fort Wingate, New Mexico, and have since been fed as prisoners of war at Hot Springs, New Mexico.*

1. Copyrighted 1930.

2. "The San Carlos Apache Police" in *N. M. H. Rev.*, IV. 67-82.

This record is supplemented by Brig. Gen. John Pope in his annual report dated October 4, 1878, as follows:

The Apaches, who broke away last year from the San Carlos agency, in Arizona, and were recaptured by the troops from this Department, are now in process of removal again to the San Carlos agency. *They have given no trouble since they have been recaptured, and I think will give none at the agency to which they are now en route.*

Agent Hart does not give any reason why these Indians left the reservation; neither does he intimate that the truants resisted their pursuers, nor that they committed any depredations prior to their "surrender" at Fort Wingate, New Mexico.

General Pope says these Indians were "recaptured," but he does not give any details concerning this achievement by his troops. He simply says that after the "recapture" they did not give anyone any trouble, and he did not think they would give anyone any trouble in the future — *thus recording his official declaration that these Indians were peaceable, orderly and obedient, and that he believed they would remain so.*

I have already presented an account of my removal of these Indians in 1877.<sup>3</sup> At that time they readily agreed to go to San Carlos, *and their conduct during the progress of that removal was peaceable, orderly and obedient.* Then why did a majority of this tribe break away from the reservation on Sept. 2, 1877? It will be remembered that I discovered a severe case of small-pox the morning we left Ojo Caliente, and that other cases developed while en route to Arizona, and I recall that the disease persisted with more or less fatal effect among this band for some time after their arrival at San Carlos. Inasmuch as these Indians fled from the reservation less than four months after their

3. See *N. M. Hist. Rev.*, [III. 26-39.

arrival, and *only two months after my retirement as agent*, it is not improbable that they grew restive because of the direful effects of the small-pox and a belief that their new location was unhealthful, and, taking advantage of the unsettled conditions incident to the change of agents, that a majority of the Warm Spring band fled from the reservation in the hope that they might thus escape from the ravages of the dreaded disease.

The fact that the Warm Spring Apaches were removed to San Carlos in the spring of 1877 without the slightest difficulty, and the further fact that "about 300" of these same Indians gave no trouble while under the surveillance of the New Mexico troops from September, 1877, to October, 1878, would seem to justify General Pope's opinion that *they would give no trouble in the future* — provided, of course, that they were given firm, intelligent, and sympathetic direction. The above facts would also seem to justify the conclusion that *the very serious trouble experienced with the Warm Spring Indians and Chiricahua Indians between 1881 and 1886 was the direct result of flagrant mis-rule.*

During the summer of 1881 Agent Tiffany committed a stupid and stupendous administrative blunder *which interrupted the seven years of peace*, spread consternation and unrest throughout the reservation, and precipitated an outbreak of the Chiricahuas, the penalties and sacrifices for which were suffered and endured by the pioneer citizens of Arizona and New Mexico and the mass of orderly disposed Apaches upon the reservation for more than a decade thereafter.

This miserable blundering was of a two-fold character. His first grave offence was his failure to send the San Carlos Agency Police to quell an alleged threatened uprising in the northern section of the reservation, instigated by a fanatical Apache medicine-man,<sup>4</sup> and his second —

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4. See *N. M. Hist. Rev.*, III. 127-130.

and much graver — offence, was the despatch of an official communication to the commanding officer at Fort Apache on August 14th, demanding that troops be sent upon the reservation for police duty in the matter of the arrest of the insubordinate hoo-hoo medicine-man.

This demand was complied with and Nock-e-da-kinny, the medicine-man, was arrested without resistance on August 30 and conveyed part way to Fort Apache, but when the troops halted for the night the camp was attacked by some of their own Indian scouts, and in the fight that ensued Captain E. C. Hentig, four soldiers, and the Indian medicine-man were killed, and three soldiers fatally wounded. It was inevitable that the news of this clash between the mutinous scouts and the troops would cause much excitement, and even alarm among the White Mountain Apaches, *but they did not indulge in any acts of insubordination.*

These exceedingly disastrous results were accomplished *the very first day the troops were invited back upon the reservation for police duty.* And although *there was no outbreak of the White Mountain Apaches, and no hostiles upon the reservation,* except the small faction of mutinous military scouts belonging to the detachment stationed at Fort Apache, *the most alarming rumors of an impending Apache war* were broadcast throughout the country. Forthwith, General Willcox, commanding the Department of Arizona, telegraphed to the east and to the west for *reinforcements,* with the result that *twenty-two companies of troops* — eleven from New Mexico, and eleven from California (which included three batteries of artillery) — *were rushed into Arizona "on detached service against hostile Apaches."* I was then publishing the *Epitaph* at Tombstone, and I well remember *the military blare that the Apaches were to be expected.*

The military arm had been set in motion with a vengeance. The troops concentrated in the Gila valley at San

Carlos and Camp Thomas, and were maneuvered so effectively that they succeeded in driving Geronimo, Hoo, and Nah-chee, with their bands of Chiricahuas from the reservation on September 30 — exactly one month after the troops had been returned to the reservation for the specific purpose of arresting the medicine-man on the Cibicu, sixty or seventy miles distant from the Chiricahua camp at the sub-agency on the Gila.

The annual report submitted by Agent Tiffany for 1881 is dated "September sixth" — just one week after the fatal clash between the troops and the Indians in the Cibicu country. From that report we quote the following paragraph:

The police force of scouts have been, as usual, very efficient and useful; indeed, *this agency could not be kept in its present quiet state without them.* They fear no danger, are quick and obedient, have rendered efficient service in breaking up tiswin parties, and have destroyed at least 2000 gallons of this villainous drink. They have scouted this reservation as it never has been policed before, and the force is a terror to evil-doers and run-aways. I have too few of them. Too much praise cannot be given them.

The above enthusiastic endorsement of the agency police was penned by Agent Tiffany only a few days after the troops, at his request, had entered the reservation for duty that should have been performed by the agency police; an officer, seven soldiers, and the medicine-man had been killed upon the reservation by Apaches; twenty-two companies of troops were being rushed to Arizona as reinforcement to aid in quelling an alleged uprising among Indians belonging to the San Carlos agency; and yet the agent blithely proclaims that "the agency could not be kept *in its present quiet state* without them (the agency police)."

Particular attention is also invited to the extraordinary fact that although this annual report was of considerable length, Agent Tiffany *has not recorded therein any details of the very important and disastrous events relative to*

*the alleged uprising among the White Mountain Indians inspired by Nock-e-da-kinny, or of the official action taken by him-if any-for the purpose of apprehending the vicious medicine-man and quelling the disturbance.* He does not give the slightest hint as to why he did not send the agency police to arrest Nock-e-da-kinny instead of demanding that the troops at Fort Apache should be sent upon the reservation for that purpose. In fact, the very unfortunate situation thrust upon the White Mountain Apaches as a result of the monstrous blunder of their agent was referred to only twice in this report — and then only in the most indifferent and casual manner.

At the beginning he says that he must write his report “from time to time as opportunity offers, for the reason that *besides the regular business of the agency, the White Mountain disturbance engrosses much time and attention,*” and in the concluding paragraphs referring to crop returns he says, “many fields were abandoned, caused by the outbreak of the White Mountain Indians,” and also that “*many fields were destroyed by the military camping on them and feeding whole commands for days.*”

However, Agent Tiffany has inadvertently told us that *already the orderly and industrious Indians were paying the penalties for the recent invasion of the troops — at his request — through the loss of the crops they had planted and cultivated in the fields that were abandoned because of the disturbance, or that had been used as camping grounds by the military.*

I have made extensive references to the annual report of Agent Tiffany for 1881 for the purpose of impressing the fact that I have searched in vain for some statement by the agent in explanation of his action in ignoring the agency police and in calling upon the troops to arrest the insubordinate medicine-man — *an action which I have always denounced as absolutely unnecessary and most disastrous to all concerned.*

Obviously, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Price had been advised of the signs of unrest among the White Mountain Indians, and in his annual report for 1881 he says that in June of that year considerable excitement was occasioned among these Indians by the proposition of Nock-e-da-kinny to bring to life certain deceased warriors — provided the Indians made him numerous and valuable gifts in the form of horses, blankets, etc., and that *the agent remonstrated with the Indians* on the ground of the folly of the thing and the waste of their goods. The commissioner further states that both the agent and the military authorities at Fort Apache feared that the medicine-man was working on the superstitions of the Indians to bring about an outbreak.

Up there on Cibicu Creek, less than a day's journey from the San Carlos agency, an old Indian began to "*make medicine*" — and some trouble. To me the story is strange and weird — but exceedingly interesting, for in all my experience with the Apaches I never knew a so-called "medicine-man" who exerted any influence — except upon his unfortunate patient whom he tortured with his rattle and his moans and groans.

But it appears that Nock-e-da-kinny did create some excitement with his preposterous medicine babble — thus making himself an offender against the good order and discipline of the reservation. Albert Sterling, chief of the agency police, made an investigation of conditions on the Cibicu and reported the situation as "very serious," but no steps were taken to quell the disturbance. Every circumstance confirms the opinion that upon receipt of the first news of the disturbance on the Cibicu the San Carlos Police should have been sent to the camp of the medicine-man with positive orders to arrest him — alive, IF CONVENIENT. In any emergency the police force could have been augmented to whatever strength the undertaking seemed to demand. When I removed the Chiricahuas from Apache Pass



in 1876 I had with me a company of 54 Apache police, but these were "special" — the regular agency force numbered 25, and these remained at San Carlos for service on the reservation. Again, when I went into New Mexico in 1877 on the trail of Geronimo I had with me 100 Apache police — also "special." Likewise, in the summer of 1881 *a sufficient force* of agency police should have been despatched with positive orders to arrest this deluded medicine-man, — and if the arrest had been ordered early in this hoo-doo medicine game there would have been no serious trouble. *Eventually the arrest was made without resistance.*

But this potent agency police force was ignored in this vital affair while the agent "REMONSTRATED" with the Indian dupes. If, instead of *remonstrations*, the agent had executed a few vigorous *demonstrations* with his agency police in the immediate presence of old Nock-e-da-kinny *he would have preserved the peace on the reservation* and obviated the ugly pages of the "Cibicu war" and its distressing sequences. Unhappily, the many and severe penalties which resulted from the agent's weakness in this affair *were visited upon the Apaches and not upon himself.*

Commissioner Price (1881) also says: "*Several of the mutinous (Fort Apache) scouts had been arrested and brought in by the agency Indian police force and delivered up to the military.*" The San Carlos Police were not allowed to make the arrest of the medicine-man — *but after the military had been called in* and some of their own scouts had *mutinied* and precipitated the shooting which resulted in the death of Captain Hentig, seven soldiers, and the medicine-man; *after the seven years of peace on the reservation had been broken*, and the Indians thoroughly excited, and actual trouble begun; then — *then*, mark you, *the agency police were called upon to apprehend the mutinous military scouts* — AND THEY GOT 'EM.

It is interesting to note that Lieutenant W. H. Carter, Sixth Cavalry, U. S. A., who led the troops *away* from the

San Carlos reservation on October 27, 1875, was one of the officers who led the troops *back* upon the reservation on August 30, 1881. At that time Captain Adna R. Chaffee was also serving with the Sixth Cavalry in Arizona. Some years later we find Lieutenant Carter's name entered in the army roster as Major General Carter, and at the same time Captain Chaffee has become Lieutenant General Chaffee — in command of the United States Army.

In December, 1917, three years after the death of General Chaffee, Major General Carter published a volume entitled, "The Life of Lieutenant General Chaffee." We are fortunate, therefore, in having this unofficial military record to aid us in arriving at the truth regarding several events in the history of the Apaches which General Carter has recorded with more or less detail in his story of the life of General Chaffee.

The conditions and circumstances which led to the fatal clash in the Cibicu country between the troops and the mutinous scouts on August 30, 1881, are presented by General Carter as follows:

During the summer of 1881 there appeared among the White Mountain Apaches a medicine-man named Nock-e-daklinny, who proclaimed himself the messiah. The oracle gradually influenced the minds of the Indians and became so infatuated with his success that he appeared to believe the truth of his own weird dreams. So long as he confined himself to ordinary incantations there was no cause for anxiety. In common with more civilized charletans, however, he had gradually mulcted his faithful believers of much of their limited wealth.

It is neither expedient nor profitable to discuss an aimless policy which permitted license to run riot on the reservation until the Indians grew sullen and insubordinate.

The regimental commander was at Fort Apache. Recognizing the very serious turn of affairs, he summoned the medicine-man and several prominent chiefs and heads of families and explained to them the futility of rising against the whites. *The author was present at all the interviews.*

The advice and warnings given Nock-e-da-klinne fell on deaf ears, and he returned to his camp about forty miles back in the Indian country, where he spurned the orders of the agent to report himself at San Carlos. The deluded Indians followed him, and the excitement grew widespread.

The time for parley and remonstrance ended *when the agent made a formal demand that the military arm be set in motion* and that the recalcitrant medicine-man be brought before him dead or alive.

The story of the march, the arrest, the attempt at rescue, the hand-to-hand combat, constitutes an interesting page in the regimental history. While the medicine-man lay mortally wounded, after the rescuers had been driven off and we were preparing to bury our dead, the author examined the body and took from its receptacle the pass by authority of which Nock-e-da-klinne left the agency. The pass had expired, and the deluded messiah had repeatedly refused to return and report himself as was required of all reservation Indians.

There was a short, sharp campaign, but the failure of the messiah to come back to life, as he had promised to do if killed, cooled the ardor of the White Mountain Apaches, *and they rapidly drifted back to their reservation camps.* Troops of the regiment made rapid marches through all the exposed districts, gradually concentrating at and near the agency, where, for some unexplained reason, the wild Chiricahuas of Ju (Hoo) and Geronimo, who were at the San Carlos agency, fled toward Mexico, leaving a trail of blood and pillage to mark their hurried flight.

General Carter well knew that ever since he led the troops away from San Carlos in 1875, the agency police had maintained order and discipline throughout the reservation, and it was *the failure of Agent Tiffany to employ that force promptly and effectively at the first signs of unrest among the Indians on the Cibicu that General Carter justly condemns* when he says: "It is neither expedient nor profitable to discuss an aimless policy which permitted license to run riot on the reservation until the Indians grew sullen and insubordinate."

Agent Tiffany's demand that "the military arm be set in motion" against the insubordinate medicine-man was dated August 14th, and it was between that date and August 30th that General Carr "summoned the medicine-man and several prominent chiefs and heads of families" for a conference, in the hope that order might be restored without recourse to force. But this proved of no avail and Nock-e-da-klenny returned to his camp "*where he spurned the orders of the agent to report himself at San Carlos.*"

And then on August 30th, after the fight and while the medicine-man lay mortally wounded, General Carter took from his body "*the pass by authority of which Nock-e-da-klenny left the agency. The pass had expired, and the deluded messiah had repeatedly refused to report himself, as was required of all reservation Indians.*"

General Carter's account of the "short, sharp campaign" which followed the fight in the Cibicu country clearly indicates that there was *no actual uprising among the White Mountain Indians*, and that when the medicine-man was killed *the disturbance died with him*, for, as the general says, "the failure of the messiah to come back to life, as he had promised to do if killed, cooled the ardor of the White Mountain Apaches and they rapidly drifted back to their reservation camps."

The annual report of Major General Irvin McDowell dated at the Presidio, San Francisco, Cal., October 14, 1881, contains the following interesting comments:

The fact of the troops finding the medicine-man with his people *in their homes, where they had been planting corn, shows they were not then for war. I cannot concur, therefore, in denouncing their conduct as treacherous* (excepting the military scouts).

On August 17th Colonel Carr sent the following telegram to General McDowell:

I had directed Lieutenant Cruse to take the guns of his scouts after inspection on the 14th instant, and to say that he would keep them in his office out of the wet. They have been kept there much of the time heretofore. The scouts did not like it, and this time considered it a sign of distrust, *but I could not reconcile it to my duty to have them keep their arms when there was so much and so general belief in their disposition to treachery.*

General McDowell quotes this telegram in his report and then makes the following caustic comment:

*The temper of his Indian scouts being such as to make it his duty to disarm them, thus causing them to feel they were distrusted; the belief in their disposition to treachery being general, and that they could only be relied on till the next pay-day; it was injudicious, as events have shown, in Colonel Carr to take them, with arms in their hands, to aid him in the arrest of one of their leaders.*

Thus it is made plain that if Agent Tiffany had sent the dependable Agency police to arrest Nock-e-da-kinny, *the opportunity would not have been created for Colonel Carr to make his very grievous blunder of taking, as a part of his force, the armed scouts whom he felt were in sympathy with and under the spell of the defiant medicine-man. It is not remarkable that the combined blunders of the agent and the commanding officer should have precipitated actual trouble.*

Brig. Gen. John Pope, in his annual report dated September 22, 1881, comments on the Cibicu episode thus:

*I was at the time in Santa Fe, N. M., where I had reasonably good opportunity to know quite fully the facts. Colonel Carr marched to the Indian village and arrested the medicine-man without resistance. He then marched back five or six miles in the direction of the post (Fort Apache) and encamped for the night, intending to return to the post the next day.*

Shortly after he reached his camp some of the Indian scouts belonging to his command came into the camp where the medicine-man was a prisoner. Captain Hentig ordered them to leave camp, and as he did so he turned to pick up his rifle, upon which the scouts, or some of them, fired a volley upon him, killing him and four enlisted men and wounding several others.

The day after his return to the post (September 1st), Carr sent out a party to bury the men wounded the day before and who had since died, and while engaged in this service the party was fired on by Indians. Lieut. Gordon was wounded. The fire was returned by the party and the Indians driven off.

Since that time no Indians have been seen, *nor have they, so far as I can learn, committed any depredations or other acts of hostility.* The whole affair had much the appearance of a sudden and altogether unpremeditated flurry, and would probably never have occurred but for the firing of the Indian scouts on Hentig. *There was certainly no concerted action or prearranged attack.*

*It became known that the whole affair had been grossly exaggerated.* The Navajoes showed no sort of purpose to be troublesome, nor to join the White Mountain Apaches, *nor, indeed, did any other Indians in Arizona or New Mexico.* The last telegrams from General Willcox are to the effect that *all the supposed hostiles are surrendering without firing a shot or offering any resistance, a fact indicating very clearly that the so-called attack on Carr was the result of temporary excitement, and bore no marks whatever of premeditation or intention to begin general hostilities.*

General O. B. Willcox, commanding the Department of Arizona, dated his annual report from Tucson, Arizona, October 12, 1881, in which he said:

The immediate cause of the attack on Colonel Carr was the arrest of the medicine-man. The remote causes are unknown, *as no grievances had ever been complained of by the White Mountain Apaches.*

And yet, in the face of these facts, General Willcox tells us that *additional troops were ordered to re-inforce Fort Apache as early as August 13th*; that these "troops were ordered forward from points below and west of Camp Thomas," and that "on August 17th Colonel Carr reported that Pedro, Santo and other Indians *were alarmed about a report that a BIG GUN and more troops were coming to Fort Apache.*"

And more troops did come to Fort Apache — ELEVEN COMPANIES from New Mexico: "Three companies of infantry and two troops of cavalry from Fort Wingate, with surplus ammunition," and these were followed by Colonel MacKenzie with six companies of the 4th Cavalry. The troops from Fort Wingate arrived at Fort Apache on September 24th, and Colonel MacKenzie and his troopers reached that post one day later — Sept. 25th. In addition to the troops from New Mexico ELEVEN COMPANIES were sent in from California.

The "military arm" had been "set in motion" and it was necessary for the Commander of the Department of Arizona *to make an official showing (at least on paper) of the necessity for and the use made of the reinforcements* which had been sent in response to his telegraphic appeal for help. This emergency was courageously met by General Willcox in his annual report above referred to from which we quote the following paragraph:

The troops were moved to the Cibicu country in such manner and time *as to drive the hostiles from their strongholds into the folds of the reservation without a fight, and the White Mountain Indians have not struck another blow.*

That reads like one of the stories in the back part of an old "Webster's Spelling Book" and is reasonably fair *press agent material* for consumption abroad, *but as military history it is (if we say it softly) at least misleading.*

The honest-to-goodness facts are that the "strongholds" of these Indians *were their corn fields*, and these were in the "Cibicu country" — *all of which is entirely and completely and almost centrally within "the folds of the reservation."* General McDowell has pointed out that the troops under Colonel Carr found "the medicine-man with his people *in their homes, where they had been planting corn* — and Colonel Carr's command represented the only troops "moved to the Cibicu country." Furthermore, in the same report General Willcox tells us that *these Indians never had complained of any grievances*, and then, unceremoniously, he designates them as "hostiles" whom he *drove* "from their strongholds." Also, we have just above quoted a telegram from General Willcox to General Pope stating that all of the "*supposed hostiles surrendered without firing a shot or offering any resistance.*" Even the statement that "the White Mountain Indians have not struck another blow" is misleading for the reason that the only "blow" struck *did not come from the mass of these Indians*, but from the *suspected scouts*—and that blow with its disastrous results would have been avoided if Colonel Carr had disarmed his distrusted scouts and forbidden them to accompany him into the Cibicu country.

But "the military arm" had been "set in motion" and some dramatic and spectacular results must be reported, even though, later, it should become known "that the whole affair had been grossly exaggerated," as General Pope has observed.

And these exaggerated spectacular reports apparently excited General Sherman, then Commander-in-chief of the Army — so much so that *he became quite savage himself*, and under date of Washington, D. C., September 29, 1881, he sent the following telegram :



It would be well for the Apaches at the San Carlos agency to realize that at any time the troops in Arizona can promptly be reinforced from the north and east. *Sooner or later some considerable number of these Apaches will have to be killed by bullets rather than by rope.*

It appears that General Willcox *brooded a whole year* over this telegram from his Commander-in-chief, with the result that in his annual report dated August 31, 1882, he enlarges upon the difficulties attending the alleged situation in and around the Cibicu country during September, 1881, — *on account of which* he says:

We were unable to strike the savages such a blow in actual battle as *the General of the Army demanded*, and as the country ardently looked for — *no more than I did myself.*

*With the vicious mental attitude toward the Apaches as above officially expressed by the Commander-in-chief of the Army, and the Commander of the Department of Arizona, we may ask, in all seriousness, what chance had these Indians for fair play, or any progress in their general welfare, when "the military arm" had once been "set in motion" against them?* However, it should be remembered that General Sherman was not fully advised as to the actual facts when he sent his savage telegram to General McDowell, while General Willcox was in command in the field of "operations" *and had a whole year in which to evolve his report.*

(To be concluded)

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RIO GRANDE  
PUEBLOS, NEW MEXICO

BY ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

## Part I — 1536 to 1542 (concluded)

The narrative of events, interrupted for the sake of describing Pueblo customs according to documentary sources, must now be taken up again. At the close of the month of April, 1541, hostilities with the Tiguas had been brought to an end, the tribe having withdrawn from its settlements and refusing to entertain any peace proposals or reconciliation with the whites.<sup>140</sup> The other Pueblo groups kept quiet, and apparently indifferent to the fate of the Tiguas. Coronado and his men, infatuated with the descriptions of the "Turk" of more easterly regions, were impatient to go in search of them and to leave the Pueblo country which held out little inducement.<sup>141</sup> The Pueblos saw before them the prospect of becoming relieved of the presence of the strangers who, even when friendly, were still a heavy burden. To harbor and feed several hundred men and a number of horses and mules was a heavy task upon the limited resources of the Pueblo region, and the Indians could not obtain compensation of any kind.

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140. *Cíbola*, pp. 435, 437, 439, etc.

141. The documents clearly state that the Pueblo country created a most unfavorable impression upon the Spaniards, whereas Quivira pleased them on account of its fertility and warmer climate. Coronado, *Carta al Emperador*, October 20th, 1541, p. 368, "la tierra es tan fria, como a V. M. tengo escrito, que parece imposible poderse pasar el invierno en ella, porque no hay leña ni ropa con que se puedan abrigar los hombres, sino cueros de que se visten los naturales, y algunas mantas de algodón, poca cantidad." Of Quivira however he says (p. 307), "La tierra en si es la mas aparejada que se ha vista para darse en ella todas las cosas de España." And Jaramillo terminates his report as follows, *Relación Hecha*, p. 317: "Ansí que ciertamente si Vuestra Señoría alcanza desde ese puesto lo de Quibira, tengo entendido que puede traer mucha gente de España a poblarla, sin rescelo, segun la apariencia y muestras que la tierra tiene." Compare also, Castañeda, *Cíbola*, pp. 457, etc.

Money (supposing the Spaniards were amply provided, which very likely was not the case) was useless to them. *Their* means for purchase and barter were entirely distinct, and the Spaniards had no shell beads and the like. Whatever trinkets for exchange Coronado took along were of little avail to the natives, and the stock of these objects had, besides, to be carefully husbanded for the prospective Quivira expedition. It would not, therefore, be at all surprising if, as hinted at in the foregoing, the "Turk" in despair finally told the truth when he accused the Pueblo of Pecos (and perhaps the Pueblos in general) of the plot to send the vexatious strangers off to such a distance and into regions whence they would either never return or come back to New Mexico in a state of utter helplessness and attenuation, so that it might be easy to overcome and annihilate them. The Pueblos probably relied, as the main element of success, upon the effect of life on the plains upon the horses, which they expected to die from lack of food and especially of water. These calculations (of which of course there is no absolute proof) were, as will be seen, brought to naught by circumstances that nobody could foresee. If there was really a plot on the part of the Indians of Pecos to get rid of the whites by inducing them to leave the country in a vain search of richer fields, that plot may have been framed already in 1540 when Alvarado visited Cicuyé for the first time. It may have been, unbeknown to the Spaniards, communicated to other Pueblo tribes and may, possibly, have induced these not to interfere in favor of the Tiguas, relying upon the success of a plan for liberation without the experiment of war, which the fate of the Tiguas, and previously, events at Zuñi, had shown to be precarious. At all events, while Coronado made his preparations for departure, the Pueblos, (Tiguas excepted) kept neutral. Finally, I give the words of Coronado himself. He confesses that the Indians who afterwards guided him, mostly communicated with him by signs, and states at the

end of his letter to the Emperor (dated October 20th, 1541) : "So that the relation they (the guides) gave me was false, in order that I should move thither with all my men, believing that, as there were so many deserts and wastes to traverse on the way and such lack of water, they would lead us to places where our horses and ourselves would die from hunger. So the guides confessed, and that they had done it by the advice and command of the natives."<sup>142</sup> Coronado evacuated the Pueblo country with his whole force, leaving Tiguex on April 23rd, 1541, for "Quivira."<sup>143</sup>

Occurrences on that eventful trip can be touched upon here only in as far as they are connected with the Pueblos. Coronado went directly to Pecos, which he reached after a march of "twenty-five leagues."<sup>144</sup> He had taken with him the captive Pecos chief called "Bigotes," having retained him for nearly four months, and it is possible that the fear for his safety induced the Pecos to remain inactive during hostilities at Tiguex. At all events, his return to the tribe was ostensibly viewed with favor by the Pecos who furnished provisions to the Spaniards, and also gave them an Indian from Quivira, the one named "Xabe" already mentioned. That Indian had evidently been taught how to speak in the interest of the Pueblo, for he acknowledged that there was gold and silver at Quivira, whereas he knew very well the contrary. Well might the Pecos display satisfaction and friendship for everything had been arranged by them for the obnoxious strangers to leave New Mexico, as they thought, forever.<sup>145</sup>

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142. *Carta al Emperador* (p. 368)

143. *Ibidem*, p. 363, "y parti de esta provincia, a 23 de Abril pasado, por donde los indios me quisieron guiar." Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 440, says "salió el campo de tiguex a cinco de mayo." It might be that Castañeda wrote after the calendar had been corrected, or that the *copy* of his report (dated 1596) already was made with the Gregorian correction of ten days. This is, of course, a mere surmise of mine and does not appear very likely.

144. *Cibola*, p. 440.

145. Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 440.

After leaving Cicuyé-Pecos, Coronado headed for the great plains. The "Relación postrera" states: "At four days' journey from this village they met a country as level as the sea, on which plains there are such a multitude of cows that they are numberless."<sup>146</sup> The "Relación del Suceso" does not mention, nor does Jaramillo specify, the number of days spent in reaching the plains from Pecos. Still, he may lead to the inference that it took four or five days to get among the buffaloes.<sup>147</sup> Coronado himself asserts that the plains were reached on the ninth day after leaving Tiguex, hence on the first or second of May (old style.)<sup>148</sup> Castañeda claims they left Tiguex on the fifth of May and that from Cicuyé it took them four days to reach the plains.<sup>149</sup> Mota Padilla admits six days for the time after which the first buffaloes were seen.<sup>150</sup> On the plains suspicion against the "Turk" grew. The other Indians accused him of leading the whites astray. They manifestly desired to be led back to their own country, which lay more to the northeast.<sup>151</sup>

It is foreign to the subject to attempt any discussion of the wanderings of the Spaniards on the plains. Suffice it to state that, more and more convinced of the Turk's unreliability, Coronado halted when he reached a deep cleft at the bottom of which was water, while all around buffaloes, roaming in great numbers, afforded abundant subsistence. Thence he sent out scouting parties and finally determined upon sending back the main body of his men to

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146. (id., p. 567) "A cuatro jornadas de este pueblo toparon una tierra llana como la mar, en los cuales llanos hay tanta multitud de vacas, que no tienen número."

147. *Relación del Suceso*, p. 324. "e a cuatro jornadas hallo las vacas." But it is not clear whether these four days are counted from the village, or from the Pecos stream. Furthermore it concerns the excursion made by Alvarado, not the journey of Coronado and the whole army. Jaramillo, *Relación hecha*, p. 310, "a mas de cuatro o cinco jornadas."

148. *Carta al Emperador* (p. 363).

149. *Cibola* (p. 440).

150. *Historia*, Cap. XXXIII, p. 164.

151. Jaramillo, *Relación hecha*, p. 312.

the Rio Grande, under Tristán de Arellano, while he, with thirty horsemen and the guides, proceeded in search of Quivira.<sup>152</sup> This bold resolution proved very wise. It thwarted the plans laid by the Pueblos for the destruction of the whites.

Up to that time the Spaniards had met on the plains only two kinds of nomadic Indians, which the chroniclers name respectively *Querechos* and *Teyas*. Of the latter mention has already been made. The former may have been *Apaches*.<sup>153</sup> While at Cochití, I obtained a piece of Indian folk-lore in which a tribe from the plains is mentioned, called by the Queres *Kirauash* and who are said, at one time, to have made a dangerous irruption into the Rio Grande valley, threatening even the Pueblo of Santo Domingo. A resemblance between the names "Querechos" and "Kirauash" seems apparent and the raid attributed to the latter is indicated as having occurred in pre-Spanish times. As I have treated of this tale at length elsewhere, I merely allude to it here. According to the folk-lore, after the "Kirauash" had failed in their attempt to surprise the Queres, the Tanos Pueblos were their next prey. It recalls the statement made by chroniclers of Coronado about the three villages then recently destroyed by the so-called Teyas.<sup>154</sup>

Great vagueness prevails about the dates of events during this first part of the Quivira expedition. The only indication approaching precision is found in Mota Padilla: he states that the resolution of sending back the main force to Tiguex was taken on Ascension day (1541).<sup>155</sup> On the

152. *Idem*, p. 311, *Relación del Suceso*, p. 311, *Cíbola*, p. 433, Coronado, *Carta*, p. 365.

153. This has been accepted, after some doubts which were very natural in presence of the scarcity of data. F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, part II, p. 339.

154. *Final Report*, vol. II, p. 116.

155. *Historia*, p. 165, "determinaron en aquel dia, que fué el de la Ascension del Señor de 541, que el ejército se volviese á Tiguex á reparar. . ."

date of the return of Arellano to Tiguex we have the approximation by Castañeda: "middle of July (1541, not 1542, as his narrative claims)."<sup>156</sup>

The return march of Arellano to the Rio Grande with the main body of the Spaniards was not, it seems, by the route Coronado had taken in going. The *Relación del Suceso* merely states they suffered much on the journey chiefly because they had no other food than buffalo meat.<sup>157</sup> Coronado limits himself to saying that he sent back the main force under Arellano.<sup>158</sup> Castañeda (who manifestly made the whole journey with Arellano) gives the most detailed information. He says that, while it had taken thirty-seven days to reach the point where Coronado separated himself from his main body, that force returned in twenty-five.<sup>159</sup> On the way they saw many so-called "prairie dogs" which, as well as their subterraneous habitations, are well described, for the time. It is well to note the following in the text of Castañeda: "on the way (to water, that is, to the Pecos stream) many salt lagunes were found. There was salt in great quantities, large pieces of it floating on the water, pieces larger than tables, as thick as four and five fingers, and, below the surface of the water, at a depth of two and three spans, salt in grains of a better quality than that of the chunks, since the latter was slightly bitter; (the salt) was crystalline . . . ." The guides said that this river<sup>160</sup> united with that of Tiguex, more than

156. *Cibola*, p. 445.

157. P. 326: "en el cual camino pasaron arto trabajo a Causa de no comer mas de carne casi todos, e a muchos hacia daño. . ."

158. See note 152.

159. *Cibola*, p. 444, "lo que se auia andado a la yda en treinta y siete jornadas se bolbio en ueinte y cinco . . ." The guides were Teyas Indians.

160. Castañeda, *Cibola*, 444: "hallamos en este camino muchas lagunas de sal que la auia en gran cantidad auia sobre el agua tablones della mayores que mesas. . ." It seems therefore that Arellano passed quite near to the salines near the Manzano, and north of them. The whites did not, apparently, either see or hear of the Tigua and Piro pueblos that then existed west, south and southeast of these salt-lakes, else Castañeda would not have failed to mention them. Nor could they see any of them from the distance.

twenty journeys from there, and that it turned to the east. (Castañeda conjectures that the Rio Grande empties into the Mississippi).<sup>161</sup> On this journey, on going, a tattooed Indian woman of Captain Juan de Zaldivar fled down the barrancas (clefths or gorges), because she recognized the country.<sup>162</sup> "At Tiguex, where we obtained her, she had been a slave. That woman came into the hands of certain Spaniards of those who were in Florida, having gone there to discover. I heard them say, when they returned to New Spain, that the (Indian) woman told them that, nine days before she met (the Spaniards) she had fled from others naming some of the captains, from which it is thought that we came not far from where they discovered, although they say that, then, they were more than two hundred leagues inland. It is believed that the country there has more than six hundred maritime leagues across."<sup>163</sup>

The salt marshes were probably those near the Manzano, but the Spaniards do not seem to have known anything of the Tigua and Piro villages then extant on the southern rim of the salinas and on the so-called "Medano." The Indian woman must have been a *Jumano*, from the marks of tattooing mentioned, which appears to have been

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161. *Ibidem*. That stream was, therefore, the Pecos.

162. "a la yda hundio (should be *huyó*) una india labrada á el capitán Juan de salibdar y fue las barrancas abajo huyendo que reconoció la tierra." If it is true that the Jumano Indians were the only ones in these regions who used tattooing, then the woman was a Jumano! After New Mexico became a Spanish colony, Jumanos not infrequently came to the pueblos and even married Pueblo women, and vice versa. See *Auto de Fundación de la Misión de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Paso del Rio del Norte* (ms. of 1659) and various other documents to which I shall refer in other parts of this work. The term "rayados" used to designate the Jumanos is not sufficient to prove that these Indians tattooed, but "labrado", as found in the above, is conclusive. It can only mean tattooing. It is not the only time Castañeda uses it. At the gorge or "barranca" in which the Spanish force rested until Coronado's dash for Quivira, an Indian woman was met who "tenia la barua labrada." That the Jumano woman who was with Arellano recognized the country about the salines is somewhat significant.

163. The above quotation as well as this is from *Cibola*, p. 444. The nine days mentioned by the Indian fugitive are perhaps too short a lapse of time for meeting Spanish scouts from the force under Moscoso.



a characteristic of that tribe.<sup>161</sup> She "recognized" the country. A branch of the Jumanos are known to have lived southeast of the Salinas in the sixteenth century,<sup>165</sup> and the name, "Mesa de los Jumanos," still clings to the extensive plateau south of the salt-marshes (or rather southeast of them). In the seventeenth century, it was not very uncommon to meet Jumanos dwelling among the Pueblos. The woman of whom Castañeda treats may well have been captive of some wandering tribes, and have either been bartered for, or escaped to the Tiguas; possibly of the village of Cuaráy, whence she drifted to the Rio Grande.<sup>166</sup> The close approximation to people of de Soto's (or rather Moscoso's) party appears as the result of a misunderstanding, although it seems that the plains Indians had some knowledge of Spaniards that came from the lower Mississippi valley.<sup>167</sup> Lastly I call attention to the mention of "maritime leagues." It would appear as if the use of them had been an exception, on the part of the chroniclers of Coronado, as they are nowhere else mentioned; still, this is as yet a mere surmise. From the saltmarshes Arellano marched up along the Pecos, crossing over to the village of Cicuyé, "which was found to be hostile, refusing (to give) any supplies."<sup>168</sup> Their conduct, compared with the friendly manner in which they had sped off Coronado, is quite suspicious. From Cicuyé the Spaniards went back to Tiguex

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164. I again call attention to the term "labrado" which clearly refers to tattooing.

165. The Mesa Jumana or "Mesa de los Jumanos" lies south and southeast of the Salinas and can be seen from quite a distance, from the north.

166. Cuaráy lies quite near the Mesa Jumana.

167. At least so the Spaniards construed some hints which they thought to understand. It is not stated they had interpreters while on the plains.

168. The Spanish nautical "milla" had one-thousand Spanish paces or three-thousand feet and the nautical "legua" consisted of four miles, the "legua terrestre" of three. — The conduct of the Pecos is thus described by Castañeda, *Cibola*, 145, "pues como digo el rio arriba fue el campo hasta llegar a el pueblo de cicuye el qual se hallo de guerra que no quisieron mostrarse de paz ni dar ningun socorro de bastimento."

and into their old quarters. Some of the Tigua Pueblos had been reoccupied "but they were at once abandoned again, in dread."<sup>169</sup>

Beyond the indication just mentioned, that the Tiguas returned to their villages after the departure of Coronado, we have no means of determining what happened to the Pueblos after the Spaniards had left. The return of the Tiguas to their homes is, however, not devoid of significance; it shows that, indeed, they did not expect to see the whites any more or that, in case they came back, the Pecos were expected to be able to exterminate them. As soon as Arellano reached Tiguex, however, the Tiguas fled. Not only did other Pueblo stocks remain inactive; they permitted intercourse with the foreigners to a certain extent. Castañeda (who seems to be the only eye-witness that has written of this phase of Coronado's march) states: "As soon as Don Tristán de Arellano arrived at Tiguex in the middle of July of the year forty-two (forty-one!) he began to gather supplies for the coming winter. He sent Captain Francisco de Barrionuevo with some men up the river to the north, where he saw two provinces, one of which was called *Hemes* and the other *Yuqueyunque*. The *Hemes* Pueblos came out peacefully and gave provisions; those of *Yuqueyunque*, while the camp was being established, abandoned two handsome pueblos which they had, the river between them, and removed to the mountains where they had four very strong villages in a very rugged country and inaccessible on horseback. In these two pueblos many supplies were had and very handsome pottery, glazed and of singular shapes and ornamentation. There were also many pots filled with shining metal, selected, with which they glazed. This pottery was a sign that in that country were mines of silver if they would be sought after."<sup>170</sup>

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169. *Ibidem*: "de allí fueron a tiguex que ya algunos pueblos se auian tornado a poblar que luego se tornaban a despoblar de temor."

170. *Cíbola*, p. 445.

The Pueblo stocks mentioned as having been visited by Francisco de Barrionuevo are easily recognized. "Hemes" is *Jemez*; Yuqueyunque, the former *Yuge Uinge* (also called "Yunque") on which site the present hamlet of Chamita has been built.<sup>171</sup> Hence the people whom the Spaniards met there were the *Tehuas*. The stream which the explorers followed cannot, however, have been the Rio Grande but the Jemez river, which joins the Grande near Bernalillo. Once at Jemez, they naturally followed the stream into the gorge where the remarkable thermal springs are situated and thence it was comparatively easy (even on horseback) to cross the pass into the Santa Clara Cañon, and, descending, reach the Rio Grande again.<sup>171a</sup> Had they attempted to follow the big river they would, in the first instances, have noticed the Queres villages, and, above Cochití, have encountered insurmountable obstacles in the so-called "cañon blanco," which is intransitable on horse-

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171. That settlement, as we shall find later, was the first founded by whites on New Mexican soil.

171a. Bandelier is believed to be correct as to the site of this pueblo, later identified with "San Gabriel," though some students rely on the Martinez map (1602) which shows it as *south* of the confluence. (see Hammond, "Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico," in *N. M. H. Rev.*, I, 318) That it was actually north of the Chama river is shown by certain of the archives at Santa Fe. One of them identifies San Gabriel with the pueblo of Yunque; another, reciting the bounds of a tract asked for, says "on the south the Chama river." (see Twitchell, *Span. Archives*, I, titles 1020, 437).

Bandelier is believed to be wrong, however, as to the route of Barrionuevo. His reference to "Jemez" is an anachronism, for the present pueblo of that name dates only since the Reconquest of 1693. In his list of pueblo groups (Winship, "Coronado's Expedition", p. 454) Castañeda includes one group of "seven pueblos of the Jemez" and another of "three pueblos of the Aguas Calientes"—based doubtless on information from Barrionuevo and his companions who were the first Europeans to visit the Jemez people. The latter group without question were Giu-se-wa and two others at and near the present Jemez Springs. There is little doubt that the former group is to be identified with some of the major ruins now found in the region of the "Valles." Instead, therefore, of following up the branches forming the Jemez river through either San Diego cañon or Guadalupe cañon (both farther west) it is more probable that these first Spaniards bore to the right just after passing the present "Jemez" and followed north through the "Valles" along the Vallecito branch of the river. After getting well up in the pine forest on the high potrereros, they may have turned west by the old trail leading down through "Church cañon" to Giu-se-wa, and so have visited that and other pueblos near the thermal springs; then re-climbed the high mesa and gone north through the "Valle Grande" to Santa Clara cañon, thence descending eastwards and out to the Rio Grande valley again.—L. B. B.

back and, sometimes, even on foot, — as I found out by my own experience although, with much difficulty and danger, I succeeded in ascending its whole length at a time when the river was somewhat high. As far as the two Tehua villages, situated on the banks of the Rio Grande with that river between them, are concerned, since one is clearly “Yunque” (now Chamita and no longer an Indian village) the other must be *Jiutyote oj-ke*, called since 1598, “San Juan de los Caballeros.”<sup>172</sup> There are so many ruins of Tehua pueblos in that region (and four inhabited ones)<sup>173</sup> that I do not venture to suggest any identification of the four villages mentioned as situated in inaccessible parts of the mountains. I permit myself to suggest that, since Castañeda himself emphatically declares that the Pueblos had no metal or ore and did not use any, the shining material kept for use in pottery-making was *mica*. The potters of the Tehua village of *Nambé*, some distance east of the Rio Grande, make a special pottery of a micaceous clay, and the particles of mica give it an appearance as if thickly studded with metallic dots and flakes.

Meeting with no impediments from the natives, Barriounuevo pushed ahead in the direction of the north. Twenty leagues above Yunque he met a “large and powerful village called *Braba* and which our people named ‘Valladolid.’” Castañeda states that it was “up the river,” but this is not possible as there are not even ruins along the Rio Grande on that route.<sup>174</sup> That village appears to be the same as the “Uraba” and “Yuraba” already referred to and, very likely, the home of the tribe of *Taos*. Castañeda mentions it later on as the most northerly of all the pueblos (as Taos

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172. The name was given in 1598, by Oñate or by his men.

173. See *Final Report*, II, p. 1.

174. At least, I have not been able to find any, except those of the pueblo called “Pio-ge” by the Tehuas. It lies a few miles north of San Juan. Yet this does not prove absolutely that there are none. My statement is therefore made with proper reserve.

indeed was and is today). He gives the following description: "The river flowed through it and it was crossed on bridges made of large and squared timbers of pines." (It must be noted that Castañeda writes from oral reports, not *de visu*) — "and in this village were seen the largest and most remarkable estufas of the whole country, because they were of twelve pillars, each one of which measured two outstretched arms around and the height was two fathoms. This pueblo had been visited before by Hernando de Alvarado when he discovered Cicuyé. The country is high and very cold, the river deep with a strong current and no ford. The captain Barrionuevo turned back, leaving these provinces in peace."<sup>175</sup> The description of the unusually large estufas is manifestly the same which he gives previously when treating of the customs of the Tiguas. What he asserts about a visit of Alvarado to Taos, on the latter's first trip to Pecos is clearly an error, such as he has not infrequently made in regard to individuals. It was not possible for Alvarado to go from Pecos to Taos in the short time allotted to him, and to return.<sup>176</sup> We cannot blame Castañeda much for this and similar mistakes. He wrote a long time after the events, and from memory only.<sup>177</sup>

After this already quite extensive reconnoissance, another one was effected in the opposite direction; "Another captain went down the river in search of the settlements which these of Tutahaco said were some days' journey from there. This captain descended eighty leagues, and found four large villages which he left in a state of peace and went as far as the point where he found that the river disap-

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175. *Cíbola*, p. 445.

176. The sobriety which Castañeda displays in descriptions is much to his credit. It is strange, however, that most of his errors are found in allusions to persons and dates.

177. Castañeda wrote after the death of the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza in 1552. He says: "el aber como a ueinte años y mas que aquella jornada se hizo." He therefore wrote probably about twenty-five years after. *Cíbola*, p. 415, Proemio.

peared underground like the Guadiana in Extremadura. He did not go further to where the Indians said the river came forth again with great power."<sup>178</sup> This again shows that, according to Castañeda, by Tutahaco the Piro pueblos of the Rio Grande were meant. Not too much stress should be placed on the "eighty leagues" given as the length of the journey. In the first place, even if, after the method adopted by Coronado on his marches, somebody among the troop had counted the steps in order to compute the distance travelled, that computation resulted necessarily defective.<sup>179</sup> Even admitting the eighty leagues, we do not know whether they were *maritime* or *terrestrial*! In the first instance they would have corresponded to about 190 English miles, in the second, to about 140 only. In 1598, the first regular pueblos were met near San Marcial, a distance of 119 miles south of Bernalillo, from the vicinity of which (modern) town the Spaniards started. South of San Marcial the banks of the Rio Grande were deserted and there are, to my knowledge at least, no ruins of typical "pueblos" found as far as El Paso which lies 150 miles beyond, or 269 south of Bernalillo.<sup>180</sup> The route which the Spaniards followed was probably longer than the line of the actual railroad. It is therefore not impossible that the four villages mentioned were situated near San Marcial. Oñate mentions at least two in that vicinity, the most southerly of which was *Trenaquel*, the vestiges of which I found at San Marcial in

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178. *Cibola*, p. 445: "otro capitán fue el rio abajo en busca de los poblados que decian los de tutahaco auia algunas jornadas de alli este capitan bajo ochenta leguas y hallo quatro pueblos grandes que dexo de paz y andubo hasta que hallo quel rio se sumia dezaxo de tierra como guardiana en extremadura no paso adelante donde los indios decian que salia muy poderoso."

179. While the Spanish force was on the march, there was one of their number appointed to count the steps so as to keep an approximate record of distances. Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 442. "porque se daba cargo a quien fuese tasando y un contando por pasos." The computation was easy, since the nautical or maritime league had four-thousand, the terrestrial or Italian league three-thousand steps.

180. There are ruins (called by the people "Montezumas") not far from El Paso del Norte, but their character is different from that of Pueblo architecture.

the year 1882.<sup>181</sup> The text of Castañeda states, not that the farthest pueblos were "eighty leagues" from Tiguex, but that from those four villages the explorers went as far as that distance from Tiguex, and then returned, "not having orders to go further."<sup>182</sup> It is therefore at least likely that the Spaniards explored as far as the black (volcanic) Mesa at the foot of which San Marcial is built and reached therefore, in 1541, the southern limit of the "Pueblos" where it existed yet in 1598. The two reconnoissances ordered to be made by Arellano in the summer of 1541 therefore revealed the fact that, in that year (and probably for some time previous), the most northerly landmark of the Rio Grande settlements was Taos, and the most southerly the ancient and now ruined Piro settlement on the site of San Marcial.

After the return of this second detachment of explorers Arellano, not receiving any tidings of Coronado whose return from Quivira was now looked for, set out with forty men to meet his commander-in-chief. He came as far as Pecos, where the inhabitants attacked him. He remained before that village four days and had it fired upon, by which several Indians were killed. After the first day's engagement (in which two leading men of the Pecos were killed) the Indians did not venture to be hostile any more. In the meantime Coronado arrived from Quivira and the combined troops returned to Tiguex unmolested.<sup>183</sup>

This is exclusively the version of Castañeda which is the only one until now available. It appears at least worthy

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181. Juan de Oñate, *Discurso de las Jornadas que hizo el Campo de su Magestad desde la Nueva España a la provincia de la Nueva Mexico* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 19, p. 250) mentions "Qualacú" as the second village met coming up the river from where is now El Paso. — *Obediencia y vasallaje a Su Magestad por los indios del Pueblo de San Juan Baptista*. (*Doc. de Indias*, v. 19, p. 115): "y ultimamente Trenaquel de la mesilla, que es le primera población de este Reyno, hacia la parte del Sur y Nueva España." This was confirmed to me by an aged Piro Indian, who knew the location of the former Piro Pueblos.

182. *Cíbola*, p. 445.

183. *Cíbola*, p. 446: "llegado el general con su gente a cicuye luego se partio para tiguex dexando mas asentado el pueblo por que a el luego salieron de paz y le hablaron."

of credit in the main, as geographic and ethnographic details are substantiated by information subsequently obtained and also by actual conditions in part.

Coronado's return to Tiguex took place before the 20th of October, 1541.<sup>184</sup> This is as near as it can be fixed with the sources at hand. When he reached Cicuyé the Pecos Indians came out to meet him peaceably. Whether this change in their attitude was due to a certain predilection of him, to greater confidence in him than in his lieutenants, or to a conviction that since the Spanish force had come back intact further resistance was useless, is impossible to decide.

The end of Coronado's stay in New Mexico was approaching, but not as he and his men had projected. It was their intention to return to Quivira in the following spring. Coronado therefore took steps to reconcile the Tiguas and in general to pacify the country absolutely. He required material to clothe his soldiers anew, for they were poorly provided, their clothing was worn out, and their bodies filled and covered with vermin (*pediculus vestimenti*, which are still common among Indians, Pueblos as well as nomads).<sup>185</sup> To what extent the efforts to conciliate the Tiguas were successful can only be surmised. All that can be fathomed is, that no further collisions took place. The winter of 1541-1542 passed quietly at Tiguex as far as the aborigines were concerned. What happened among the Spaniards, although it was, ultimately, of great importance to the Pueblos, need be but briefly stated.

During the journey to the plains, García López de Cárdenas broke his arm. This was the first mishap to a Spanish officer of higher rank since Coronado had been

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184. This is established by the date of his letter to the Emperor, dated October 20th, 1541 from "esta provincia de Tiguex."

185. *Cíbola*, p. 458: "procuraba en estos comedios a pasiguar algunos pueblos de la comarca que estaban no bien asentados y llamar a los de tiguex a paz y buscar alguna ropa de la tierra porque andaban ya los soldados desnudos y mal tratados llenos de piojos y no los podían agotar ni deshechar de sí."



wounded in the attack on Hauicu, from which wound he had recovered fully. Soon after Coronado's return to Tiguex, Don Pedro de Tovar, who had been sent back to Sonora for reinforcements, reached Tiguex with more men. These newcomers expected to find their people enjoying wealth and luxury; in place of it they met them in a country of which Coronado wrote the Emperor: "the best I have found is this river of Tiguex where I am, and the settlements on it which cannot be occupied since, in addition to their being more than four hundred leagues from the sea of the North (Atlantic Ocean) and more than two hundred from the sea of the South (Pacific) so that no communication can be established, the country is so cold, as to your Majesty I have written, that it seems impossible to pass the winter here, for there is no firewood nor clothing with which the people can protect themselves, only hides in which the natives go dressed and some cotton mantles in small quantity."<sup>186</sup> Coronado was manifestly discouraged and disgusted of New Mexico, whereas he writes favorably of Quivira. But, at Tiguex, he met with an accident while running at the ring and became bedridden.<sup>187</sup> During his convalescence, (which, it is hinted, he purposely delayed) discussions and finally dissensions arose in the camp, the men grew dissatisfied, almost mutinous, and the outcome of it was that, instead of taking up the march to Quivira in the spring of 1542, the *homeward march*, to Mexico, was decided upon and carried out. The Spaniards definitely evacuated the Rio Grande region in the month of April, 1542. A few of the Mexican Indians remained among the Zuñis<sup>188</sup> and two (perhaps three) of the friars asked permission to stay and sacrifice their lives, as it really happened. Coronado gave them supplies and a few assistants

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186. *Carta al Emperador*, Oct. 20. 1541.

187. This is so well known and so often stated that it requires no quotations to prove it.

188. *Cibola*, p. 461. The Indians from Mexico had remained at Zuñi when Coronado left that range for Tiguex. We shall meet them again hereafter.

and servants<sup>189</sup> as I shall hereafter relate. Such Pueblo Indians as had been attending at the Spanish camp were released and allowed to return to their homes.<sup>190</sup> This time the Rio Grande Pueblos were to be liberated of their embarrassing visitors for quite a while; that is, for a period of nearly fifty years. It seems that no demonstration was made by them on the departure of the strangers, and nothing happened to the retreating party except, between the Rio Grande and Zuñi, the poisoning of many horses from which more than thirty died before reaching Zuñi and more on the further march to Culiacán. No explanation is offered by any of the chroniclers and, if we consider the season when the journey was begun, it may have been accidental poisoning by the so-called "loco weed." At least no accusation is made that Pueblo Indians had been the cause of the mishap.<sup>191</sup>

Before alluding to the fate of the Franciscan missionaries who remained voluntarily in the Southwest, it is not useless to recapitulate the information procured by the chroniclers of "Coronado's march" on the number and population of the Pueblos.

"The "Relación del Suceso" states: "Twenty leagues from this rock (Ácoma) we met a river running north and south, there will be on it seventy villages more or less, large and small . . . this settled country extends from north to south along this river for fifty leagues and fifteen or twenty

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189. *Cibola*, p. 461. See further on.

190. *Idem*, p. 462: "el general despachados los frayles temiendo no le dañase el traer gente de aquella tierra a la nueva españa mando quel seruicio que los soldados tenian de los natrales lo dexasen yr libres a sus pueblos adonde quisiesen que a mi ber no lo a serto que mas ualiera se dotrinaran entre christianos."

191. Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 462: "aconteçio en este camino una cosa no poco de notar y fue que con salir los cauallos exerçitados a el trabajo gordos y hermosos en diez dias que se tardo en llegar a cibola murieron mas de treinta que no ubo die que no muriesen dos y tres y mas despues hasta llegar a culiacan murieron gran numero de ellos cosa no aconteçida en toda la jorrada." Gomara, *Primera y Segunda Parte* (p. 288), evidently confounds the killing of horses at Tiguex with this accident on the homeward march, when he states: "Fuerosse los indios una noche, y amanecieron muertos treinta caballos, que puso temor al exercito."

leagues from it on either side."<sup>192</sup> The "Relación postrera," Jaramillo and Coronado (as far as we have his letters) are silent on the point, but Castañeda is very explicit. He gives a detailed list of the villages as follows:<sup>193</sup>

Cíbola, seven villages.

Tusayan, seven villages.

The Rock of Acuco, one.

Tiguex, twelve villages.

Tutahaco, eight villages. These villages were lower down the river.

Quirix, seven villages.

In the snowy mountains, seven villages.

Ximena, three villages.

Cicuyé, one village.

Hemes (Jemez) seven villages.

Aguas calientes (Jemez hot Springs) three villages.

Yuqueyunque of the mountains, six villages.

Valladolid called Braba, one village.

Chia, (Cia) one village.

"In all, there are sixty-six villages." This is not correct; there are seventy-one. Castañeda further states: "Tiguex appears to be in the center of the villages. Valladolid is the farthest up the river toward the northeast. The four villages down the river are toward the southeast, because the river turns toward the east. It is 130 leagues — 10 more or less — from the farthest point that was seen down the river to the farthest point up the river, and all the settlements are within this region."<sup>194</sup> Taking into consideration the time when this was written, it is remarkably near the truth. He repeats, however, the erroneous mention of sixty-six pueblos adding: "And in all of them there may be some 20,000 men, which may be taken as a fair

192. p. 323.

193. *Cíbola*, p. 454.

194. *Idem*, p. 454. The number of leagues is, of course, an approximation only.

estimate of the population of the villages."<sup>195</sup> Although the Spanish original has the word "hombres" (*men*), it is clear that he means people.<sup>196</sup> This is further established by his subsequent remark that the people "are few",<sup>197</sup> and especially by the following passage; "There is nothing more surprising than the difference there was between the information that had been obtained, and reality. Where we had been promised many riches, not the slightest trace of them was found; in place of inhabited countries wastes; villages of two hundred souls instead of great cities and, in the largest villages, barely eight hundred or a thousand inhabitants."<sup>198</sup> The "Relación postrera" confirms this by saying: "There are seven villages in the province of Cibola 'in a space of five leagues, the largest may be of two hundred houses, there are two more of two hundred, and the others of sixty, and fifty and thirty houses each.'"<sup>199</sup> Treating of the Rio Grande valley he states: "lower down (from Tiguex) all the villages are small except two, which may have two hundred houses."<sup>200</sup> From the nature of Pueblo architecture it is clear that, by "houses," *households* are meant. Mota Padilla, treating of Tiguex, mentions the twelve pueblos "the largest of which contained two hundred Indians."<sup>201</sup> Here the term "Indian" manifestly stands for

195. *Ibidem*: "en todos ellos puede auer como ueinte mil hombres." He uses the same term "hombres" in estimating the joint population of the Zuñi and Moqui clusters (p. 451).

196. It is likely that, had he meant men only, he would have stated "hombres de armas" — men at arms. The word "hombre" is often used for "people" and women are not unfrequently addressed that way.

197. *Op. cit.*, p. 454: "que segun son poca gente."

198. *Idem*, p. 444.

199. *Idem*, p. 566: "son siete pueblos en esta provincia de Sivola en espacio de cinco leguas: el mayor será de ducientas casas, y otros dos, de á ducientas, y los otros á sesenta y á cincuenta y á treinta casas." p. 567, "abajo todos son pueblos pequeños, salvo dos que ternán á ducientas casas." Coronado, *Letters to the Viceroy Mendoza*, August 3d, 1540, (p. 553) "The Seven Cities are seven little villages." — If the term "hombres" were to be interpreted as men, it would give to each village a thousand souls, on an average.

200. *Ibidem*. Also *Relación del Suceso*, p. 319: "los pueblos son de a tres-cientas e doscientas, e de a cien cincuenta casas."

201. *Historia*, p. 159: "hallaron en él doce pueblos que el mayor tendria doscientos indios."

the males only. The exaggerated reports about the population of Yuraba-Taos and of Cicuiq-Pecos have already been disposed of.<sup>202</sup> Castañeda allows to the latter five-hundred warriors.<sup>203</sup> Mota Padilla states that the first of the four pueblos between Tiguex and Pecos had about thirty houses, the second thirty-five "occupied" houses, and "Cicuic" about fifty. It is therefore almost certain that the "men" of Castañeda signify all the people, of every age and sex. The number, or rather estimate, of approximately twenty thousand Pueblo Indians agrees with that given in 1626 by Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmeron, and especially with the censuslike enumeration by Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, at the time of the great uprising in the year of 1680.<sup>204</sup>

Castañeda enumerates seventy-one pueblos. The "Relación del Suceso" mentions seventy, *aside from Zuñi and Moqui*.<sup>205</sup> I prefer the statement of the former since it is detailed and confirmed by his other information. Of these seventy-one villages, fifty-seven belong to what I consider as the Rio Grande group, the other fourteen being the Zuñis and the Moquis. To these two clusters, Castañeda assigns an aggregate population of "three or four thousand" men, that is people.<sup>206</sup> This would leave for the Rio Grande cluster from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand souls.

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202. See notes and text. The estimates are clearly from hearsay.

203. *Cíbola*, p. 453: "Cicuye es un pueblo de hasta quinientos hombres de guerra." — He plainly alludes to men only.

204. Fray Alonzo de Zárate Salmerón, "*Relaciones de todas las Cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y sabido*" (MS. of National Archives of Mexico.) To this important source I shall have to return later. — Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, *Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio de Mexico*, (1598, from reprint of 1871, pp. 306 to 325). In its *Carta al Gobernador Don Antonio de Otrrmin* (MS. 1680) the Cabildo of Santa Fe says: "Y el número de toda el gentio de naturales que hoy se halla en el Nuevo Mexico de los Apostates alzados, no es tan corto que no pase de 16 mil almas." Vetancurt, *Crónica* (p. 214) says that, in 1660, a general census was made, showing the entire population of New Mexico, whites, mestizos and Pueblos, to have been over 24,000 souls. He himself enumerates forty pueblos about, but does not give the population of all of them.

205. *Cíbola*, p. 454: *Relación del Suceso*, p. 323.

206. *Cíbola*, p. 451.

Of the expedition of Coronado, nothing remained in New Mexico but some missionaries, a Portuguese, and a few Indian and mestizo servants. There should yet be found traditions, and I cannot sufficiently repeat that a vigorous search should be made for these. Much of what I have stated here may become modified, refuted or confirmed, by Indian folklore, and it is therefore essential that that vast field be diligently cultivated. Before leaving the subject of the present investigations for another period of Pueblo History, a glance must be cast at the fate of the heroic monks who sacrificed their lives in the Southwest; a tragic sequel to Coronado's adventurous march, and not without connection with the History of the Rio Grande Pueblo Indians.

The fate of the monks who remained in New Mexico after the departure of Coronado is not so well known as would be desirable. Even their number and names are, in a degree, uncertain. Again each source must be considered separately.

The "Relación del Suceso" states: "the Viceroy . . . was pleased that there had remained there Father Juan de Padilla, who went to Quivira and with him a Spaniard and a negro, and Fray Luís, a very pious lay-brother."<sup>207</sup> The "Relación posterera," written before Coronado's return from Quivira, states that Father Padilla accompanied Coronado on his reconnoissance in 1541, but does not, of course, mention the friar's return to Quivira in the following year. Jaramillo is quite explicit. He states: "the return once ordered, the Franciscan friars that were with us, one of them ordained and the other a lay-brother, the priest being called Fray Juan de Padilla and the lay-brother Fray Luís de Escalona, were ready and had permission from their

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207. P. 329: "yo gose de que se hubiesen quedado alla el padre, fray Juan de Padilla, el cual fue a Quivira. y un español y un negro con el, y fray luís, un lego muy santo."

provincial to stay. The friar desired to remain in the houses with flat roofs saying that with a chisel and an adze which he had, (he might or would) put up crosses in those villages, and baptize some infants in *articulo mortis*, in order to send them to heaven, and he asked for no more companionship than that of a little negro slave of mine called Cristoval, for his assistance and consolation. He said he would soon learn the language, to help himself, and insisted so much that his request could not be denied, and so nothing more was heard of him. I understand that his remaining there was the cause that there also remained some Indians, of those from here, and two negroes, one of mine called Sebastian and one of Melchor Perez, son of the Licentiate Latorre. That negro was married and with his wife and children. At Quivira I recollect that some Indians also remained, one of my company, a Tarascan called Andrés. Father Juan de Padilla insisted upon returning to Quivira, obtaining that we gave him the Indians whom I said we had taken as guides. He took them along and also a Portuguese and a negro who had been taught and was marked. He was of the third order and became a Franciscan friar. Also a mestizo and two Indians who, I believe, were from Zapotlan."<sup>208</sup> In the next section of this work I will have to pay some attention to these companions of Father Padilla, since their career is connected, though indirectly, with the Pueblos.

Castañeda writes as follows: "Seeing this (the near departure of Coronado) a certain friar Juan de Padilla, a priest of the order of Minorites, and another friar Luís, a lay brother told the general that they wanted to stay in that country. Fray Juan de Padilla at Quivira . . . and Fray Luís at Cicuyé . . . the general sent with them an escort as far as Cicuyé where Fray Luís remained, whereas Fray

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208. P. 316, *Relación hecha*. — I refrain from copying the Spanish text on account of its length. It may be found in *Doc. de Indias*, vol., 14, also in Winship's "Coronado."

Juan went on returning to Quivira, taking the Portuguese of whom we have spoken, a negro, the mestizo, and Indians from New Spain, as well as the guides which the general had taken along. . . .”

“Fray Luís stayed at Cicuyé and nothing more was heard of him to this day although, before the force left Tiguex, a certain number of sheep were sent to him there, and those who drove the sheep met him, in company with people (Indians) and on the way to visit other villages that were fifteen or twenty leagues from Cicuyé. He expressed some hopes, stating that he was in the good graces of the tribe and that his teachings might prove fruitful, although he complained that the old men held aloof, and I believe that in the end they will have killed him . . .” Castañeda adds “the people there are merciful and in no manner cruel and keep faith and loyalty to their friends.”<sup>209</sup> The three sources above quoted mention *two* friars, one of whom (Padilla) disappeared at Quivira while the other (de Escalona) was last heard of in the vicinity of Pecos, hence among the Rio Grande Indians according to the extension I have thought to give to that term. Mota Padilla however, enumerates *three* missionaries and varies, on the subject of their career after Coronado’s departure, considerably from the versions given. In addition to Father Padilla and Fray Luís de Escalona he mentions a lay brother whom he names *Fray Juan de la Cruz!* — Father Escalona he calls Fray Luís de Ubeda, and asserts that Father Padilla and Fray Luís still remained among the Tiguex for some time after Coronado had gone, and then left together: “and the Indians of Tiguex appointed a squad of their soldiers that they should guide the said Fathers to the Pueblo of Coquite (Pecos) where they were received with demonstra-

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209. *Cíbola*, p. 461 and 462.



tions of joy . . . ."<sup>210</sup> The testimony of Mota Padilla, however valuable on other points, seems to be at fault in this case. Eye-witnesses (Jaramillo and Castañeda) are positive that both monks went away from Tiguex while the Spanish camp was still there, and their testimony weighs more than that of an author who wrote two centuries later. Nevertheless, I am loath to reject all the statements of Mota Padilla.

It may, at first sight and to superficial investigators, seem quite immaterial how many and what monks remained among the Pueblos, after the departure of Coronado's forces. According to all known indications these missionaries did not live long in New Mexico. Yet, from the nature of Indian conceptions, and from the manner in which Indian lore may originate, even a comparatively short existence among the Pueblos, of human beings so strange to them as the missionaries must have been, can have left lasting impressions in folklore, rituals, and even upon some

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210. *Historia*, p. 167 After mentioning the application made, by Father Padilla and Fray Luís of Ubeda, to Coronado, for permission to remain in that country he adds: "A su imitacion tambien el padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz religioso lego (como lo era Fray Luis de Ubeda) pretendió quedarse en aquellas provincias de Tiguex." Further on it is stated: "De esta suerte quedaron estos benditos religiosos como corderos entre lobos; y viéndose solos, trató el padre Fr. Juan de Padilla, con los de Tiguex, el fin que le movia á quedarse entre ellos . . . que ya los soldados se habian ido, que no les serian molestos, que él pasaba á otras poblaciones y les dejaba al padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz para que les fuese instruyendo . . . despídese gran ternura, dejando, como prelado, lleno de bendiciones, á Fr. Juan de la Cruz, y el mestiso y indios de la nueva españa con las guias que auia traydo el genpadres Fr. Juan de Padilla y Fr. Luis de Ubeda hasta el pueblo de Coquite, en donde les recibieron con demonstraciones de alegría, y haciendo la misma recomendacion por el padre Fr. Luis de Ubeda, le dejó, y guiado de otros naturales del mismo pueblo, salió para Quivira . . ." From the above it would seem that Indians from Pecos accompanied Father Padilla to the Northeast. I find no mention of this elsewhere. However plausible the tales of Mota Padilla may appear, I adhere to the statements of the eyewitnesses. Jaramillo, *Relación Hecha*, p. 317, states: "El fray Juan de Padilla porfio de volver a Quivira y procuro que se le diesen aquellos indios que dixen habiamos traído por guias." These guides were not from any of the pueblos, since none of the latter had gone with Coronado on his reconnoissance. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 461, is positive also: "embio el general con ellos una compañía que los sacasen hasta ciucye donde se quedo fray luís y el fray juan paso la buelta de quiuira lleuando el portugues que diximos y el negro y el mestiso y indios de la nueva españa con las guias que auia traydo el general." Both Jaramillo and Castañeda were eyewitnesses.

customs. If there were only two missionaries who remained, Fray Juan de Padilla and Fray Luís de Escalona, the former is involved in the history of the Rio Grande pueblos only as far as he may have exercised some influence *previous* to his departure for Quivira. As long as the military were still with the Pueblos, they naturally were watched with particular attention and the recollections thereof specially graven into the minds of the Indians.<sup>211</sup> The apparently unobtrusive monks were less striking features, or they may have been looked upon as shamans of a doubtful character, whose influence was incomprehensible and therefore subject to the slow and wary observation of the Indians. When, however, the aborigines found themselves alone in presence of these strange and apparently defenceless beings, matters assumed a different aspect. The friars, left alone, had to accept *direct* work with the natives, and whatever impression *that* created upon the latter, was likely to be more lasting in the memory of the Indians.

Fray Juan de Padilla cannot be included in the question as far as the Pueblos are concerned. But Fray Luís de Escalona became at once the "first missionary," on an independent footing, of the Pecos. He, it is said, disappeared there. His possible martyrdom to which Castañeda alludes, is not recognized by the church. Neither the "Acta Sanctorum" nor any Martyrology of the many I have searched, mentions Father Escalona. Yet his existence cannot be denied, reliable eye-witnesses prove it. Furthermore, according to one of these eye-witnesses (Castañeda) "the friar Luís remained at Cicuyé, nothing more has been learned about him to this day although before the forces left Tiguex, conducting to him a certain number of sheep to be left with him, those who drove them met (him) in company

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211. So the recollection about the events at Puaray-Tiguex remained very distinct among the Tiguas. Espejo, *Relación (Doc. de Indias* 15. p. 112.) Even the number of Spaniards who perished (nine) is quite correctly reported, also the number of horses: "y le mataron en ella nueve soldados y cuarenta caballos."

with people, as he went to visit other villages, etc.”<sup>212</sup> It seems, therefore, that Fray Luís de Escalona had in mind the material as well as the spiritual improvement of the Indians. What became of the sheep cannot be found out except, perhaps, through Indian tradition. This first attempt at a permanent introduction of domesticated quadrupeds among the Pueblos is well worth noticing, and justifies a glance at the fate of the devoted man to whom the endeavor is due.

Always bearing in mind that Father Escalona is mentioned by eye-witnesses but ignored by ecclesiastic sources, Father (rather Brother)<sup>213</sup> Juan de la Cruz must attract our attention next. Whereas the former may be termed “Apostle of the Pecos”, what is told of the latter would make of him the “Apostle of the Tiguas”, — that is, if such a monk as he is described to have been—ever existed in New Mexico!? The doubt is not unjustified!

The sources that establish the existence of *Fray Luís* are all, as far as known, of the *secular* order; they pertain to so-called “profane literature.” That no *clerical* source of the sixteenth century mentions this lay brother may be due to the fact that there is no reference of a *positive* kind to his death as a martyr.<sup>214</sup> Hence no Martyrology was authorized to mention him except as a subject of doubtful legend. On the other hand, *Fray Juan de la Cruz*, stated to have been a lay-brother also, is ignored by the *eye-witnesses* at my command, but frequently mentioned by *ecclesiastic* documents, beginning with one of the year 1587. I have

212. *Cíbola*, p. 461.

213. Lay brothers are inferior in position to those monks that have been ordained priests. They are, in fact, domestics, but may, in special cases, perform certain ritual duties.

214. The manner of his death is only conjectured. This is plainly stated by Jaramillo, *Relación hecha*, p. 317: “y así no se ha sabido mas de él.” Castañeda. *Cíbola*, p. 461: “el fray Luis se quedo en cicuye no se ha sabido del mas hasta oy. . .” Castañeda expresses the hope that he ended his days in peace although he adds: “y creyo al fin lo matarian.”

looked in vain, as yet, for an earlier mention.<sup>215</sup> The source just mentioned is of high respectability, — Father Francisco de Gonzaga, General of the Franciscan Order from 1579 to 1587, who alludes to “an old man and a chorister” whom Fray Agustín de Vetancurt (1698) identifies with Fray Juan de la Cruz.<sup>216</sup>

It is to Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta that some details on the fate of Juan de la Cruz are due. He finished his “*Historia Ecclesiástica Indiana*” in 1596, but he had come to New Spain in 1554.<sup>217</sup> Giving no authorities for his statements, he asserts that five clergymen accompanied Coronado on his expedition “and among them those best known after the Father Provincial (Marcos of Nizza) (were) Fr. Juan de Padilla and Fr. Juan de la Cruz.”<sup>218</sup> Further on he remarks that both of these monks remained at Tiguex, Father Padilla, however, leaving soon for Quivira, and the lay brother de la Cruz staying alone at Tiguex.<sup>219</sup>

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215. I know at least six Martyrologies, between 1587 and 1638 that mention the martyrdom of Fray Juan de la Cruz, but have not been able to obtain any data from earlier years. The great work of the Bollandists was begun by Rosweyde after 1588.

216. The title of the work of Father de Gonzaga is: “*De Origine Seraphicæ Religionis Franciscanæ ejusque progressibus de Regularis Observantiæ Institutione, forma administrationis ac legibus, admirabilique ejus propagatione*, Rome 1587, part IV. — The great work of Fray Francisco Daza, *Crónica general etc.*, is posterior to Gonzaga and has taken much information from it. In general, it was impossible to avoid, for chroniclers and especially for martyrologists, not to resort to much textual copying of predecessors. — The allusion by Fray Agustín de Vetancurt, *Menologio franciscano*, p. 387 reads “Gonzaga no pone su nombre, sino que dice: un viejo y un corista.” The day, in the *Menologio*, is November 30th.

217. Hence he arrived in America about twelve years after the return of Coronado's expedition. *Historia ecclesiastica Indiana*, (published by Joaquín García Ycazbalceta in 1870. — *Noticias del Autor y de la Obra*, p. XVIII.) The work was concluded in 1598.

218. *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, lib. v. cap. III, p. 742: “Los Religiosos eran cinco, y entre ellos, despues del provincial, los mas conocidos Fr. Juan de Padilla y Fr. Juan de la Cruz.” Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Los veinte y un Libros Rituales i Monarchia Indiana* (second edition, Madrid 1723, vol. III, p. 610) copies textually. Vetancurt, *Menologio* (November 30th, p. 386) also gives a slightly abbreviated version, omitting the number of the missionaries.

219. Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 743: “se quedaron y permanecieron con su intento en la conversión de aquellos infieles, en un pueblo llamado tiguex.” Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana* (III, p. 610) confirms, changing somewhat the text.

Finally he says: "Of the servant of God Fr. Juan de la Cruz nothing else was learned but that he remained alone in that village of Tiguex . . . to teach the Indians the matters (doctrines) of our Holy Faith and Christian Life which pleased them very much, and in token of rejoicing they took him into their arms and made other demonstrations of joy. It is thought (understood) he died a martyr. He was of exemplary virtue and a great Observant and therefore much respected by all, so much so, that the Captain Francisco Vazquez Coronado had ordered his men to uncover their heads whenever they would hear the name of Fr. Juan de la Cruz, which is a sure sign of his great merit."<sup>220</sup> Fray Juan de Torquemada finished his ponderous work in 1613. He was Provincial of the Order of Saint Francis in 1614 and he almost textually copies Mendieta, also stating that nothing is known of his fate, though it is supposed he died a martyr.<sup>221</sup>

The last two sources however affirm that Juan de la Cruz was a *native of France* and of the (Franciscan) province of Aquitania. In connection with this there is to note a difference between the text of Torquemada and that of his predecessor Mendieta. The latter does *not* identify a French Franciscan of the name, who appeared in Michuacán (Mexico) with the lay brother of supposed New Mexican fame, whereas Torquemada clearly intimates that they were one and the same person!<sup>222</sup> In that case, Fray

220. *Historia*, p. 745; Ventancurt, *Menologio*, p. 387.

221. *Monarchia*, III, Lib. XXI, cap. III, a nearly literal copy of Mendieta.

222. Neither have I been able, as yet to secure any other information on that Fray Juan de la Cruz, the work of Father Beaumont on Michuacán not being at my command. — Mendieta, who mentions him (*Historia ecclesiastica Indiana*, p. 378) says: "Otro francés hubo de Aquitania, llamado Fr. Juan de la Cruz, gran siervo de Dios y buen obrero de su viña." Torquemada, (*Monarchia*, III, p. 335) merely states: "Fr. Juan de la Cruz, de la misma Nación y Provincia, gran Ministro." But in the Index to the same volume he places the two ecclesiastics under the same title as if they had been one and the same person. The qualification "gran Ministro" would, however, hardly have applied to a simple lay brother. The matter is open for future investigation.

Juan de la Cruz would have been in Michuacán previous to 1539 and probably up to that year. It might be that, through him, the Indian or Indians from Michuacán, were brought to join Coronado's expedition.<sup>223</sup>

In the Martyrologies subsequent to Gonzaga, Fray Juan de la Cruz is frequently noticed, but most (if not all) of these notices are almost textual repetitions of Mendieta and of Torquemada. I refer, as an example, to the Martyrology of Arthur of Munster (editions of 1638 and the German from 1650).<sup>224</sup> Few of them could have known the work of Mendieta, since it was forgotten for a long time.<sup>225</sup> Among profane authors of the sixteenth century, neither Gomara

223. At least one Tarascan Indian is mentioned as having gone to Quivira with Father Padilla and the Portuguese Docampo.

224. I mention this as a mere example. See Arturi Monastero, "*Martyrologvm franciscanvm* (1638) p. 546: "Ioanna a Cruce, Laico, remansit in oppido Tignisio . . . . Dei famulus B. Ioannes genua flexit, eorumque furorum alacri animo, pro Christi amore, in se exceptit. Sicque, impiorum sagittas in se recipiuis, gloriosae fine, mortalis vita curorum concludit (mortalium vitam curarum conclusit?)" *It is known* that Fray Padilla was shot with arrows, and this is very much like a confusion with the fate of the latter. However, Munster in the edition of 1650 (*Auctarium Martyrologii Franciscani das ist Vermehrung dess Franciscanischen Ordens calenders etc.*) only mentions Father Padilla.

225. This appears from the date when the work of Mendieta was finished (1598), as well as from the silence, or at least imperfect knowledge had, of Mendieta's book (manuscript) up to the nineteenth century. Compare, for instance, Boristain, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Setentrional*, vol. III, p. 257. Yet, there is a possibility that Gonzaga may have derived his knowledge about Fray Juan de la Cruz through the writings of Mendieta, and that subsequent martyrologists were able to consult some of them also. In the years between 1579 and 1587 Father Gonzaga (according to Father Joan de Domayquia, 1611 about) asked Mendieta to send to him (in Spain) what he had written on the lives of the early Franciscan missionaries to Mexico, and Mendieta remitted to him a Memorial containing the desired information. This Memorial afterwards passed into the hands of Father Juan Bautista Noles, who included it in his *Memorial de la Provincia de San Gabriel* (Madrid 1592). Not even my erudite godfather, Don Joaquin García Ycazbalceta, could obtain the latter book, still less have I seen it, but the great Spanish bibliographer Nicolás Antonio mentions it. The possible connection of Mendieta with the statements of Gonzaga and the subsequent martyrologists is of course as yet conjectural, but it is not superfluous to recall a possible filiation which might, perhaps, lead to discovery of the origin of still doubtful assertions.

226. *Primera y Segunda Parte*, p. 288: "Fray Juan de Padilla se quedo en Tigux con otro fraile francisco."

(1553)<sup>226</sup> nor Juan de Saurez Peralta<sup>227</sup> alludes to the friar, and Antonio de Herrera (1601-1615) mentions Padilla and Fray Luís de Escalona only.<sup>228</sup>

Mendieta states that five Franciscans went with Coronado, and this statement is copied by Torquemada and by Mota Padilla.<sup>229</sup> One of these was Fray Marcos of Nizza, one Fray Juan de Padilla, another Fray Antonio Victoria who, as related by Castañeda, broke a leg three days after leaving Culiacán and had to be carried back,<sup>230</sup> the fourth is Brother Escalona — the fifth, unless he was Fray Juan de la Cruz, remains yet to be accounted for.

Having opened this discussion with a statement made by Matías de la Mota Padilla (1742) I still have to relate what this author tells of the death of Fray Juan de la Cruz. "Of the Father Juan de la Cruz the following notice exists: That after working at the instruction of the Indians at Tiguex and at Coquite, he was killed by them with arrows as not all of them accepted his doctrine and advice, by which he attempted to make them abhor their barbarous customs; although he was generally much esteemed by the caciques and other natives, who had seen the veneration with which he was treated by the general, the captains and the soldiers."<sup>231</sup> We may be permitted to ask: how could

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227. *Tratado del Descubrimiento de las Indias y de su conquista etc.* (published 1878 by Zaragoza under the title *Noticias históricas de la Nueva España*). It belongs to the same period as Gonzaga and Mendieta, but its author was not an ecclesiastic.

228. *Historia general de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Yslas y la tierra firme del Mar Océano* (Edition of 1726, Dec. VI, lib. IX, cap. XII, Pag. 207). This part of Herrera's work bears a striking resemblance to the text of the report of Jaramillo.

230. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 424: "y a tres jornadas un frayle llamado fray Antinio uictoria se quebro una pierna y este frayle era de misa y para que se curase lo bolhieron del camino y despues fue con el campo que no fue poca consolacion para todos."

231. *Historia de la Conquista de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 168. "Del padre Fr. Juan de la Cruz la noticia que se tiene es, que despues de haber trabajado en la instruccion de los Indios en Tigues y en Coquite, murió flechado de Indios, porque no todos abrazaron su doctrina y consejos, con los que trataba detestasen sus bárbaras costumbres, aunque por lo general era muy estimado de los caciques y demas naturales, que habian visto la veneracion con que el general, capitanes y soldados le trataban."

this be known, since no further intercourse, after Coronado's evacuation of New Mexico, could be had with that isolated and remote quarter of the globe? Is this notice an assumption by Mota Padilla, a legend perpetuated particularly through the Martyrologies, or was it obtained after the Spaniards returned to New Mexico (from 1580 on) as a definite Indian tradition?<sup>232</sup>

In presence of so much and so conflicting testimony, I leave the question of the existence of Fray Juan de la Cruz and his labors and death among the Pueblos in suspense, only adding that, if it should become proven that reports concerning him are authentic, traces of any influence exerted by his presence and deeds on the Rio Grande might possibly be discovered among the Tigua Indians.

It is well known that Fray Juan de Padilla was killed somewhere about the Quivira region and with his fate I have, therefore, nothing to do here. But some of his companions escaped and after years of wanderings under untold hardships, returned to New Spain.<sup>233</sup> The route taken by these fugitives brought them nearer to the Atlantic than to the Pacific slope. Quivira (in this all eye-witnesses agree) appeared much more promising to colonization than New Mexico and Arizona; for agricultural purposes, irrespective of the search for metal. But it was not possible, for many

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232. The killing with arrows is not mentioned by Mendieta (1598). Neither Torquemada (1615) nor Vetancurt (1698) mentions the manner in which Fray Juan was supposed to have been killed. How could, then, Father Arthur of Munster, a Recollect, state in his *Martyrologium Franciscanum* (1638) p. 546: "impiorum sagittas in se recipiv, gloriosae fine etc."? He refers to at least six authorities, after Gonzaga (hence between 1587 and 1638) but to none from previous to the former date.

233. This is postively stated. Jaramillo, *Relación Hecha*, p. 317: "ansi que muerto (Father Padilla) se juyó el portugués dicho, y un indio de los que dice, traia bestidos en habito de fraile, u creo que entrambos; dijo questo para que ellos vinieron a esta tierra de la Nueva España por otro camino y derrota mas cercana que la que yo tengo dicho, y vinieron a salir a los valles de Panico (Panuco)" . . . Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 468, states that, when he wrote, there lived in Mexico guides that had made the return journey with the Portuguese "Docampo" above mentioned.



years after Coronado's return, to think of renewed efforts in the direction of the North American Southwest. Involuntarily almost, through circumstances, the Spaniards, thirty-eight years later, came on the eastern trail,<sup>234</sup> a trail that did not lead them to the coveted Quivira, but to New Mexico again, bringing the Rio Grande Pueblos into renewed contact with Europeans.

(end of Part I)

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234. Coronado, *Carta al Emperador* (1541), does not mention the route, but he recommends the country of Quivira for settlement, p. 367: "La tierra en sí es la mas aparejada que se ha visto para darse en ella todas las cosas de España," The *Relación del Suceso*, p. 329, states: "Quibira es megor tierra de muchas zabanas, y no tan fria, aunque está mas al Norte." Jaramillo, *Relación Hecha*, p. 317: "Ansi que ciertamente si Vuestra Señoria alcanza desde ese puesto (Panuco) lo de Quibira, tengo entendido que puede traer gente de España a poblalla, sin recelo, segun la apariencia y muestras la tierra tiene." Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 468: "para aber de boluer en demanda de quiuira seria aquella uia harto mejor y mas derecha," — in Part II of this work this question will again be alluded to.

THE SUPPLY SERVICE OF THE NEW  
MEXICAN MISSIONS  
IN THE  
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Part II. 1631-1664  
FRANCE V. SCHOLES

The contract of 1631 remained the legal basis of the supply service down to the year 1664. During that period the service was maintained with rather remarkable regularity every three or four years, so that the caravans became the most important link between the far-away province of New Mexico and the central government of New Spain. In this respect the service was of the greatest significance from the point of view of political administration as well as ecclesiastical.

The round trip, including the time spent in New Mexico before the caravan started out on the return journey to New Spain, took about a year and a half. The remaining part of each three-year period was given over to preparations in Mexico for the next outward journey to the frontier. The route taken by the caravan from Mexico City to New Mexico followed a well-defined course by way of Zacatecas to Parral and the mining centers on the northern frontier of Nueva Vizcaya. From these northern outposts the route crossed the arid plateau country of modern Chihuahua, a land of few resources and inhabited by hostile Indians. Arriving at the Rio Grande in the Manso country, the caravan then made its way northward to the small settlements below the Piro villages, and finally to the pueblo of Senecú where it was enthusiastically received by the friars and settlers of the New Mexican province. After a short rest and after

obtaining needed supplies, the caravan then moved on to Santa Fé and the central pueblo area on the upper course of the Río Grande.

The general management and organization of the supply trains were supervised by the procurator-general of the custodia who was appointed by the joint action of the commissary-general of the Franciscans of New Spain and the provincial of the Franciscan Province of Santo Evangelio.<sup>1</sup> The procurator-general was accompanied during both the outgoing and return trips by a friar, usually a lay-brother, who served as his assistant and companion. Under the procurator-general there served *mayordomos* who looked after the wagons, managed details of organization, and had charge of the drivers, lesser servants, and Indians who were employed for the journey. A small military escort accompanied each caravan.

Although the chief purpose of the supply service was to sustain the missions, it was a significant factor in other phases of provincial life. The outgoing caravans were accompanied by settlers going out to New Mexico for the first time, by traders, and by citizens of the province who were returning home after a business trip to New Spain. All were glad to have the opportunity to make the journey, especially the long stretch from Parral and Santa Bárbara to the Río Grande, in the company of the caravan and to enjoy the protection of the military escort. The officials of New Spain used the service for the despatch of mail and of royal and viceregal decrees. Frequently the caravan was accompanied by a new governor going out to New Mexico, and sometimes his presence became a source of difficulty and embarrassment for the procurator-general.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See appointment of Fray Manso in the documents in part I. For appointment of Fray Juan Ramírez, see *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

2. The most interesting incident growing out of disagreement between a governor and the procurator-general related to Governor Mendizábal and Fray Juan Ramírez. Discussed in paragraphs that follow.

On the return journey from New Mexico to New Spain, the caravan was accompanied by traders, citizens of the province going to Mexico on business, ex-governors, friars retiring from the New Mexican mission field, and occasionally by prisoners of the Holy Office being sent to Mexico City for trial by the Tribunal of the Inquisition.

For the economic life of the province, the caravans had an especial importance. The products of New Mexico which could be exported profitably were a few staples, consisting mostly of hides, piñon, salt, and *mantas*. The chief difficulty in developing this primitive commerce was the lack of transport, so that it was inevitable that the mission caravans should have become an important element in this phase of provincial life. Emptied of the supplies brought out from New Spain for the sustenance of the missions, the wagons were used to freight the few staple products of New Mexico to the mining centers of Nueva Vizcaya and to other parts of New Spain.

It is not clear what legal provisions were made for the use of the wagons for the freighting out of goods from New Mexico. The governors frequently took the position that the wagons, being the property of the Crown, were at their disposal after the supplies brought from New Spain had been delivered to the friars. Most of the governors were engaged in active exploitation of the Indians. This exploitation assumed various forms: trade in buffalo hides between the Pueblo Indians and the Apaches; the capture of Apaches to be sold as slaves in the mining camps of Nueva Vizcaya; the weaving of *mantas*, either in the pueblos or in special workshops established in Santa Fé and under the direct management of the governors; the transportation of salt from the saline fields east of the Río Grande to depots from which it could be shipped to the mines of New Spain. The governors were especially interested, therefore, in establishing the right to use the wagons on the return journey to New Spain for the ship-

ment of accumulated supplies of hides, salt, *mantas*, etc. The active exploitation of the Indian and the controversy concerning the legal right to use the wagons, became factors in that long conflict between church and state which characterized the political life of the province in the seventeenth century. The friars made a long series of complaints to the viceroys and to the Crown, but to no avail. There was no effective remedy, for the center of authority in New Spain was too far away to exercise an effective control over New Mexico. The damage was done before a remedy could be carried out. Realizing this fact, both sides in the conflict became convinced that the issue must be fought out on the spot. The result was a division of opinion in the seats of authority which weakened the province, and which inspired the Indians to strike for liberty.<sup>8</sup>

During the quarter-century following 1631 the service was managed by Fray Tomás Manso, the procurator-general of the custodia. He gave up the post only in 1656, when, already having been made provincial of his Order, he was appointed bishop of Nicaragua. His promotion was probably in recognition of his long service to the Crown and to the Church in organizing and managing the supply trains. His control of the service seems to have been characterized by efficiency, and by general satisfaction to the treasury officials of New Spain and to the friars of New Mexico. Altogether he probably made nine round-trips with the caravans between New Spain and New Mexico, a record worthy of comparison with the service of any of the

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3. The instances of exploitation and of disagreement concerning the use of the wagons are numerous. Documents for only a few of the more important examples are cited below:

- a. *Cartas que se escriuieron a su Exa. del Nuevo Mexico por los Religiosos della Por fin del año de 636 quezándose del Gouierno de Francisco Martincz de Baeza.* Arch. Gen., Mexico. *Provincia Internas*, Tomo 35, Exp. 3.
- b. *Carta que escribió a su Magestad. Fray Andrés Suares desde el Nuevo Mexico.* 26 Octubre, 1647. Arch. Gen., Mexico. *Reales Cédulas (Principales)*, Tomo 3.
- c. *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.
- d. Expediente concerning conflict, between the clergy and Governor Rosas, A. G. I., 2-4-1/22. No. 7.
- e. Numerous statements in the *procesos* of Mendizábal and Peñalosa in Arch. Gen., Mexico. *Inquisición*, Tomos 507, 587, 593, 594.

merchants who carried on a cross-country freight business in the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup>

Because of his intimate knowledge of New Mexican affairs Manso was frequently called upon for advice, or was assigned difficult and delicate missions. In 1638 he was one of a small group of friars consulted by the commissary-general of the Franciscans of New Spain concerning the expediency of establishing a bishopric in New Mexico.<sup>5</sup> In the early 1640's he held the office of custodio of New Mexico in addition to the office of procurator-general. In 1644 he was appointed special investigator by his Order to report upon the situation which had grown out of the conflict between the clergy and Governor Rosas.<sup>6</sup>

Manso also took an active interest in the expansion of the New Mexican mission field. In 1645, during his term as custodio, he sent a party of four friars to preach to the Ypotlapiguas who lived near the Zipias in the region south and west of Zuñi.<sup>7</sup> He had a share also in the beginnings of missionary enterprise among the Mansos who lived in the region of El Paso.<sup>8</sup>

In summing up Fray Manso's career in its relation to New Mexico, it may be stated that no other friar during the

4. The first round trip was for the period 1627-1630 when Fray Estévan de Perea returned with a new group of friars. Then for nine three year periods as follows: 1630-33; 1633-36; 1636-39; 1639-42; 1642-45; 1645-48; 1648-51; 1651-54. It seems that, although Manso was still procurator-general for the first two years of the period, 1654-57, he probably sent out the caravan for that triennium in care of an agent.

5. *Autos del Nuevo Mexico y Sinaloa sobre si habrá Obispos.* A. G. I. 67-3-32.

6. The Rosas expediente, A. G. I., 2-4-1/22. No. 7.

7. *Memorias sobre unos pueblos que se descubrieron en el Nuevo Mexico.* Bib. Nac., Mexico, M. H. N. M., Leg. 1, núm. 10. In this document Manso states that he "discovered" the Ypotlapiguas in 1632. In 1638 Governor Rosas led a party of friars and soldiers to the Ypotlapigua country. See document entitled *Del Pe. fr. estevan de Pera. . . con una ynformon. Contra Don Luis de Rosas Gour. de aquellas Provincias por palabras mal sonantes. . .*, Arch. Gen., Mexico, *Inquisición*, Tomo 385. Also the Rosas Expediente, A. G. I., 2-4-1/22. Following the efforts made by Manso in 1645, the Ypotlapiguas were visited by the Jesuits, and a controversy was started concerning jurisdiction over this new mission area.

8. For discussion of early missionary enterprise among the Mansos see the paragraphs that follow.

first half of the seventeenth century, except, perhaps, Fray Estévan de Perea, played such an important role in the successful development of the New Mexican mission field. The missions were dependent upon his efficient management of the supply service. The clergy found in him an intelligent and zealous defender of their privileges both in New Mexico and in New Spain. He held every office of trust in the custodia to which a friar could aspire. It was in recognition of his services to missionary enterprise in New Mexico probably that he was promoted to the leadership of his Order as provincial of the Province of Santo Evangelio in 1655 and then, eight months later, to the bishopric of Nicaragua.<sup>9</sup>

Bishop Manso was succeeded as procurator-general of the custodia by Fray Juan Ramírez.<sup>10</sup> Ramírez was the son of a Tasco miner. After receiving an elementary education in Tasco and in Mexico City, he entered the Jesuit college of San Pedro y San Pablo. At the age of sixteen he took the habit of a Franciscan, entering the Convento of San Francisco in Mexico City. He took the course in Arts at Toluca and studied theology in Mexico City and Puebla. After his ordination he had a rather wide experience in the service of the Church and of his Order, being assigned posts of various kinds in the Conventos of Cuernavaca, Xochimilco, San Juan Temamatla, Toluca, etc. In 1653 he became vicar-general of the provincial of the Franciscan Province of Santo Evangelio and of the commissary-general of the Franciscans of New Spain, and then, about two years later, he was appointed comisario de corte and procurator-general of all the Franciscan provinces of New Spain by the viceroy, the Duke of Albuquerque.<sup>11</sup>

9. Vetancurt. *Menologia*, 429, 479. Cited in Hodge's note in Benavides' *Memorial* (Ayer ed.), p. 297.

10. Not to be identified with the Fray Juan Ramírez who converted Acoma in 1629.

11. For an outline of the life history of Ramírez prior to 1656, see *Testificaciones que se han sacado. . . contra Fray Juan Ramírez del Orden del Señor San Francisco*. Arch. Gen., Mexico, *Inquisicion*, Tomo 502, Exp. 3. To be cited henceforth as *Testificaciones contra Ramírez*.

Ramírez' appointment as procurator-general of the Custodia of New Mexico to succeed Bishop Manso was made by the joint nomination of the commissary-general of the Franciscans on March 12, 1656,<sup>12</sup> and of the provincial of the Province of Santo Evangelio on March 21, 1656.<sup>13</sup> On the sixth of the following May the viceroy accepted these nominations and directed the treasury officials to recognize Ramírez as the new procurator-general and to negotiate with him for the next despatch of the supply trains on exactly the same basis that had been customary during the quarter-century of Bishop Manso's administration.<sup>14</sup> It was not until after the caravan returned from New Mexico in the spring of 1657, however, that Ramírez actually took over control of the wagons. The treasury officials tried to alter the terms of the original contract by requiring Ramírez to give bond, whereas Bishop Manso had never been obliged to do so. Ramírez appealed to the viceroy who ordered the officials to come to an agreement with the new procurator-general without altering the old contract in any sense.<sup>15</sup> This point is worthy of emphasis because the apparent mismanagement of the service by Ramírez later caused the treasury officials some embarrassment. The wagons, mules, and miscellaneous equipment were finally turned over to Ramírez and four of his agents by the dueño of the caravan, the agent of Bishop Manso, on May 29, 1657.<sup>16</sup>

During the next year and a half Ramírez made the necessary preparations for the caravan for the triennium, August 3, 1657, to August 2, 1660. The preparations for

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12. Patente del Reverendisimo Padre Comisario General., March 12, 1656. *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

13. Patente del Provincial. March 21, 1656. *Ibid.*

14. Mandamiento de Su Exclencia. May 6, 1656. *Ibid.* See also *Traslado del assiento que . . . se hizo por el fiscal de su Magestad y oficiales reales con el Padre Juan Ramirez*. Bib. Nac., Mexico. *M. H. N. M.*, Leg. 1. núm. 11.

15. For complaint of Ramírez, orders of the viceroy, see *M. H. N. M.*, Leg. 1, núm. 11. *op. cit.*

16. *Ibid.*



this triennium took on a special significance. It seems apparent that during part of the preceding quarter-century, at least, the number of friars serving in the New Mexican missions had not been kept up to the full quota of sixty-six as fixed by the contract of 1631. For the triennium, 1654-1657, there had been only forty-six friars in the field.<sup>17</sup> It was necessary, therefore, to send out twenty more friars to bring the quota up to its full complement of workers. It was also represented to the viceroy that a special need had developed in order to push forward the work among the Manso and Suma tribes. For this new mission field four more friars were requested.

The Mansos were a backward, wild, non-agricultural group of Indians who inhabited the territory on or near the Río Grande in the region of El Paso.<sup>18</sup> The founding of missions among them had been proposed as early as the time of Benavides, who urged the importance of such an enterprise, not only in order to carry forward the conversion of the natives, but also because the founding of a Manso mission would be of the greatest value from the standpoint of military defense and of communication between New Mexico and New Spain. Benavides realized the military importance of the El Paso region as a way-station between the settlements of northern Nueva Vizcaya and the main pueblo area of New Mexico.<sup>19</sup> Some twenty years passed by, however, before a determined effort was made to put Benavides' recommendation into effect, despite the fact that the Mansos were on the beaten path between New Mexico and New Spain. Sporadic missionary

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17. *Testimonio de los autos y decretos del superior gobierno . . . sobre la instancia del beneplacito del Vice-patron para el acrecentamiento del numero de religiosos para las nuevas conversiones de la Nueva Mexico. Año de 1656.* Bib. Nac., Mexico. M. H. N. M., Leg. 1, núm., 10a. Also various informes in *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

18. For a discussion of the Mansos, see Benavides, *Memorial*, (Ayer edition), pp. 13-15, 212; also the 1634 *Memorial*, in Propaganda Fide, Rome; Bandelier, *Final Report*, vol. II.

19. *Memorial*, (Ayer edition), p. 14.

enterprise may have been attempted, but it was not until the decade of the 1650's that the Mansos received serious attention.<sup>20</sup>

When the caravan passed through the Manso territory in 1652, two friars, Fray Juan Perez and Fray Juan Cabal, had noted the possibility of the Manso field and had baptised an infant. After a return trip to Mexico City, they had gone back to the frontier again for the sole purpose of beginning definite missionary labor among the Mansos, having been assigned to the field by the procurator-general, Fray Manso. The work progressed very slowly, however, for, although the Mansos were docile enough, they were not prepared for a settled life at a mission. It was necessary to feed them from day to day and to begin the slow and difficult task of teaching them the elements of a settled agricultural existence, as well as to indoctrinate them in the Christian faith. The friars were aided by the new governor, Don Juan Manso,<sup>21</sup> who took a great interest in the work and who, together with Fray Perez, personally solicited alms in the New Mexican province for the new mission; but, as Fray Perez remarked, "the people being poor, it was little that I collected." Don Juan de Samaniego, who was governor of New Mexico from 1652 to 1656, stated that when he passed through the Manso area on his return to New Spain in 1656, he spent All Souls' Day at the Manso mission. He reported that the friars had "founded a Church where divine offices were celebrated, and where, on my way to this city from New Mexico, I confessed and communed, together with other persons . . . the same day in the said church, two infants were baptised and a little later another was buried — and [all] of the said Manso tribe." He also reported that Fray Cabal was about to begin missionary work

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20. For a review of early missionary effort, see Hughes, *The Beginnings of Settlement in the El Paso District*, pp. 303, 304.

21. It is a bit confusing to be obliged to deal with an Indian tribe, a friar, and a governor, all of whom had the same name. Don Juan Manso was governor of New Mexico from 1656 to 1659.

among the Sumas.<sup>22</sup> The church which Samaniego mentioned was probably a primitive affair at best. At any rate, it seems that the church, whatever it may have been, was later deemed inadequate, for in 1659 another mission, dedicated to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, was founded.<sup>23</sup>

In September of 1656, Fray Perez wrote to the viceroy urging the need of assistance not only for the Manso mission, but also for missionary work among the Sumas living to the eastward of the Mansos. Perez' appeal brought an investigation by the viceroy and the treasury officials. Bishop Manso and ex-Governor Samaniego supported the needs of this new mission field, Manso emphasizing its importance as a sort of half-way post between Parral and the pueblo area. The question concerning which the viceroy desired advice was whether it would not be possible to require some of the friars of the regular quota of sixty-six to be assigned to the Manso mission. It was pointed out by both Bishop Manso and Samaniego that the full quota was needed in the older missions and that only a grant of extra workers could take care of this new need. In a decree of December 24, 1657, the viceroy finally authorized the sending out of four friars for the Manso and Suma missions, in addition to the twenty that were needed in order to bring the quota up to sixty-six.<sup>24</sup> The service for 1657-1660 provided, therefore, for seventy friars, forty-six of them already in New Mexico and twenty-four being sent out for the first time. On December 24, 1658, the caravan finally set out on its journey to the frontier.<sup>25</sup>

Meantime, Fray Ramírez had received another honor by being elected custodio of New Mexico in addition to his office of procurator-general. This election, which took

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22. *Testimonio de los autos y decretos del superior gobierno, op. cit.*

23. Hughes *op. cit.* p. 304-306.

24. *Testimonio de los autos y decretos del superior gobierno. Op. cit.*

25. *Testimonio de la salida de los carros.* Dec. 24, 1658. *Informe, A. G. I.*

place sometime in 1658,<sup>26</sup> greatly added to Ramírez' authority and responsibility, and was to involve him in serious difficulty, especially with regard to the long standing church and state problem in New Mexico.

It is necessary now to bring a new character into the story, viz., Don Bernardo López de Mendizábal, recently appointed governor of New Mexico. Mendizábal was the son of an hacendado of Chietla in New Spain. He was educated in a Jesuit college in Puebla and later attended the royal university in Mexico City. At the end of his student career, he left New Spain, going to Havana where he was given a post in the galleons and in which he made seven or eight voyages. His sea career brought him finally to Cartagena de Indias where, due to the influence of his cousin, the bishop, he was appointed visitador of the bishopric. During his stay in Cartagena, he married a daughter of the governor, a man who had held important posts in Spanish Italy previous to his appointment in the Indies. After leaving Cartagena Mendizábal spent some time in Spain and Havana, finally returning to New Spain where he held various offices until he received the appointment as governor of New Mexico to succeed Don Juan Manso.<sup>27</sup> The period of Mendizábal's tenure of office as governor of New Mexico was characterized by the renewal of that conflict between church and state which was so disastrous to an efficient administration of New Mexican affairs during most of the seventeenth century. The details of this conflict as related to Mendizábal cannot be described here. They will be presented by the author of this article in a forthcoming study of church and state in New Mexico. Only those phases of the Mendizábal affair that relate to the supply service will be discussed in this article.

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26. Audiencia, Nov. 26. 1663, *Testificaciones contra Ramirez*.

27. For a brief outline of Mendizábal's early career, see Part III of the Inquisitorial Process against Mendizábal in Arch. Gen., Mexico, *Inquisición*, tomo 594.

Difficulty with the clergy and particularly with Fray Ramírez, the custodio and procurator-general, began even before the 1658 caravan left Mexico City. In his own version of the affair, Mendizábal stated that there was a disagreement in the first place concerning provision for the journey to New Mexico which Ramírez, as administrator of the caravan, had promised to make and then later failed to provide. This was followed by further disagreement concerning the appointment of the military escort for the caravan. Mendizábal stated that, finding Ramírez to be discourteous and difficult to deal with, he laid the matter before the viceroy. The viceroy demanded of the commissary-general of the Franciscans that Ramírez should be disciplined for his discourtesy to an official of the Crown; he also took away from Ramírez some of the authority over the wagons and military escort which had been customarily enjoyed by the procurator-general, placing such authority in the hands of Mendizábal.<sup>28</sup>

Relations were strained, therefore, when the caravan set out for New Mexico late in December of 1658, and they steadily became worse as the caravan slowly made its way northward. The quarrel was not confined to Mendizábal and Ramírez, but soon involved the friars who were making the journey with the caravan to the mission field in New Mexico. It is this phase of the conflict which is related to the history of supply service. In his version of the affair, Mendizábal stated that, although he tried to conciliate Ramírez and to smooth things over, the friar, whose vanity was hurt by the action of the viceroy in backing up Mendizábal, refused to be reconciled; that Ramírez acted toward him with harshness and as an enemy; that Ramírez forbade the other friars to have any relations with him; and, finally, that Ramírez sent false reports concerning the situation to Mexico City. Mendizábal stated also that some of the friars, realizing Ramírez' true character, re-

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28. Reply to article 1 of the accusation. *Mendizábal Proceso*, part III. op. cit.

fused to go on with "such an evil friar", and that they petitioned him to require Ramírez to turn over to them their share of the supplies.<sup>29</sup> Ramírez, on the other hand, testified that Mendizábal exercised his authority with a high hand, imposing unnecessary and discouraging delays, with the result that some of the friars became discontented. He asserted, moreover, that Mendizábal sowed discontent between him and the other friars, fomenting disobedience, especially among those friars upon whom it had been necessary to impose certain punishment. The result of this enmity and lack of cooperation was the desertion of ten friars during the journey to New Mexico. This was a serious matter, inasmuch as it reflected in an unfavorable manner upon Ramírez' administration as custodio and procurator-general; and, above all, it raised the question of accounting for the funds and supplies which had been provided for these ten members of the party who never reached their destination.

The relations between Ramírez and Mendizábal became even more difficult after the caravan arrived in New Mexico in 1659. According to the testimony of the clergy, Mendizábal began to play a rather high handed role, depriving the missions of the services of Indians authorized by royal decree, controlling the primitive commerce of New Mexico to his own advantage, encouraging the resumption of the old ceremonies and pagan practices of the Indians, denying the exemption of the clergy, submitting the clergy to public insult, etc.<sup>30</sup> In short, the old problems of church and state were revived and a period of conflict started of which the ultimate result was the trial of Mendizábal, his successor, Peñalosa, and several lesser provincial officials by the Holy Office.

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29. *Ibid.*

30. See numerous articles in the formal accusation against Mendizábal, in *Mendizábal Proceso*, part III. op. cit.

When the caravan returned to New Spain in the autumn of 1659 Fray Ramírez returned with it, leaving the government of the custodia in charge of Fray García de San Francisco, whom he appointed Vice-Custodio. Before the caravan left New Mexico certified lists of the friars who were actually in service with the missions in 1659 were drawn up by Ramírez, the Vice-Custodio, and the governor.<sup>31</sup> The caravan arrived in Mexico City in the spring of 1660, and Ramírez soon found himself in further difficulty.

The desertion of the ten friars seems to have brought down upon Ramírez a considerable amount of unfavorable criticism in Franciscan circles. Moreover, when called upon for an accounting of his administration of the supply train, it was discovered that his accounts were in bad shape. It appeared that some of the wagons had been left behind instead of being brought back to Mexico City; Ramírez was called upon to make an adjustment not only in this respect, but also with regard to the funds and supplies for the ten friars who had deserted before reaching New Mexico and for those friars residing in the Custodia who had died before the arrival of the caravan in 1659. The most severe critics of Ramírez were within his own Order, his superiors taking the stand that his apparent mismanagement of the caravan and his inability to make an immediate settlement brought discredit upon the Order, and that rather severe disciplinary measures were necessary in order to save its reputation. During the autumn and winter of 1660-1661 a very peculiar situation was created, with the Franciscans undertaking to discipline Ramírez, whereas the officials of the audiencia and treasury supported him against what was deemed the hasty and inexpedient actions of his superiors.

In September, 1660, Ramírez called the attention of the viceroy to the fact that the three-year period, August

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31. See appendix A.

3, 1657, to August 2, 1660, having passed, it was necessary to begin preparations for the next caravan. He requested, therefore, that the necessary alms for the triennium 1660-1663 should be granted.<sup>32</sup> The viceroy referred the petition to the treasury officials for their opinion. On October 5 they made their report in which the essential facts concerning the grant of funds and supplies for the previous three-year period were re-stated. The report referred also to the desertion of the ten friars and to the necessity of requiring Ramírez to make an accounting. In view of the fact that Ramírez had not been placed under bond, it was recommended that he should remain in charge during the next three year term in order to give him an opportunity to make a full and complete adjustment of his accounts.<sup>33</sup> Apparently, the treasury officials had reason to believe that, if Ramírez were required to make an immediate accounting, the treasury would be the loser. The superiors of the Franciscans were not willing, however, to grant Ramírez the time and opportunity to make a final adjustment. On the contrary, they undertook to remove him, and by the joint action of the commissary-general and of the provincial of the Province of Santo Evangelio, on October 19, 1660, Fray Francisco Perez was appointed procurator-general of the Custodia of New Mexico in Ramírez' place.<sup>34</sup> This action forced the issue and during the next few months the situation was acute.

Presenting his patents of appointment to the viceroy, Fray Perez requested recognition as procurator-general in the place of Ramírez and made formal petition for the institution of proper legal action in order to be placed in charge of the wagons and supplies.<sup>35</sup> Perez' petition was referred to the fiscal, to the oficiales reales, and to a mem-

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32. Petition of Friar Ramírez Sept. 24 (?) 1660, *Informe A. G. I.* 58-4-9.

33. *Ynforme de oficiales reales.* Oct. 5, 1660, *Ibid.*

34. *Nombramiento de Fray Francisco Perez; Nombramiento del Provincial,* Oct. 19, 1660. *Ibid.*

35. *Memorial del Fray Francisco Perez.* Oct. 21 (?), 1660. *Ibid.*



ber of the audiencia, all of whom took the position that, although the commissary-general and the provincial had the right to appoint a procurator-general of New Mexico, they could in no manner bind the viceroy's freedom of action concerning the actual administration of the wagons. The one was an ecclesiastical matter, the other financial, and in the latter field the viceroy was supreme. In short, it was stated that it was the viceroy's privilege to continue or terminate the agreement with Ramírez concerning the administration of wagons as he saw fit, and that the superiors of the Franciscans had no authority in this respect.<sup>36</sup> Perez refused to accept this point of view. He insisted that an appointment by the commissary and the provincial should be automatically accepted by the viceroy who should, therefore, depose Ramírez and place Perez in charge.<sup>37</sup>

In order to strengthen his own side of the case, and acting under authority from the commissary-general, Perez arrested Ramírez and confined him to the Convento of San Francisco, hoping in this manner to put Ramírez in a position where he could not defend himself. Ramírez was represented by his brother, however, who complained to the viceroy of Perez' action and petitioned that Ramírez be set free so that he could present his accounts to the treasury. Acting on the advice of the fiscal and of the oidor, Calderón y Romero, the viceroy ordered Perez to place Ramírez at liberty. For a month the Franciscans temporized; Perez offered one excuse after another, raised the issue of ecclesiastical immunity, and even appealed to the audiencia for a legal opinion concerning the case. Finally, on December 19, 1660, tired of the delay, the viceroy invoked the name of the Crown, and, in a *real provisión* addressed to the provincial, he ordered Ramírez set free. He ordered also that the administration could in no

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36. Respuesta del Señor Fiscal, Oct. 21, 1660; Informe de las Oficiales Reales, Nov. 4, 1660; Informe del Señor Don Francisco Calderón y Romero, Nov. 8, 1660. *Ibid.*

37. See Memorials of Fray Perez, Nov. 13 and 15, 1660. *Ibid.*

sense be placed in Perez' charge; instead, he ordered the provincial to send Perez, whom Calderón y Romero characterized as a restless and seditious influence in his Order, to the Franciscan Convento in Vera Cruz where he was to be at the disposal of the authorities until his actions could be reported to the Council of the Indies. Thus the first episode ended with a victory for Ramírez.<sup>38</sup>

Although defeated in his purpose to place Perez in charge of the supply service, Fray Zapata, the commissary-general, did not give up his fight against Ramírez. Even prior to the quarrel over Perez' appointment, Zapata had ordered Ramírez either to renounce his office as *custodio* or to return to New Mexico at once. Ramírez renounced the office rather than give up the fight concerning the supply train and his place as *custodio* was taken by Fray Alonzo de Posada who probably owed his election to Zapata's influence. In 1661, Posada set out for New Mexico where he immediately began his relentless campaign against Peñalosa.

Meantime, the relations between Zapata and Ramírez steadily became worse. During the spring of 1661, Zapata tried to have the organization and management of the caravans changed; in a word, to have the famous contract of 1631 brought to an end. In this campaign, he enlisted the aid of the provincial and *definitorio* of the Province of Santo Evangelio. In a series of petitions and representations, Zapata and his Franciscan associates pointed out the disadvantage in having an ecclesiastic at the head of this supply service. They argued that experience had proved it to be impossible for the Order to maintain sufficient control over the situation to avoid inconvenience and fraud; that it was dangerous to the monastic spirit to entrust a friar with such a large amount of worldly responsibility; and that it would be better to put a layman in charge of the

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38. For this incident, see *Cedula tocante al Padre Ramírez Procurador del Nuevo Mexico*. Bib. Nac., Mexico. *M. H. N. M.*, Leg., 1, núm. 13; also folios 24 to 32 and 40 to 52 of *Informe*. A. G. I., 58-4-9.

service inasmuch as a layman could be called upon for an accounting more easily than an ecclesiastic, since he could be required to give bond. It was proposed, therefore, that the Order should give up all responsibility for the management of the wagons which were to be turned over to a layman subject to strict control by the treasurer, and that the alms which were paid every three years to the New Mexican friars should be turned over to the *sindic* of the Order who would dispose of them in the name of the said friars. In short, it was proposed to separate the control and disbursement of the alms from the administration of the wagons.

It is interesting to note that the most important argument of Zapata and his associates was the pretended impossibility of reconciling the spiritual welfare of the Order with the worldly responsibilities involved in the administration of the supply trains. There seems to have been no difficulty in this respect during the period when Bishop Manso was in charge, and just as soon as Ramírez was out of the way the Franciscans began a campaign of criticism of the layman who, in 1664, was placed in charge.<sup>39</sup>

In order to reach a final decision concerning the entire problem, a *junta general de hacienda* was held on May 4, 1661. The various petitions of Zapata and his associates were presented, together with a statement of Ramírez' accounts and a number of opinions of the fiscal and treasury officials. It seems clear that throughout the entire controversy the considerations which determined the decision of the viceroy and the treasury officials were financial. It was apparent that Ramírez was short in his accounts as presented in 1660-1661, but it seemed probable that if given time, he could make a final and satisfactory adjustment.

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39. For the action of Zapata and the proposals of the Franciscans, see [*Memorial of the Provincial and Definitorio of the Province of Santo Evangelio*], April 26, 1661. Bib. Nac., Mexico, M. H. N. M. Leg. 1, núm. 15; *Memorial del Reverendísimo Zapatta en que con autos del definitorio de la Provincia hace declaracion de la Administracion de los Carros de su Magestad con que se conducian las limosnas del Nuevo Mexico* April 28, 1661. Bib. Nac., Mexico, M. H. N. M., Leg. 1, núm. 16; and ff. 52-58, *passim*, of *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

On the other hand, if he were pressed for an immediate settlement, the treasury was likely to be the loser. It appeared better, therefore, to permit Ramírez to remain in charge during the triennium, 1660-63, in order to give him an opportunity to make a final and full accounting on his return from the next journey to New Mexico. By a majority vote the Junta decided to have the 1660-63 caravan sent out in the usual manner and under Ramírez' direction. Then, in future, the service would be put up at auction.<sup>40</sup> A week later, Fray Zapata was obliged to accept this decision and to grant Ramírez authority to receive the royal alms and to proceed with the organization of the wagons.<sup>41</sup> The second victory for Ramírez.

Leaving Mexico City in the autumn of 1661, Ramírez and the supply train arrived in New Mexico late in the spring of 1662. Ramírez soon found that his troubles were not over, for news of his differences with Zapata and the Franciscans of Mexico City had preceded him and he was received with rather marked coolness.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, within a very short time after his arrival in the province, two of his Franciscan associates denounced him to Fray Alonso de Posada, who, in addition to being custodio, was also commissary of the Inquisition in New Mexico, for actions which were regarded as lacking in respect for the sacraments and practices of the Church.

The accusing friars — Fray Juan Álvarez and Fray Diego Villasis — were members of the party which had made the trip to New Mexico in the caravan with Ramírez. During his trial before the tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico City, 1663-64, Ramírez testified that Villasis was

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40. Junta General de Hacienda. May 24, 1661. *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

41. Patente. June 1, 1661. *Ibid.*

42. Ramírez stated that on his arrival at San Felipe he found the church and convento closed, so that he was obliged to make use of huts and a stable for the night. He said that it had been reported in New Mexico that he had been excommunicated because of his quarrel with Zapata. He also stated that Fray Alonso de Posada, the custodio, was his enemy. For these incidents, see Audiencia, Nov. 28, 1663. *Testificaciones contra Ramírez.*

his capital enemy; that Villasis hated him because of the fact that he had criticised and admonished Villasis for some of his actions. It would appear that Villasis possessed a faculty for causing trouble, for, during the course of Ramírez' trial, the viceroy requested the provincial to remove Villasis from Mexico City and to send him to Puebla because of his restless and turbulent attitude.<sup>43</sup> Alvarez and Villasis made numerous charges against Ramirez, as follows: (1) that Ramírez had blessed the Holy water in a vessel which he was accustomed to use for his bodily necessities; (2) that Ramírez celebrated mass in the same cart in which he ate and slept; (3) that Ramírez did not prepare and equip the altar properly when he celebrated; (4) that Ramírez gave his friar-associates meat to eat during Lent.<sup>43</sup>

It is apparent that Ramírez' stay in New Mexico in the summer of 1662 was not happy. Besides being coldly received and denounced to the representative of the Inquisition, he found himself involved in other difficulties of a serious character. It has been noted above that Governor Mendizábal had antagonized the clergy by his actions in almost every phase of administration. Fray García de San Francisco, the vice-custodio in charge after the departure of Ramírez in 1659, had made formal complaint concerning the governor to the authorities of New Spain.<sup>44</sup> In 1661 Fray Alonso de Posada, who had succeeded Ramírez as custodio and who also held appointment as commissary of the Inquisition, carried on a thorough investigation of Mendizábal's actions and examined dozens of witnesses. The findings were reported to the Holy Office in Mexico City, and orders for the arrest of Mendizábal and his wife, as well as of three or four lesser provincial officials who

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43. Audiencias. Nov. 27, 28, 1663. *Testificaciones contra Ramírez*. Also testimony of Fray Alvarez, May 29, 1662, testimony of Fray Villasis, May 30, 1662. *Ibid.*

44. For letters of Fray García de San Francisco and of the definitorio, see part I of the Mendizábal *proceso*, Arch. Gen., Mexico, *Inquisición* Tomo 593.

had been associated with Mendizábal, were issued.<sup>45</sup> In the summer of 1662 New Mexico hummed with excitement. Mendizábal and his associates were placed under arrest and their property placed under embargo by the Holy Office. Plans were made for sending the prisoners and a part of their property to Mexico City. Posada and the new governor, Don Diego de Peñalosa, quarreled over the disposition of the remainder of the property, and out of this quarrel developed another, and even more acute, situation which had its climax, somewhat later, in the arrest of Posada by order of Peñalosa.<sup>46</sup>

Ramírez found it difficult, if not impossible, to play a neutral role in this series of incidents. As administrator of the caravan he was obliged to assume responsibility for the prisoners being sent to Mexico City and for that portion of their property being sent with them. His actions were subject to close scrutiny, and some of them, especially certain action relating to Mendizábal and to Peñalosa, aroused suspicion so that he was accused of thwarting the free and lawful exercise of the authority of the Inquisition.<sup>47</sup>

The caravan, including the Mendizábal and the other prisoners of the Holy Office, made the return trip to Mexico between autumn and spring, 1662-63. The Holy Office took charge of the prisoners on their arrival in Mexico City, and the formal trials began soon afterward. In the case of Governor Mendizábal the trial dragged on for more than a year, and it was still unfinished when Mendizábal died in the prison of the Inquisition in September, 1664.<sup>48</sup>

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45. The testimony gathered by Posada is in the first two parts of the Mendizábal *proceso*, Arch. Gen., Mexico, Inquisición, Tomos 593, 587. The orders of arrest are in *Inquisición*, Tomo 442, f. 782.

46. For the quarrel between Posada and Peñalosa, see the Peñalosa *proceso* in Arch. Gen., Mexico, *Inquisición*, Tomo 507.

47. See testimony of Mendizábal, Francisco Gomez Robledo, and others; also the accusation against Ramírez. *Testificaciones contra Ramírez*.

48. For the trial of Mendizábal before the Holy Office, see *Mendizábal proceso*, Part III. Arch. Gen., México, *Inquisición*. Tomo 594.

The depositions of Álvarez and Villasis against Ramírez were delivered to the Holy Office soon after the arrival of the caravan, and during the summer and autumn of 1663 additional testimony was taken in the case, the witnesses being mostly the Mendizábals and their associates. In November, 1663, the *fiscal* of the Holy Office formally presented charges against Ramírez, and the inquisitor ordered Ramírez confined to his cell in the Convento of San Francisco pending trial.<sup>49</sup> The trial lasted until November of the following year (1664), when the tribunal, in definitive sentence, found Ramírez guilty. He was subjected to a severe rebuke in the presence of the tribunal and of some of his Franciscan associates, and was required to abjure and recant all of his errors.<sup>50</sup>

During the course of the trial Ramírez had continued to attend to the details of the supply service, and to enable him to do so the Holy Office had relaxed the stringency of his confinement in the Franciscan convento. The business which he carried on was mostly in the nature of liquidating his accounts, preparatory to the change in the administration of the service which was being worked out in accordance with the decree of the *junta general de hacienda* of May 24, 1661. Soon after the return of the caravan in 1663, the superiors of the Franciscans began to discuss the question of the future management of the service. After more than a year of negotiation and debate between the friars and the viceregal government, the changes were made and finally put into effect on September 1, 1664. Details concerning the change and concerning the later history of the service will be discussed in part III.

Fray Ramírez remained in charge of the wagons until August 31, 1664, so that his period of service lasted for more than eight years. In the course of time his accounts

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49. For presentation of the case by the fiscal, see *Testificaciones contra Ramírez*. ff. 267-68.

50. Sentence and abjuration. *Ibid.*, ff. 360-372.

were adjusted, and in a statement issued by the *contador* of the Treasury, March 23, 1666, Ramírez' administration received a definite vindication. It was stated that the accounts showed that Ramírez had turned back to the Treasury more than ten thousand pesos on account of the sums provided for the ten friars who had fled on the way to New Mexico in 1659 and for others who had died; "an act for which there is no example, for in the more than thirty years during which the administration of the [wagons] has been carried on, no part of the alms has been returned to this Real Caja."<sup>51</sup>

In 1672 the Suprema in Spain took the sting out of the sentence of the Mexican tribunal of the Holy Office.<sup>52</sup> In 1676 the Province of Santo Evangelio voted to grant Ramírez all the honors of an ex-custodio and procurator-general of New Mexico, and ordered the action of the Suprema published throughout the Province.<sup>53</sup>

(to be continued)

#### APPENDIX A

##### I. List of Friars who left Mexico City for the New Mexican Missions in the 1658-59 Caravan.

- Fr. Diego Rodríguez.
- Fr. Antonio de Sotomayor.
- Fr. Alonso de San Buenventura.
- Fr. Diego de Santander.
- Fr. Antonio Aguado.
- Fr. Nicolás de Freitas.
- Fr. Felipe Rodríguez.
- Fr. Fernando Monrroy.
- Fr. Juan Lobato.
- Fr. Miguel de Guevara.
- Fr. Antonio de Tabares.
- Fr. Diego -----?-----.
- Fr. Blas de Herrera.

51. [Certification by Valerio Martínez de Vidaorreta, Contador of the Real Hacienda.] March 23, 1666. Bib. Nac., Mexico. *M. H. N. M.*, Leg. 1, núm. 24.

52. *Testificaciones contra Ramirez*, ff. 378-382.

53. *Custodios de Nueva Mexico*. . . Bib. Nac., Mexico, *M. H. N. M.*, Leg. 9, núm. 8.



- Fr. Luís Martín.
- \*Fr. Baltasar Niño.
- \*Fr. Francisco de Mendoza.
- \*Fr. Bernardine de Zuñiga.
- \*Fr. Francisco Perez Barba.
- \*Fr. Juan de la Cruz.
- \*Fr. Alonso de Mesa.
- \*Fr. Nicolás de Ayllon.
- \*Fr. Baltasar Amador.
- \*Fr. Alonso Arroxo (or Arvoso).
- \*Fr. Juan Bautista.

\*Fled along the way.

II. List of Friars who had died during the Period Preceding the  
Arrival of the 1658-59 Caravan.

- Fr. Antonio de Aranda. (Former custodio)
- Fr. Matéo de San Joseph.
- Fr. Jerónimo de la Llana.
- Fr. Silvestre de Cárdenas.
- Fr. Alonso de Castillo.
- Fr. Pedro Ortiz de Zárate.
- Fr. Antonio Moreno.
- Fr. Domingo del Espíritu Santo.
- Fr. Juan de San Joseph.
- Fr. Francisco de la Concepción.

III. List of Friars in the Custodia at the time of Ramírez' de-  
parture in the autumn of 1659.

- Fr. Francisco de Salazar.
- Fr. Antonio de Ybargaray.
- Fr. Juan González.
- Fr. Tomás de Alvarado.
- Fr. Juan Ramírez. (Not the custodio and procurator-general)
- Fr. Juan de la Chica.
- Fr. Francisco de Azevedo.
- Fr. García de San Francisco.
- Fr. Benito de la Natividad.
- Fr. Juan de la Ascención.
- Fr. Miguel Sacristan.
- Fr. Diego Rodríguez.
- Fr. Jacinto Monpean.
- Fr. Antonio de Sotomayor.

\*Fr. Antonio de San Buenventura.

\*Fr. Alonso de San Buenventura.

Fr. Joseph Espeleta.

Fr. Juan de Plasencia.

Fr. Diego de Parraga.

Fr. Nicolás de Villar.

\*Fr. Diego de Salas.

Fr. Diego de Santander.

Fr. Salvador Guerra.

Fr. Joseph de Paredes.

Fr. Fernando de Velasco.

Fr. Antonio Aguado.

Fr. Felipe Rodríguez.

Fr. Nicolás de Freitas.

Fr. Fernando Monrroy.

Fr. Juan Lobato.

Fr. Francisco Muñoz.

Fr. Miguel de Guevara.

\*Fr. Pedro Ortiz.

Lay Brothers.

Fr. Francisco de San Buenventura.

Fr. Jerónimo de Pedraza.

Fr. Pedro Moreno.

Fr. Nicolás Chaves.

Fr. Antonio de Tabares.

Fr. Joseph de Pliego.

Fr. Francisco Flores.

Fr. Felipe de la Cruz.

Fr. Luis Martínez. (Martín?)

Fr. Pedro de Molina.

Fr. Blas de Herrera.

This list does not include Fr. Juan Ramírez, the custodio; Fr. Pedro de Molina, Ramírez' companion with the caravan; Fr. Juan Perez and Fr. Cabal, who were serving, or had been serving, the Manso mission.

\*Died soon afterward.

(These lists have been compiled from certifications in Informe, A. G. I., 58-4-9.)

## REVIEWS

*A Quaker Forty-Niner.—The Adventures of Charles Edward Pancoast on the American Frontier.* Edited by Anna Paschall with a Foreword by John Bach McMaster. University of Pennsylvania Press. (1930. Pp. xv-402.)

John Bach McMaster in his "Foreword" declares that "it is not only of historical importance but of general interest to know all we can of the manners, customs, usages, way of living, behavior of these people carried to the frontier by the steady western movement of population, and of this sort of knowledge Mr. Pancoast in his narrative has given us a great deal. It is not the story of a traveller jotting down such scenes and events as come in his way, or of unfriendly critics such as Harriet Martineau and Charles Dickens holding up to laughter the crudeness and rawness of the West, but of an adventurous lad of the plain people living among the plain people of the frontier and by his daily adventures giving us a picture of their life."

Interesting the volume is and it covers a wide scope of country and scene. Beginning with school days among the Quakers in New Jersey, naively telling of pranks and punishment, the writer reviews apprentice days in a Philadelphia drug store, a transmigration to St. Louis and what happened on the way, settlement in Warsaw, then on the frontier, and finally to California by way of Santa Fe and the Gila Route, and from San Francisco to Mexico and Nicaragua. Adventures galore, thrills and romance, always maintaining an intensely personal viewpoint, observations and comment limited by lack of knowledge of history but never dull, the book is well worth reading. Written many years after the occurrences described, it is not surprising that here and there errors of geography may be pointed out and that historical accuracy is not always maintained. As a picture of the times and the reactions of an inexperienced youth from New Jersey to the turbulence of the Far West the record is a valuable one.

There is hardly a page that isn't quotable. Here for instance there is an account of a visit to Kit Carson's abode on the Rayado; the capitalization being the author's: "The Ranch House could not be said to be stylish: it was a two-story log affair, surrounded by Adobe walls for purposes of fortification. Inside the walls were several Adobe Houses, and outside a number more, as well as a large Corral and several Buildings used as Stables, Slaughter Houses, etc. Carson had about him a dozen or more Americans and Mexicans and about twenty Indians, beside a number of Squaws, all to be fed at his Table; and judging from the waste we saw around the place, his Table was of no mean order. Kit himself was a superior representative of the genuine Rocky Mountain Hunter. His skin was dark and he wore long black hair over his coat, giving him much the appearance of a Mexican. He dressed in first class Indian style in Buckskin coat and pants trimmed with leather dangles, and wore moccasins on his feet and a Mexican Sombrero on his head. His reception of us was cordial, and he distributed a clever piece of Beef to each of our Messes. At our first meeting he had little to say; but after supper he sat down by our Camp Fire, and we found him very garrulous, entertaining us until eleven o'clock with his numerous Indian adventures. He spoke of the difficulties he had experienced in maintaining the lonely position he occupied and in protecting his Stock from the Raids of the Utes and the other Indians. He had called in the aid of the U. S. Soldiers, and being thoroughly acquainted with the haunts of the Indians, he had punished them so severely that they had found it their best Policy to make their Peace with him. He now enjoyed their Friendship, and often gave them meat; and they no longer molested his Stock, although they continued to steal that of others. However, he still kept a Guard on his Cattle by day and a Sentinel at night. He showed us several Arrow and Bullet Wounds on his person that he had received in his encounters with the Indians, in which he

gloried as much as could the most distinguished General." It must be remembered that this was in the summer of 1849. Amusing and exciting were the experiences in Galisteo before coming on to Santa Fe, his reference to the city being brief. "As soon as I arrived in this quaint old Frontier Town I hunted up my Friend John Doty, the young tow-headed Fellow who had handed me the Pistols on the night of the unfortunate Ball in Warsaw, and who was himself wounded on that eventful occasion. I found him managing a large general Store for James White, who had been the heaviest Store Keeper in Warsaw when I was there, and whose Wife had danced with me at the Ball. John was rejoiced to see me and used his best endeavors to make me comfortable. He informed me that Mr. White was coming across the Plains with a Caravan, bringing his Wife and Child, and he was expecting them every day. I bought of him a poor six-barreled Pistol and a few other articles; but I had come nearly to the bottom of my purse, and could not buy many things I needed."

Much more informative is his description of Los Angeles, then a small Spanish town, while his account of San Francisco is most vivid. The Indians he calls a "listless, shiftless, and debauched race" and expresses the hope that with aid of Quakers as Indian agents who will educate the Indian youths "these Students will become good Citizens, and perhaps the distinction between Indian and White Man will be obliterated."—P. A. F. W.

*Conquering our Great American Plains.* By Stuart Henry. E. P. Dutton & Co. (1930. Pp. xvi-393. Ill.) More scholarly in manner but much narrower in range than "A Quaker Forty-Niner," the story is principally that of the pioneer days of Abilene, Kansas, and an attempted vindication of some of its early characters with whom historical chronicles have not dealt kindly. The Chisholm and Abilene Cattle Trails come in for incidental mention. The author

lived in Abilene from 1868 on. Explains the author in his preface: "Early frontier accounts are frequently obscure or inconsistent. For it is not enough to see a thing. \* \* \* It is essential, moreover, for the reader to realize distinctly what the conditions and accepted opinions then and there were, and not insert among them, as frequently occurs, conditions, experiences, and opinions of later times or known of in other places. He should understand that that frontier region of the American Desert represented almost a tabula rasa where almost anything might be expected by newcomers to happen." The story is a lively one, is fully documented, and is interspersed with anecdotes.—P. A. F. W.

In the *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris*, tome xxi, pp. 159-167 (1929), is an informative and charmingly written article on the famous Inscription Rock of New Mexico, written by Prof. Etienne B. Renaud of Denver University. And the interest is enhanced by eight illustrations of the more important inscriptions, four of them on two excellent plates.

It would have been well for Professor Renaud, in speaking of the Oñate inscription, to note that other documentary sources show conclusively that the return from the expedition to the South Sea was made in the spring of 1605, not 1606 as El Morro now reads. Whether this discrepancy is due to vandalism or to a mistake of the inscriber will probably never be settled. Examination shows that the inscription has been scored over (probably by someone who wanted to get a clear photograph), and the one who did it may have mistaken an old-style "5" for an indistinct "6" —and proceeded to close the supposed gap, leaving it as it now appears. But this is only surmise; the point is, that, as it now reads, the Oñate inscription on El Morro disagrees with the documentary sources.

Unfortunately also, Professor Renaud wrote this article before the terms in office of succeeding governors of New Mexico had been definitely established. The anony-

mous inscription of July 29, 1620, can refer only to Governor Juan de Eulate who took office at Santa Fe on Dec. 22, 1618, and served to Dec. 21, 1625. As the author states, "This remarkable inscription is generally attributed to the captain-general Manuel de Silva Nieto . . ."—which of course is impossible, as this governor did not arrive in Santa Fe and assume office until May 1, 1629. L. B. B.

*Las Ordenes Religiosas de España y la Colonización de América en la Segunda Parte del Siglo XVIII.* By P. Otto Maas, O. F. M. (Barcelona: A. G. Belart, 1929. 216 pp.)

Aside from a brief foreword of three pages and an index of 24 pages, this book consists entirely of source material in the form of fifteen documents from various archives in Seville and Madrid. There is no discussion of the data thus presented except that which is embodied in the documents themselves, the author in his few notes confining himself to bibliographical information and a few points explanatory of the text. In other words, he says in effect to the reader, "Here are some important documents on missionary work in the Americas and the Philippines; you may study them for yourself."

Father Maas is doctor in theology and professor of missions at Wiedenbrück, Germany, and this book is one result of work which he was doing in Spain last year. It is really a second volume, continuing his early study, "Viajes de misioneros franciscanos a la conquista del Nuevo Mexico" (Seville, 1915, pp. 187).

While students of American history may well feel grateful to Father Maas for making available all of the fifteen documents, probably to readers of this quarterly three will be of especial interest. The second (pp. 17-35) is a "Noticia de la California, Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya y Nueva Mexico" of about the year 1779; the third is the letter from Father Vélez de Escalante to Father Morfi (Santa Fe, April 2, 1778); and the last and longest of all (pp. 103-192) has

the title "Copia del Informe General instruido en cumplimiento de Real Orden de 31 de enero de 1794 sobre las misiones del reino de Nueva España, comparando su actual estado con el que tenían las que entregaron los ex-Jesuitas al tiempo de su expatriación." L. B. B.

#### ANOTHER KEARNEY LETTER

(The following letter was inadvertently omitted in the January *Review* from the group of letters supplied by Mr. Clinton H. Kearny of San Antonio. The omission was especially unfortunate because of the significant reference to the official arrangements regarding General Kearny in California. It should be compared with the discussion of this matter in the paper by Mr. Thomas Kearny, pp. 1-16.—L. B. B.)

WINFIELD SCOTT to MRS. S. W. K.

Washington, Nov. 6, 1846.

My dear Mrs. Kearney

I have just finished an official letter to General Kearney which goes out by Colonel R. B. Mason, who will sail from New York, in two or three days, for Chagres & cross the Isthmus of Panama.

Until it was too late to give you notice, I supposed he would proceed by the Ohio, Mississippi, &c,—with time to receive letters from you at New Orleans, but the Secretary of War finally decided otherwise.

It may be gratifying to you to learn that your noble husband is held in the highest estimation by all in authority here. Nothing could have been better done than his march upon, conquest & organization of, New Mexico. His last report was dated Sep. 16, & I had a private letter from him at the same time. He is now supposed to be more than half way from Santa Fe to the Pacific. On his arrival, he will be the commander of the troops assembled or to be assembled there, & the civil governor of Upper California. I have



no doubt success will continue to wait upon him.

In the letter of which Col. Mason will be the bearer, I have given the general permission (say) some time early next summer, after tranquilizing and organizing the Province of Upper California, to take a sufficient escort & to return to Saint Louis. I think, therefore, you may hope to see him before August next—well & highly distinguished.

Please make my compliments to Mrs. Kearney your niece, and believe me,

My dear Madam,

With the highest esteem,

Yr friend & servant

Winfield Scott.

[Inscription:]

To Mrs. (General) Kearney  
U. S. Army  
St. Louis, Missouri.

[Postmarked:]

Washington City, D. C.  
Nov. 7.

## NECROLOGY

## JAMES ARTHUR CARRUTH

James Arthur Carruth, active in New Mexico affairs for the past half century, distantly related to former President Calvin Coolidge and intimate friend of Vice-president Charles Curtis, passed away gently Friday morning, April 11, 1930, at his home on Don Gaspar avenue, with his wife and son at his bedside when the last summons came.

Mr. Carruth came of English ancestry. He was born in Cherry Valley, Oswego county, New York, on June 1, 1851, the eldest of five children. His father was the Rev. James H. Carruth, a Presbyterian minister, born in 1807 at Phillipston, Mass., a graduate of Yale and of Auburn Theological Seminary. In addition to filling several pulpits, he was also prominent in the educational field as professor in various colleges. In 1856, he moved with his family to Ossawatimie, Kansas, where he came in contact with John Brown and other celebrities of pre-Civil War days.

Mr. Carruth attended school in the university town of Lawrence, Kansas, and there was apprenticed in the printing trade which was also followed by two of his brothers. He had worked in printing offices at Junction City, Emporia, and Topeka before coming to Las Vegas in 1881 where he established a printing office, book bindery, and stationery business. As a Republican he was active in politics, held the office of public printer in 1887 and 1888, was member of the board of education and postmaster of East Las Vegas. He was publisher of the Las Vegas Record and other newspapers and periodicals. In 1903, Mr. Carruth left New Mexico for Berkeley, California, where he was associated for five years with his brothers in the printing business. The southwest drew him back and he located in Santa Fe in 1908, employed for a time by A. J. Loomis in the Eagle printing office, and later with Frank Staplin in the State Record office. For the past four years Mr. Carruth was superintendent of the printery of the Museum of New Mex-

ico and School of American Research which prints the New Mexico Historical Review, and despite his advanced age was mentally alert and physically active until two weeks before his death, ascribing his excellent health to the fact that he was a total abstainer from spirituous liquors and tobacco. Carruth was a member of the A. O. U. W., a Mason, and interested himself in civic affairs.

Mr. Carruth was twice married, death taking his first wife by whom he had two children, Charles A. Carruth, for many years a resident of Santa Fe, but of late years living with his wife at French, N. M., and Elsie, wife of F. W. Roeding, living at Berkeley, Calif. Mr. Carruth later married Miss Clara H. Gerlinger of Burlington, Iowa, who survives him. His three brothers, Dr. William Herbert Carruth, professor emeritus of the department of literature at Stanford university, California, and Albert and Walter Carruth of Berkeley, California, died within the past two years.

Mr. Carruth endeared himself to many by his gentleness—he was always considerate of others—his loyalty and unselfishness. For many years he was deeply interested in mining development and made a special study of New Mexico mineral resources. He loved the classics, was a wide reader of history, scholarly, and one of the old-time all around printers who in this age of specialization have become such a rarity. His vivid reminiscences of turbulent days in New Mexico that followed the coming of the railroads were always entertaining. The day after his arrival in Las Vegas, a lynching took place in which four outlaws were hanged, one from each arm of a windmill that stood in the old town. It was Mr. Carruth who set up and distributed placards now historical, and of which the original hangs in the First National bank, warning a dozen outlaws and notorious frontier characters to leave Las Vegas before 10 o'clock that same evening. Tradition has it that the dust of the vacating thugs could be seen for miles along the Santa Fe trail on the way to Santa Fe that afternoon.

The stately phrases of the Apostolic Blessin, "The Lord bless thee and keep thee," and the majestic "Thanatopsis," "So live that when thy summons come," concluded the beautiful Masonic funeral services over the mortal remains of James A. Carruth at Fairview cemetery, Sunday afternoon, April 13, 1930.

At the Rising funeral chapel on East Palace avenue, relatives and friends, including the members of Montezuma lodge, A. F. & A. M., had gathered previously for the last tribute to the deceased. The Rev. David Reiter of the First Presbyterian church read the comforting words of the funeral service and led in fervent prayer. The floral tributes were many and appropriate; the attendance large. It was a perfect, sunny afternoon, a Palm Sunday such as only Santa Fe knows. In the cemetery, trees were beginning to leaf out and the first blossoms of spring proclaimed nature's resurrection. The stillness was broken only by caroling of birds and the low voices of the mourners. The following were the active pallbearers: Leslie Gillett, Owen Wood, Fred Muller, T. J. Holderman, Charles E. Linney, and Herman C. Martin. The honorary pallbearers were Governor Richard C. Dillon, Paul A. F. Walter, Henry Woodruff, Dr. E. L. Hewett, H. S. Kaune, Col. George W. Prichard, Lansing B. Bloom, Charles E. Doll, Frank Staplin, J. C. McConvery, Dr. C. O. Harrison, and R. W. Birdseye. —P. A. F. W.

# THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(INCORPORATED)

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 26, 1859

## PAST PRESIDENTS

- 1859 — Col. John B. Grayson, U. S. A.  
1861 — Maj. James L. Donaldson, U. S. A.  
1863 — Hon. Kirby Benedict
- 

- 1881 — Hon. William G. Ritch  
1883 — Hon. L. Bradford Prince  
1923 — Hon. Frank W. Clancy  
1925 — Col. Ralph E. Twitchell  
1926 — Paul A. F. Walter

## OFFICERS for 1930-1931

Paul A. F. Walter, president  
Francis T. Cheetham, vice-pres.    Lansing B. Bloom, cor. sec'y-treas.  
Col. José D. Sena, vice-pres.    Mrs. Reed Holloman, recording sec'y  
Henry Woodruff, museum curator

## FELLOWS

Ralph P. Bieber	Charles W. Hackett
William C. Binkley	Edgar L. Hewett
Lansing B. Bloom	Frederick W. Hodge
Herbert E. Bolton	Alfred V. Kidder
Aurelio M. Espinosa	J. Lloyd Mecham
George P. Hammond	Rev. Theodosius Meyer, O. F. M
Paul A. F. Walter	

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(as amended Nov. 19. 1929)

Article I. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historical nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have by published work contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election,

and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

**Article 5. Elections.** At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

**Article 6. Dues.** Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

**Article 7. Publications.** All publication of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

**Article 8. Meetings.** Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at Eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

**Article 9. Quorums.** Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

**Article 10. Amendments.** Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

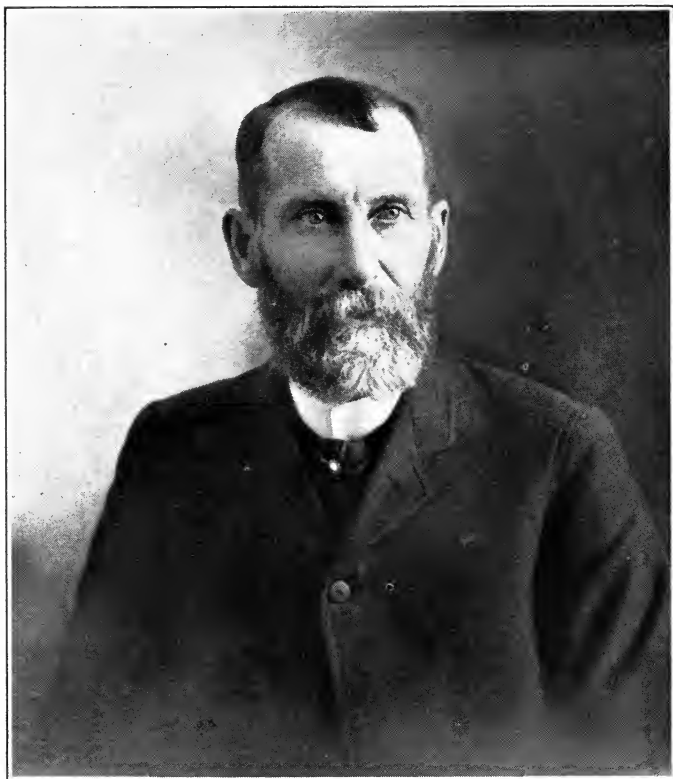
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Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, Santa Fe, N. Mex.









HENRY WOODRUFF

Curator of the New Mexico Historical Society for  
Forty Years—1890 to 1930

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## APACHE MISRULE

BY JOHN P. CLUM

(Concluded)

We are indebted to General Pope for the very important information that Colonel Carr arrested the medicine man *at the Indian village without resistance*, and conveyed his prisoner five or six miles in the direction of Fort Apache without difficulty of any sort. It was not until he had encamped for the night that the mutinous scouts came in and fired upon Captain Hentig and some soldiers. *All other reports have given the impression that the shooting occurred at the Indian village, thus implying that a considerable number of the White Mountain Apaches were involved in the attack.*

The details of the plan adopted for *quieting the Indians* and apprehending and punishing the mutinous scouts is sufficiently outlined by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Price in his annual report for 1881, as follows:

Six days' notice was given throughout the reserve that a "peace line" would be declared on the reserve on September 21st—outside of whose limits all Indians found would be considered hostile. The White Mountain Indians came into the agency and sub-agency in small parties, where they were required to surrender to the military officers unconditionally, except that they asked and were promised a fair trial for their individual crimes.

On September 20th five chiefs who had been leaders surrendered, and during the ensuing week sixty principal men followed their example. *Several of the mutinous scouts had been arrested and brought in by the agency Indian police force and delivered up to the military, and by the close of the month all were in or accounted for, and little remained to be done but to proceed with the trials. In the same report Commissioner Price makes the following statement: "I desire to call attention to the loyalty shown by five-sixth of the Indians on the San Carlos reserve. They have rendered invaluable and hazardous service as police and scouts."*

Commissioner Price says the Indians "asked and were promised a fair trial for their individual *crimes*." The Commissioner has chosen a *harsh and unwarranted phrase*—What the Indians sought was a fair trial based upon their individual *conduct*—not individual *crimes*. They had not committed any *crimes*, and they declared their innocence in a most emphatic manner when they came in voluntarily and surrendered to the military arm, knowing that they must stand trial before that stern tribunal.

There was no uprising among the White Mountain Apaches. They had not committed any depredations and were not insubordinate. *Doubtless they were much excited by conditions created by those who should have been their best friends. Tiffany and Carr had blundered; the troops were making "rapid marches through all the exposed districts" (whatever that may mean), and there were rumors of more troops and big guns being rushed toward their homes and cornfields (their "stronghold") on the Cibicu.*

Spectacular maneuvers had been employed to create this excitement, and now equally spectacular maneuvers must be invoked to *quiet* these much disturbed Apaches. The law assumes a man to be innocent until the contrary is proven. But the military arm was in motion and chose to assume that the Indians they had excited were guilty and must be brought to trial.

Upwards of one hundred of these Indian prisoners were escorted to Fort Grant for trial. Among these were the five mutinous scouts who "had been arrested and brought in by the agency Indian police force and delivered up to the military," and these five mutinous scouts *were the only Indians found guilty before the military tribunal at Fort Grant.*

The mass of the White Mountain Indians had not committed any crimes. They had not been hostile, or even insubordinate. But they had been *excited* and must be *quieted*. So they were humiliated by the order demanding their unconditional surrender to the military arm. Then they were marched under military guard eighty miles to Fort Grant. How long they remained at Fort Grant, and just how they were treated during the time they were held as prisoners at that post, I do not know. But, eventually, *after much annoyance and inconvenience these Indians were declared innocent and quieted* and were permitted to trek back to their homes and cornfields on the Cibicu. Due publicity was given to this bluster of the military arm, but the humiliated and depressed Apaches had no friend ready and willing to tell the story of their misfortunes and helplessness.

Of the five mutinous scouts convicted, two were imprisoned at Alcatraz, and the remaining three, "Dandy Jim," "Dead Shot," and "Skippy" were hanged at Fort Grant, Arizona, on March 3, 1882.

The vaulting ambition of the Military arm to *exterminate the Apaches* met an inglorious and overwhelming defeat before they were able "to strike the savages such a blow in actual battle as the General of the Army had demanded." The White Mountain Apaches refused to be either hostile or disobedient! They surrendered to the military arm promptly, voluntarily and unconditionally (merely begging for a fair trial), notwithstanding they knew they were submitting their fate to a stern tribunal which preferred that these Apaches "be killed by bullets rather than by rope"—or, in plain English, *that they be executed without trial.*

Meanwhile it became obvious "that the whole affair had been grossly exaggerated" and that twenty-two companies of reinforcement had been rushed into Arizona on a *fool's errand*. The three batteries of artillery sent to Arizona in September were back at their California stations in October. Troop G, 1st Cavalry, returned in November. Troop 1, 1st Cavalry, and the five companies of the 8th Infantry were back in California in December, *General Willcox having secured permission to detain these troops in Arizona for "work on the Rocky Canyon road."* Troop C, 1st Cavalry, the last of the reinforcements from California, left Arizona in March, 1882. The troops from New Mexico were ordered back to their home stations a day or two after their arrival at Fort Apache, but this order was rescinded when a considerable part of the Chiricahuas fled from the sub-agency on September 30, 1881.

"The Military arm" has never recorded the actual causes that led to this flight of the "wild Chiricahuas." General Willcox says: "the causes of their sudden change are unknown." General Carter's statement is well worth consideration—"Troops of the regiment *made rapid marches through all the exposed districts, gradually concentrating at and near the agency, where, for some unexplained reason, the wild Chiricahuas under Ju (Hoo) and Geronimo, who were at the San Carlos agency (sub-agency) fled toward Mexico, leaving a trail of blood and pillage to mark their hurried flight.*"

It is exceedingly interesting to note that General Carter has, himself, *concisely recorded the "unexplained reason"* why "the wild Chiricahuas fled toward Mexico, leaving a trail of blood and pillage to mark their hurried flight." The "military arm" had been "set in motion." The troops were making "rapid marches," and "gradually concentrating at and near the agency." "Boots, boots, boots, boots, moving up and down again." This rapid marching and counter-marching of the pale-faced cohorts, fully equipped for mor-

tal combat, was continued for weeks, and the greater part of these "operations in the field against hostile Apaches" were *concentrated* in the Gila valley, sixty or seventy miles from "the Cibicu country." The final and fatal "motion" of "the military arm" occurred on the afternoon of September 30th when Major Biddle came blustering and blundering down the Gila Valley from Camp Thomas at the head of three troops of cavalry and halted menacingly in the midst of the Apache camps which were located in the vicinity of the sub-agency.

The reader should understand that Fort Apache and the Cibicu country were both situated entirely within the boundaries of the San Carlos reservation and about sixty miles north of the Gila valley; that Camp Thomas, the San Carlos agency and the sub-agency were all situated in the Gila valley; that Camp Thomas was situated several miles east of the eastern boundary of the reservation and about thirty-five miles east from the San Carlos agency, *and that the sub-agency was about midway between these two posts.*

Although the formal request from Agent Tiffany for military assistance upon the reservation was dated August 14th, it is apparent that such action had been decided upon prior to that date, as General Willcox tells us that on August 13th "troops were ordered forward from points below and west of Camp Thomas." The points below Camp Thomas were Fort Grant, Fort Bowie and Fort Lowell. It is probable that a majority of the eleven companies brought in from California were ordered to report at some one of these three posts. All troops would be brought to Camp Thomas or down from Fort Apache in the "rapid marches" necessary to accomplish the gradual concentration "at and near the agency"—*and all of the troops moving between Camp Thomas to San Carlos would pass the sub-agency where "the wild Chiricahuas" were located.*

It is very important to note here that the "wild Chiricahuas" camped near the sub-agency included a small band

under Chief Hoo, and that, *within the past year*, these Indians had been induced to abandon their stronghold in the fastnesses of the Sierra Madre mountains of Mexico and to locate on the San Carlos reservation, and it will be helpful if we remember that the Chiricahuas, the Southern Chiricahuas, and the Warm Spring Apaches had been friends and allies for many years, and that the last of the troublesome hostiles were recruited from these three bands. Also that in some records Hoo's name is spelled "Ju," or "Juh," an alleged Spanish name, in the pronunciation of which the "J" is given the "H" sound.

On page 18 of the *Review* for January, 1928, are recorded the details of my first meeting with Geronimo, Hoo and Nolgee, chiefs of the band of so-called "Southern Chiricahuas," who "had elected to include themselves in the treaty" made by General Howard with Cochise in 1872. This meeting occurred at Apache Pass on the afternoon of June 8, 1876. During that night this band of Southern Chiricahuas fled into Mexico. The main band of the Chiricahuas under the sons of Cochise—Tah-zay and Nah-chee—were removed to the San Carlos reservation at that time and located near the sub-agency. But Hoo and his followers maintained their stronghold in the Sierra Madre mountains of Mexico for more than four years thereafter, and it was not until January, 1881, that this band of Apaches were induced to abandon their nomadic life and locate with their friends at the San Carlos sub-agency.

The general situation of the Chiricahua camp at the sub-agency in August, 1881, was, substantially, as follows: Nah-chee and his band had been living there *a little more than five years*. They had been orderly and contented and their loyalty was not questioned. Geronimo was brought to San Carlos *in irons* in May, 1877. After his release from the guardhouse he had strayed away for a visit with Hoo and his band in the Sierra Madre, but after his return to the reservation in 1879 he appeared to have settled down to the



routine of camp life at the sub-agency. Hoo and his band had been on the reservation only a few months, but they insisted that they were sincere in their promise to remain at peace—and *their general conduct sustained this declaration.*

*With the arrival of Hoo and his band at the sub-agency in January 1881, practically all of the Apaches west of the Rio Grande had been assembled on the San Carlos reservation. This plan of concentration had been progressing since 1875, and now that it had actually been accomplished the utmost wisdom and discretion should have been employed in the direction and management of these Indians in order that they might remain at peace upon the reservation. Especial care should have been taken not to alarm the bands under Geronimo and Hoo, as these had only recently abandoned their unrestrained nomadic habits to which they had been accustomed all of their lives. Another matter that should have been given particular consideration was the very important fact that there had been no troops upon the reservation since the Chiricahuas were removed from Apache Pass and located at the sub-agency in June, 1876. And it may not be doubted that Geronimo had finally settled down at the sub-agency, and that Hoo and his followers had been persuaded to join the Chiracahuas there chiefly because of the fact that there were no troops at San Carlos, and that the Apaches, themselves, were enforcing order and discipline through the medium of the agency police, with the result that a condition of peace and security prevailed throughout the reservation.*

Soon after the outbreak of September 30 occurred, Agent Tiffany submitted a special report to Washington which is included in the annual report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1881, as follows:

*These bands (the Chiricahuas) have been perfectly quiet during the whole White Mountain trouble. They have*

been reported out on the war-path in New Mexico and committing depredations all over the country, but every time inquiry has been made the chiefs and men have always been found in their camps.

*“Ten days, or thereabouts, before the present outbreak they came to me to hear what was going on, and what so many troops meant about the agencies. I explained it to them and told them to have no fear, that none of the Indians who had been peaceable would be molested in any way. They said they had been out on the war-path (those under Hoo) and had come in in good faith and were contented, that they did not want war or to fight. They inquired if the movements of troops had anything to do with what they had done in Mexico. I assured them it had not. They shook hands, much delighted and went back.*

*Then the military move was made on the sub-agency to arrest Chiefs George and Bonito of the White Mountain Indians, and Issue Clerk Hoag at the sub-agency, who has been very efficient and judicious in all this trouble, tells me that they were literally scared away by this movement of the troops.*

It should also be remembered that in the meantime *two companies of infantry and three troops of cavalry had arrived at Fort Apache on September 24th, followed by six troops of cavalry on September 25th—all reinforcements from New Mexico. An Indian could travel from Fort Apache to the sub-agency in a single day, and, therefore, we need not doubt that the “wild Chiricahuas” were fully informed as to the arrival of reinforcements at Fort Apache two or three days prior to the outbreak. They also knew that the group of Indians held as prisoners of war by the military at San Carlos had been increasing daily, until between fifty and seventy-five were in custody. The most alarming feature of the situation was the fact that no troops had been on the reservation since October, 1875, but now heavily armed battalions were making “rapid marches” to and about the agency and heavy reinforcements were arriving from the east and from the west.*

It was inevitable that these menacing movements of the "military arm" should spread alarm and unrest among the Indians upon the reservation. In fact the military could not have improved much upon their maneuvers if they had deliberately planned to force an outbreak, and the only explanation of these maneuvers is that they were in harmony with the policy outlined by the Secretary of War in his annual report for 1878, and which we have heretofore quoted as follows:

I remain of the opinion that permanent peace in the Indian country can only be maintained by the exhibition of force sufficient to overawe and keep in subjection the more warlike and dangerous of the savages. We should confront them with such military force as will teach them the futility of an attempt to resist the power of the United States.

The maneuvers were also in harmony with General Sherman's telegram of September 29, 1881, which we have heretofore quoted as follows: "Sooner or later some considerable number of these Apaches will have to be killed by bullets rather than by rope."

The maneuvers were also in harmony with the blood-thirsty sentiment expressed by General Willcox in his annual report dated August 31, 1882, and which we have heretofore quoted as follows: "We were unable to strike the savages such a blow in actual battle as the General of the Army demanded, and as the country ardently looked for—no more than I did myself."

And these maneuvers were absolutely unnecessary and unwarranted. The Apaches on the reservation were not hostile and had no desire to go on the war-path. Even after the mutinous military scouts had attacked Colonel Carr's command General McDowell said:

The fact of the troops finding the medicine-man and his people in their homes, where they had been planting corn, *shows that they were not then for war.*

And General Pope said:

There was certainly no concerted action or prearranged attack. It became known that the whole affair had been grossly exaggerated. All *supposed hostiles* were surrendering without firing a shot or offering any resistance, and there were no indications whatever of premeditation or intention to begin general hostilities.

*General Carter was with Colonel Carr's command at the time of the attack and was on the reservation all of the time during the maneuvers above referred to, and he tells us that:*

The failure of the messiah to come back to life, as he had promised to do if killed, cooled the ardor of the White Mountain Apaches, *and they rapidly drifted back to their reservation camps."*

Apparently the "wild Chiricahuas" *had been regarded as positively friendly*, for the reason that General Willcox, in referring to the outbreak of September 30th, says: "*The causes of their sudden change are unknown.*"

We must not forget the Agent Tiffany was primarily responsible for all of these disastrous maneuvers because on August 14th he *made a formal demand that the "military arm" be set in motion*. Immediately after the outbreak Agent Tiffany reported to Washington that the Chiricahuas had been "perfectly quiet during the whole of the White Mountain trouble." But the Chiricahuas were alarmed, and that alarm took them to the San Carlos agency several times. On two occasions they were talking to the agent when telegrams arrived inquiring as to their whereabouts. And then, *about ten days before the outbreak*, they visited the agent again to learn "*what was going on, and what so many troops meant about the agencies?*"

In that inquiry General Willcox could have found a startling explanation of "the causes of their sudden change." Agent Tiffany says, "*I explained it to them.*" It is most unfortunate that the agent did not include that explanation in

his report to Washington. It would be mighty interesting to know *just how he explained to the untutored Indians all that "was going on, and what so many troops meant about the agencies."* Nah-chee and his band, had been at the sub-agency *five years. These had fully demonstrated their loyalty.* The little band under Hoo had been on the reservation only about eight months, but they declared they had come in from the war-path "in good faith and were contented, that they did not want war or to fight." The agent says he told them "*to have no fear, that none of the Indians who had been peaceable would be molested in any way.*" But they still evinced their alarm when they asked the agent specifically "if the movements of the troops had anything to do with what they had done in Mexico?" The agent says he "assured them it had not." Thereupon "they shook hands much delighted and went back" to their camp at the sub-agency. "THEN"—*note the helpless whine of the agent*—"THEN! !" Well, what then?

"*Then the military move was made on the sub-agency.*" That little sentence expresses volumes. It explains the sorry jumble and bungling of the whole situation. *There were two administrations operative upon the reservation, but the assurances of the one and the movements of the other did not coordinate.* Agent Tiffany was no longer in a position to "*assure*" the Indians of anything. He had stupidly, but voluntarily, relinquished that vital feature of authority—so necessary to the success of his administration—when he made formal demand that *the military arm be set in motion upon the reservation.* He assured the Chiricahuas that they would not "*be molested in any way,*" and the Indians returned to their camps "*delighted*" with *this promise of continued peace.* Then, suddenly, about a week later, without apparent necessity or cause—and without the slightest warning—THREE TROOPS OF CAVALRY came galloping down from Camp Thomas and halted in battle array at the very threshold of their rude camps.

Under date of Tucson, Arizona, October 12, 1881—just two weeks after the outbreak—General Willcox states that “the causes of their sudden change are unknown,” and in his book published in December, 1917, General Carter says the Indians fled “for some unexplained reason.” After a lapse of thirty-six years the “military arm” still pleaded ignorance as to the actual cause of the outbreak of the “wild Chiricahuas” and yet, as a matter of fact, it is, by far, an easier task to discover the causes *why the Indians fled*, than it is to explain the reason *why the troops came*. AND WHY DID THEY COME?

The bands of White Mountain Apaches under the leaders “George” and “Bonito” had their camps near the sub-agency and received their rations at that point. An edict had been promulgated commanding all Indians suspected of aiding or abetting the disturbance on the Cibicu must report at the agency and be surrendered to the military authorities as prisoners of war. When George and Bonito were informed that they were among the suspects they came in to the sub-agency voluntarily on September 25th and reported to Ezra Hoag, the employe in charge. Without delay, accompanied by Mr. Hoag, they proceeded to Camp Thomas and surrendered to General Willcox, the department commander, who, without hesitation, released them on parole.

Five days later, *for some unexplained reason*, General Willcox decided that the parole he had granted these leaders should be terminated and that they should be taken into custody. Doubtless General Willcox was acting within his official rights in arriving at this decision, although he has not favored us with the slightest hint as to the causes that led to this *sudden change* in his attitude toward these two suspects, but when he ordered three troops of cavalry, fully equipped for war, to proceed, forthwith, upon the reservation for the purpose of arresting George and Bonito and bringing them and their bands to Camp Thomas, *he blundered unnecessarily, stupidly and fatally*.

Agent Tiffany was still in charge of the reservation. It is true that, six weeks before, he had asked that troops be sent to arrest the medicine-man on the Cibicu, *but he had not asked the troops to arrest anyone at the sub-agency.* There were no hostiles there, nor any disturbance of any sort. George and Bonito had surrendered voluntarily on September 25th, and there is no reason to doubt that they would surrender again promptly on September 30th if told to do so. The San Carlos agency police were faithfully and efficiently executing every duty assigned to them, *regardless of kinships or hazards. If there had been any need for a display of force,* and the San Carlos Apache Police had been put on the job they would have performed the service promptly without causing any excitement. There would have been no alarming threat. There would have been no fuss and feathers and blustering. *There would have been no outbreak.*

*But there was not the slightest need for a display of force.* The agent was not consulted in the matter. *He was not even notified that troops were about to be sent upon the reservation for the purpose of making arrests. The agent and the agency police were absolutely ignored.* "The military arm" had been "set in motion." Twenty-two companies of reinforcements had just arrived in Arizona *and some blustering was imperative* in order to show that these reinforcements were not only needed, *but were actually making "rapid marches" and "gradually concentrating at and near the agency."* The blustering might have been tolerated, but not the blundering.

The official record shows that all of the twenty-two companies of reinforcements were on detached service in connection with "field operations against hostile Apaches in the Department of Arizona." In the circumstances we have narrated three troops of cavalry were ordered out from Camp Thomas *to make a demonstration in force with an of-*

*fensive objective at the sub-agency upon the San Carlos reservation as a feature of the "field operations against hostile Apaches in the Department of Arizona."*

While this considerable body of troops are approaching the reservation from the east, let us, in imagination, visit the sub-agency and endeavor to visualize the scenes being enacted there. *At once we wonder why the troops are coming*, as the scenes about the sub-agency give us the impression that we have arrived in the midst of gala day festivities. And so we have, for Ezra Hoag is very busy distributing the weekly rations of flour, beef, etc., to the bands of White Mountain, Warm Spring and Chiricahua Apaches whose camps are located in that vicinity—and every "ration day" is very much of a gala day among these Indians. There is a vast throng of busy, interested, orderly and contented Indians. Why are so many troops coming to threaten, alarm, awe and arrest them?

This sub-agency was constructed by my direction in the summer of 1875. I had placed Ezra Hoag in charge at that point at that time, and he had been in charge there continuously ever since. *He was the sole employe at that point—and I doubt if he ever owned a gun.* All of the Indians liked Ezra Hoag. He was just and sympathetic, and the Indians—including "the wild Chiricahuas"—were his friends, and he was their friend. *They had spent years in this friendly fashion*, and these Indians knew that Ezra Hoag was always deeply interested in everything that concerned their welfare and progress, and that he was rendering them a friendly and willing service as he labored with the distribution of their weekly supply of provisions, *and these simple people responded to this spirit of kindness and reciprocated with their respect and friendship and confidence.*

We can readily understand, therefore, why every "ration day" that was presided over by Ezra Hoag was a gala day to the multitude of Apaches who gathered about the sub-agency, and that on those occasions there was spontan-



eous obedience and orderly behavior while the care-free throng indulged in gossip and jests and feasting and laughter and dancing and song. *Their suspicion and alarm because of the rapid marches and concentration of so many troops about the agency had been allayed by the very recent and very positive assurance of the agent that they would not be molested in any way, so they had put aside their fears and entered upon the gala day spirit of the occasion. And "THEN" ! ! ! !*

*"Then the military move was made on the sub-agency."* Then, suddenly, without apparent necessity or cause, and without the slightest warning, the gala day festivities were rudely interrupted as the THREE TROOPS OF CAVALRY came galloping down from Camp Thomas and halted in battle array at the sub-agency. Their arrival was a hostile gesture. They were there for an offensive purpose—*in force*, and, if necessary they would use that force to attain their objective. And it might require the active support of the entire force to accomplish their purpose—otherwise, *why bring three companies of mounted soldiers fully equipped for battle?* Agent Tiffany had assured them a few days before that they need have no fear as they would not be molested in any way. *Were they to believe the agent, or what they saw confronting them?* Immediately all of their former suspicions and fears rushed back upon them. The feeling of alarm grew and spread, and, a few hours later, "the wild Chiricahuas fled toward Mexico."

George and Bonito, the alleged "suspects," sent word to Major Biddle that if he would withdraw his troops they would accompany Clerk Hoag to Camp Thomas and again surrender to General Willcox as soon as the issue of beef was completed, but Major Biddle spurned this offer of peaceful surrender and "moved his troops nearer to the camps of the Indians." I have been told recently—on good authority—that Major Biddle actually deployed his troopers in skirmish line, and I do not doubt that this is true.

*The result of this display of force and threat of battle was the flight of the "wild Chiricahuas," but Major Biddle failed to apprehend either of the two "suspects" he had been ordered to arrest. The stupidity and wantonness of this move of the military arm at the sub-agency on September 30, 1881, is emphasized by the fact that none of the scores of White Mountain "suspects" who were then "prisoners of war," and who were marched down to Fort Grant for trial, were found guilty of any wrong.*

And General Carter erred mildly when he said the wild Chiricahuas left "a trail of blood and pillage to mark their hurried flight." The single purpose of those Indians at that time was to arrive at their stronghold in the mountains of Mexico with the least delay possible, and their flight was too "hurried" to permit them to indulge in any raiding detours. But the wild Chiricahuas did leave trails of blood and pillage on subsequent raids, as the sorry sequences of the movements of the military arm and the rapid marches and the gradual concentration of the troops at and near the agencies, and these sequences, if truthfully recorded, would constitute some interesting pages in the several regimental histories.

It was because I knew Ezra Hoag's sterling character that I placed him in charge of the sub-agency in 1875. The disturbance among the White Mountain Indians in the summer of 1881 resulted in certain conditions at the sub-agency, *the satisfactory adjustment of which demanded the application of sound common sense and superior judgment* on the part of Mr. Hoag, and Agent Tiffany says that he was "very efficient and judicious in all this trouble." No other man knew the Chiricahuas as well as Ezra Hoag did at that time, *and no man was less liable to state an untruth regarding them than he.* For these reasons, as I have stated heretofore, I firmly believe he told the simple truth when he said *"the Indians were literally scared away by this movement*

of the troops." Furthermore, the official record of conditions and events occurring at and about the sub-agency at the time fully sustains Mr. Hoag's assertion.

Included among the fugitives was Nah-chee—the son of Cochise. He had been loyal and peaceable on the reservation for so many years that he could no longer be classed as a "wild" Chiricahua. It is obvious, therefore, that when Nah-chee violated the solemn promise he gave his dying father in 1874 to keep the peace pledged with General Howard in 1872, and cast his lot with the hostiles *there must have been a sufficient reason—a super-inciting cause.*<sup>5</sup>

This casual review of the record brings us face to face with the cruel fact that *the flagrant mis-rule* of the Apaches, due to the incapacity and stupidity of Agent Tiffany and the malevolent maneuvers of the military arm within the boundaries of the San Carlos reservation between August 30, and September 30, 1881, broke the seven years of peace on that reservation and precipitated an outbreak, some of the disastrous sequences of which have been recorded in the so-called campaigns against Geronimo, but the heavier penalties of this mis-rule were visited upon the great mass of well-disposed Apaches who were compelled to endure for a weary period of twenty years—from August, 1881, until January, 1901, the oppressive presence upon the reservation of such troops as the military arm deemed "*an exhibition of force sufficient to overawe and keep them in subjection.*"

The sad drama reported by General Willcox under date of Tucson, October 12, 1881, contains a paragraph that is almost humorous. He says:

The California reinforcements have been of great service, and were sent down promptly and as called for, and well equipped for the field. Part of them are now in pursuit of the Chiricahuas on the border. The outbreak of these Indians on the night of September 30

5. See *N. M. Hist. Rev.* III. 131.

has been duly reported, and *the causes of their sudden change are unknown*. It is supposed to be the fear of being disarmed. If this is true, the outbreak was likely to come at any moment, and could not have come at a better time. This because we had adequate force at hand, and it has been used to such advantage that the smallest possible damage has been suffered. *This tribe is now in full flight and utterly defeated.*

This is another choice sample of press agent material for consumption abroad. The truth is that the fleeing "wild Chiricahuas" were not intercepted by the troops and did not hesitate until they were safely within their old familiar stronghold in the Sierra Madre mountains of Mexico. It is also true that "an adequate force was at hand" in Arizona, and equally true that "the smallest possible damage was suffered" *by the hostiles*, for the reason that barring a skirmish with their rearguard in which a sergeant was killed and three soldiers were wounded, the troops never had even a glimpse of the fleeing Indians. I happened to be one of a party of citizens that followed the trail of the "wild Chiricahuas" across the international line into Mexico. *There were no troops ahead of us, nor any in sight behind us, and we did not see any Indians.*

In the same report General Willcox says "the troops were moved to the Cibicu country" where they drove the White Mountain "hostiles" from their strongholds "into the folds of the reservation." On October 12 he had a part of his adequate force "in pursuit of the Chiricahuas on the border" with "this tribe in full flight and utterly defeated." Perhaps the general did not know that the flight of the "wild Chiricahuas" had ended at least a week before he penned his press-agent report, and that after they were safely within the rugged Sierra Madre mountains of Mexico they did not give a tinker's damn how many troops he might have in pursuit of them "on the border"—since no arrangements had yet been made allowing pursuing forces to cross the international line.

"This tribe" may have been "utterly defeated" in the military mind of General Willcox at the time he composed his official report on October 12, but the embarrassing feature of the situation was that "*the tribe*" didn't know it.

"*This tribe*" had evaded the "adequate forces" in Arizona, which consisted of the 6th cavalry and the twenty-two companies of reinforcements, and, therefore, it is extremely difficult for a layman to comprehend the course of reasoning that led General Willcox to imagine that these Indians were "*utterly defeated.*"

When General Crook visited the "wild Chiricahuas" in Mexico in 1883, their general appearance and attitude did not indicate that "this tribe" had been "utterly defeated." During 1885 and 1886 General Crook and General Miles employed 3000 regular troops<sup>6</sup> and 400 Indian scouts (besides some Mexican regulars) in the campaigns against a part of these "wild Chiricahuas," and, although several surrenders were arranged, "*this tribe*" was never "*utterly defeated.*"

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6. *Id.*, III. 224.

DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RIO GRANDE  
PUEBLOS, NEW MEXICO

Part II—1542 to 1581

BY ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

For thirty-eight years after Coronado's expedition had left the banks of the Rio Grande, the history of its Pueblo Indians is virtually a blank, as far as documentary information is concerned; with the exception of the residence among the Tiguas (perhaps) and certainly among the Pecos, of the monk or monks, of whom I have treated at the end of the first part. The stay of these missionaries or (missionary) in New Mexico, however, probably did not last long. While there are no positive data at hand, contemporaneous authorities seem to have been convinced that speedy death, at the hands of the natives, cut short their (or his) labors. The year 1542 may already have been the last of their earthly career, as seems to have been the case at Quivira with Fray Juan de Padilla, of whose martyrdom there exist the reports of eyewitnesses.<sup>1</sup>

It may be looked upon as superfluous to treat of a period during which no evidence of direct contact with the Pueblos is, so far, known to exist. It will be seen further on, that *indirect* information, especially on the Rio Grande Indians, turned up in the course of the eighth decade of the sixteenth century, information that throws a scanty light also on times somewhat anterior. While, therefore, this part cannot offer more than incidental hints on the Indians themselves, it covers much material for the history of Spanish colonization. That colonization, going on south of the Rio Grande Pueblo range, stands in relation to subsequent

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1. This is asserted by Jaramillo, *Relación hecha*, p. 317; Castañada, *Cibola*, p. 457. The witnesses were the Portugese and some Indians, also a negro or mulatto.

occurrences that proved decisive for the fate of the sedentary aborigines of New Mexico in general; hence, it is proper to consider it, if only in a cursory manner. The four decades included in this part of my investigations, were a period of *preparation* for what afterwards happened to the Pueblos, and as such, the brief glance to be cast at them will not be useless.

Notwithstanding the egregious failure of Coronado's enterprise and the resulting discredit of New Mexico as a colonizable region, there are indications that, during the term of administration of Mendoza's successor, Don Luis de Velasco,<sup>2</sup> renewed attempts in the direction of the North American Southwest were under consideration in Spain and Mexico. Juan Jaramillo states at the close of his Report: "And, having given information of this, (a shorter route by the Atlantic slope) to Gonzalo Solis de Meras and Isidoro de Meras, since it appeared to me important for what I am told and have understood, that His Majesty ordered Your Lordship to ascertain and discover some road (way) for connecting that country with this (New Spain, while the

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2. This is asserted, by Mota Padilla, *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 207. Referring to the appointment of the first *alcalde mayor* for the mines of San Martín in New Galicia in 1562, he adds: "Poco despues D. Francisco de Ibarra, en virtud de comisión del señor virey D. Luis de Velasco, salió en busca de la gran laguna de Copalá, y en la instrucción que se le dió, se le dice que entre Poniente y Norte, estaba la provincia de Tzibola, que anduvo Francisco Vazquez Coronado, que no pasase ni al Sur, ni costas del mar.. Mandósele que luego entrase solo a las tierras que habia entre Oriente y Norte; estas son las tierras que el indio turco le dijo a Francisco Vazquez Coronado . . ." This statement by Mota Padilla strikes me as perhaps doubtful, for reasons hereafter given. Yet there are two documents, referring to a "second expedition" of Ybarra. The first is dated May 3d, 1563; and by Francisco de Ybarra himself. It is directed to the Viceroy D. Luis de Velasco and distinctly says: "A esta hora acavo de llegar de un descubrimiento que fuí a hacer"—*Relacion de lo que descubrió Diego de Ibarra en la provincia de Copalá, llamada Topiame; describiendo muy por menor, su viaje y Descubrimiento etc.* (Doc. de Indias, vol. 14, p. 559.) The second is the letter from Diego de Ibarra to the viceroy, May 9th, 1563, (*ibid.*, pp. 555-561) including the above mentioned document by Francisco de Ybarra and interesting for its mention of the name of "Nuevo Mexico." Finally there is a letter by the viceroy to the Emperor, dated May 26th, 1563. This refers to a *second* expedition by Ybarra, though not in search of the Northeast. The name New Mexico distinctly applies to the region of Topia or Topiame, and has nothing to do with the territory occupied, in part, by the Pueblos.

other is Quivira) . . . ”<sup>3</sup> The royal decree here mentioned I have not yet been able to obtain. Had it been susceptible of execution at the time it would probably have led into the Rio Grande valley again. The royal command hinted at by Jaramillo must have been given to Velasco in or after the year 1550. There was considerable trouble in northern Mexico (generally speaking) about the year 1554,<sup>4</sup> but it does not appear to have furnished occasion for executing the orders to explore further in the direction of New Mexico.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, it seems that Velasco made at least an attempt, at the fulfillment of the imperial (and royal) orders. In 1552, Francisco de Ybarra, governor of the then recently created province of New Biscay, received orders from Velasco to explore the northern country, not to the northwest whither Coronado had gone, but to the northeast. Instead of following this route, Ybarra was, by the season and the Indians, turned off to the west and had to terminate his expedition in Sinaloa.<sup>6</sup> The Pacific coast route was not considered any more since the failure of Coronado; in fact, it was not New Mexico but Kansas and Nebraska of today that were the goal to be reached. But the discoveries of rich silver deposits in northern Mexico attracted the attention of

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3. *Relación hecha*, p. 317.

4. Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos de Mexico*, p. 110; Antonio de Herrera, *Historia general*, Dec. VIII, Lib. X. cap. XXI and XXII, pp. 244, 245 and 246.

5. *Relación de los Descubrimientos Conquistas y Poblaciones hechas por el Gobernador Francisco de ybarra en las Provincias de Copalá, Nueva Vizcaya y Chiamela (Doc. de Indias, vol. 14, p. 468)*: “usando de una cedula de Su Magestad que para ello el dicho Visorrey tenia, proveyeron al dicho Francisco de Ybarra, por gobernador de toda la tierra adentro de las dichas minas de San Martín en adelante, para que entrase con la gente que pareciese a descubrir tierras nuevas y poblaciones de indios, . . . ” The document states also, that Ybarra was appointed governor in 1542, which strikes me as doubtful. It is more likely 1552. In the title, the document from which I quote is made to bear the date of 1554 and the departure of Ybarra on his expedition is fixed in the same year: “salió el dicho gobernador de las minas de los Zacatecas, el año de mil y quinientos y cincuenta y cuatro, para entrar la tierra adentro.” There is no connection, at least apparently, between the royal decree mentioned and the uprising of the Indians in the same year.

6. See note above. Also Juan López de Velasco, *Geografía y Descripción universal de las Indias (1571 to 1574, published in 1894)*, p. 269 *et sequens*; *Relación de los Descubrimientos Conquistas y Poblaciones . . . por el Gobernador Francisco de Ybarra*, pp. 463 to 484.



explorers and caused the settlement of those regions, somewhat to the detriment of adventurous attempts to penetrate—*plus ultra*. Individual prospecting continued, of course, and eventually led to enterprises which drew the Rio Grande region again into the domain of documentary history.<sup>7</sup>

Not only had the route along the Pacific coast become unpopular through Coronado's failure, there also lay a serious obstacle in its path. That obstacle was the two powerful and warlike tribes of the Mayo and Yaqui Indians. Even the latter, although located in southern Sonora, had been grazed, at least, by Nuño de Guzmán.<sup>8</sup> Coronado seems prudently to have avoided contact with them.<sup>9</sup> The Yaquis were brought to terms much later, through the persistent efforts of Martín de Hurdaide.<sup>10</sup> Both of these tribes, but chiefly the Yaquis, were too powerful for small exploring parties. Hence progress of the Spaniards became temporarily de-

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7. There is considerable resemblance between modern prospecting in the Southwest (and everywhere) and the numerous individual efforts made, especially in the sixteenth century, to discover mines. The official documents contain occasional references to modest personal efforts of the kind, and to the sometimes important results. As an example, I refer to the testimony or testimonies given in the inquiry into the motives for the dash by Francisco Chamuscado in 1581, which I shall mention further on.

8. Nuño de Guzmán reached the Mayo and Yaqui rivers which, in the documents of the time, are also called "Mayomo" and "Yaquimi" in the summer of the year 1533. *Proceso del Marqués del Valle y Nuño de Guzmán y los Adelantados Soto y Alvarado, sobre el descubrimiento de la Tierra nueva, 1540-1541.* (Doc. de Indias, vol. 15, p. 329 and 333.) The report is made by Diego de Guzmán. *Relación de lo que yo Diego de Guzmán he descubierto en la costa de la mar del Sur. Por Su Magestad y por el ilustre señor Nuño de Guzmán, Gobernador de la Nueva Galicia.* (Idem, p. 325.) According to the *Segunda Relación anónima de la Jornada de Nuño de Guzmán* (no date, but certainly by an eyewitness, Doc. para la Historia de Mexico, Ycazbalceta, vol. II, p. 304 and 305.) it would have been in 1530. Herrera, *Historia general* (Doc. V, Lib. I, p. 16, etc.) places it in 1532. All agree upon the warlike and hostile attitude of the Yaqui Indians.

9. Coronado, *Letter to Mendoza* (p. 553) merely alludes to the river "Lachimi." Jaramillo, *Relación hecha*, (p. 305) "Yaquemi." No mention is made of a contact with the natives. Castáneda, *Cíbola*, p. 424: "el general y su gente atrabesaron la tierra sin contraste."

10. P. Andrés Pérez de Ribas, *Historia de los Triunphos de nuestra Santa Fe entre Gentes las mas Bárbaras y fieras del nuevo Orbe; conseguidos por los Soldados de la Milicia de la Compañía de Jesús en las Misiones de la Prouincia de Nueva España*, (Madrid, 1645) devotes much attention to the indeed remarkable deeds of this most energetic man during his reduction of the Yaquis. I refer to it without quoting, as it would be too long.

flected to the east, into Zacatecas, Durango and, finally, southern Chihuahua.<sup>11</sup> What lay north of the region about Parral was not very enticing. Towards the New Mexican frontier of today the country was little else than a desert, where the absence of water presented a serious impediment and where the Indian tribes were either weak in numbers or hostile, a part of the Conchos excepted.<sup>12</sup> So colonization, rather than conquest began to predominate. Cities like Zacatecas and Durango sprang up<sup>13</sup> which became, in course of time, centers of activity and wealth, and thus relieved the mother country, as well as central Mexico, of the onerous duty of originating and supporting costly explorations, the outcome of which, necessarily, was always doubtful.

Until 1580 knowledge about the North American Southwest remained exceedingly imperfect. The sixteen fac-simile maps so judiciously published by Mr. Winship in his work on Coronado, maps drawn between the years 1542 and 1608,<sup>14</sup> show how little real progress in geographical knowledge was made in regard to the Pueblo country, during the sixty six years which they cover. They are scarcely anything else than a repeat of original misconceptions. Descriptions, written between 1542 and 1580 are, in the first place, not numerous, and they become more brief and incomplete the nearer they approach to the beginning of the ninth decade of the sixteenth century. Gomara, in 1553, is yet reasonably instructive although incorrect statements

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11. Ribas, *Historia de los Triunfos*, lib. IV, cap. I, p. 237: the Mayos had "ocho o diez mil Indios de pelea, y eran como treinta mil personas las que lo poblauan." Of the Hiaquis (Yaquis) he states (lib. V, cap. I, p. 284): "Quando los Hiaquis en su Gentilidad poblauan este rio, era en forma de rancherias tendidas por sus riberas y junto a sus sementeras, y el número destas rancherias sería de ochenta, en que auia treinta mil almas." He adds, p. 285: "La nación Hiaqui era tenida por las mas valiente, alentada, y belicosa de todas las de la provincia."

12. The Conchos were known at an early date. It is not impossible that Cabeza de Vaca saw them, but his statements are, from the conditions under which he had to travel, exceedingly brief and vague.

13. Zacatecas was founded in 1546; Durango in 1554, about.

14. *Report of Bureau of Ethnology*, 1892-1893, part I.

abound;<sup>15</sup> Suárez Peralta only indulges in general deprecations of New Mexico.<sup>16</sup> The "Description of the Archbishopric of Mexico from 1570"<sup>17</sup> is very unsatisfactory, and Juan López de Velasco (1571 and 1574) is little else than an abridgment of Gomara, even lacking the historical details given (often incorrectly) by the latter.<sup>18</sup> All agree, however, upon the poverty and the unsatisfactory climate of New Mexico proper, while they extoll the advantages presented by Quivira.

If the opening of the Southwest had depended exclusively upon the initiative of laymen it is not impossible that it would have been longer delayed. There was no incentive for practical enterprise in the descriptions which eyewitnesses, both in writing and orally, gave of the region. Quivira, which appeared far better, was also far more difficult of access, and could not be thought of at the time. An element, which has always been of primary force in matters of early Spanish exploration and colonization, came, however, into play. This was the *religious* element. The Catholic missionaries, especially the Regulars, had always before them the prospect of conversion as a sacred duty, to which every personal consideration was subordinate. Free from the ties and responsibilities of the family they were obliged to devote themselves unconditionally to what Religion taught them to be for the good of mankind, irrespective of origin and condition, and regardless of hardships or death.<sup>19</sup> The Franciscans had already discovered the Pueblo Indians, some of their number had been the first to suffer martyrdom in that land. *The Franciscans* also were to open the new road to the Rio Grande.

The ecclesiastic organization of New Spain had two

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15. *Historia*, p. 288 etc.

16. *Tratado del descubrimiento de las Yndias etc.*

17. *Descripción del Arzobispado de Mexico* (1570).

18. *Geografía v descripción universal* (1571-1574, published 1894), pp. 278-280.

19. This is, of course, the case everywhere, where regular orders are not prohibited, but I must refer to New Spain in a special manner.

branches. The secular branch was superior insofar as the heads of the church, the archbishop of Mexico and under him the bishops in their respective dioceses, had the right (and duty) of supervision and administration. Like the curates, these functionaries are secular priests, which, however, does not preclude the possibility of the member of any order, a so-called regular, being appointed a prelate. The regulars, (monks and nuns) were autonomous (and are still) as far as their *interior* affairs are concerned, but there is an appeal to the prelates in case a serious matter troubles the state of any fraternity. If desirable or necessary, the pope as "pontifex maximus," supreme head of the church can be applied to, and his decisions are final; there is no appeal from them.<sup>20</sup> The regular orders cannot establish themselves in any diocese and remain, without permission of the head of that ecclesiastic precinct. At the time we treat of the church in Mexico was in process of formation so-to-say. There was a slow but persistent expansion going on, that gradually required the establishment of new dioceses. This work of aggrandizement was in the hands of missionaries and these were uniformly regulars that is, monks: "friars, as they are mostly called in common parlance. There were no Jesuits yet established in America; that comparatively modern order appeared in Mexico, with a view to permanence, in 1572.<sup>21</sup>

In a vast country, absolutely virgin, only individual efforts could be made in the beginning. A missionary depending from the convent (house) where he had been established, hence from the provincial authority of that district had first to obtain permission to leave it in order to undertake a mission. Once that faculty had been obtained, his actions were to be guided by duty and by circumstances, un-

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20. See, about the relative position of the pope and councils, the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. IV, pp. 426 and 435. Not even a council could prevail against a papal decision.

21. P. Francisco Florencia, *Historia de la Provincia de la Compania de Jesus de Nueva España*, lib. III, cap. I, p. 101.

less he had received special instructions from his superiors. He was, of course, expected to return and report, but the possibility of death in yet unknown lands, either from natural causes or at the hands of men, were not only taken into account but even looked upon as probable and any personal sacrifice, of health or life, was even regarded as of advantage to the general work. Missionaries enjoyed, for the sake of their exceptional duties and position, sometimes exceptional faculties. The secular clergy, even the highest, meddled but little with their doings.

In the year 1581 there was only one diocese north of Michoacán, in northern Mexico: the bishopric of Guadalajara, founded 1544,<sup>22</sup> and the first candidate for the incumbency presented was a Franciscan, Father Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, one of the first twelve missionaries of New Spain, and who was, in 1538, provincial of the order when Fray Marcos of Nizza was sent to explore the unknown north. He refused, however, the nomination and it was only three years after that a bishop of Guadalajara could be consecrated in the person of Don Pedro Gómez Maraver, a secular priest.<sup>23</sup> According to the report of the ecclesiastic "Cabildo" of Guadalajara to King Philip II, dated 1570, there were in that year, twenty-eight (secular) curacies in the diocese, the most northerly of which was in southern Chihuahua (Indehe).<sup>24</sup> At the same time there were at least sixteen Franciscans in the diocese, the mines of San Martín or rather, the settlement of Nombre de Dios to the north of it, being their farthest permanent residence.<sup>25</sup>

The report says of these stationary friars: "but it seems to us that God would be better served if the said religious men were to live religiously and in regular condition in their convents, and that the monasteries were five

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22. Mota Padilla, *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, cap XXXIX, p. 198.

23. *Ibidem*.

24. *Informe al Rey por el Cabildo eclesiástico de Guadalajara* (*Doc. para la Hist. de Mexico*, Ycazbalceta, vol. II, p. 494.)

25. *Idem*, p. 499.

leagues apart, or six, and not that one friar be the sole keeper (guardian) principally if he is young."<sup>26</sup> These stationary monks could not do extensive missionary work, for the compass assigned to their daily activity was in itself very comprehensive. Hence itinerant friars, wandering missionaries, were those who promoted the expansion of christianization. The abodes of the stationary Franciscans or, where there were none, those of secular priests, afforded them a basis of operation. The residences of the former are, in documents, called by the rather pompous name of "monasteries" or "convents" and even today, the people of the country use the latter name for the modest residence of the secular priest. In the sixteenth century, the "convents" in northern Mexico were, if possible, much more modest even than those of today.

The Dominican order impinged but lightly upon the territory which the Franciscans had occupied. The Dominicans, although missionary work was also (and most ably) performed by them in other parts of the Spanish-American possessions, were above all: "Ordi Divini Predicadores." In the second *concile* of the Mexican Dominicans (of the year 1555) it was made the obligation of those who performed the duties of priors at the convents, to keep a special book in which, daily if possible, entries were to be made recording anything that was ascertained about the Indians, their customs, rites and traditions. Few of these manuscripts if any, are still in existence.<sup>27</sup>

The Company of Jesus appeared in New Spain comparatively late, they found most of northern Mexico already

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26. The idea of the Cabildo (see note above) was good, but at the time, of difficult execution. The clergy was not numerous enough in New Spain, the settlements were at a long distance from each other, and the Spanish settlers comparatively few. Santa Barbara, for instance, was forty leagues north of San Martin. In the mines of that name and those of Ranchos, Chalchuites, Sombrerete and Las Nieves, there were, in 1570, altogether 150 Spaniards and at Santa Barbara and Inde together not more than thirty. *Informe*, pp. 494 and 499.

27. I have been unable, whenever I was in Mexico, to learn of the existence of any.

controlled by the Franciscans, and turned their attention to the regions bordering upon the Pacific Ocean.

The crown of Spain was very solicitous of securing as much reliable information as possible on its domain and the inhabitants thereof, to have it properly recorded and preserved,—hence the office of royal chronicler or cosmographer. Juan López de Velasco held that position from 1571 to the year 1581,<sup>28</sup> and the meagre information on the Mexican North imparted by him is significant. But, while thus positive knowledge made very little progress officially, in regard to that region, the crown prepared constantly for exploration as well as for colonization.

Descriptions of New Spain for official purposes were made, by superior orders, as early as 1532<sup>29</sup> and continued to be collected, whether general or local, during the sixteenth century. The desire to become thus reliably informed led to the splendid royal ordinances of 1571 and 1572, in which the duties of the royal cosmographer are minutely defined, and especially the methods of discovery and occupancy of unexplored or unoccupied lands are prescribed.<sup>30</sup> These highly important dispositions were followed, in 1577, by a royal "Decree, Instruction and Memorial"<sup>31</sup> for the "Formation of Descriptions of the Indian settlements." From the introductory ordinance of 1573 it would seem that any and every personal initiative for exploration is cut off: "No person, of whatever rank or condition he may be, shall, by his own authority, make new discoveries by land or by sea . . . without license and faculty from us or from whoever is

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28. See *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, vol. I, *Antecedentes*, p. LXXI and LXXIV.

29. *Idem*, p. XXXIV. The "description" was made by order of Bishop Ramirez de Fuenleal.

30. *Relaciones geográficas*, *Antecedentes*, p. 83. The date of the first is September 24th, 1571. The second and, for my purpose, the more important is published in *Doc. de Indias*, vol. 16. I shall have to refer to it frequently hereafter. The title of the first is: *Código de Leyes y ordenanzas nuevamente hechas por su Magestad para la Governación de las Yndias y buen Tratamiento y conseruación de los Yndios etes* (*Doc de Indias*, vol. 16 also.)

31. *Relaciones*, *Antecedentes*, p. 22, etc.

empowered by us to give it, under pain of death and the loss of all his property for the benefit of our Treasury.”<sup>32</sup> In view of the enormous distances that sometimes separated the confines of frontier settlements from the administrative centres, this clause may appear practically prohibitory, but the objection is removed in the fourth clause: “From the settlement established on the confines (frontier) by way of commerce and barter, there shall penetrate Indian vassals, acquainted with the language, to discover the country, also Spaniards and ecclesiastics, with presents and objects for exchange, and peaceably. They shall endeavor to know and understand everything, the substance and qualities of the country, of the nations of people inhabiting it and the chiefs governing them; and of this they will inform and make note, always sending reports of it to the governor, for transmission to the council.” This left a loophole for personal enterprise.<sup>33</sup>

I quote these clauses purposely. They apply especially to the case of the subsequent rediscovery of New Mexico in 1581, which might have been delayed considerably but for the reserve in favor of individual exploration. Later on, when the expeditions of Humaña and Castaño will have to be treated, it will be seen how strictly the first clause was observed by the superior authorities. By these royal dispositions, the Pueblos were, therefore, always exposed, to a *reconnaissance at least*. A conquest, however, might become

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32. *Ordenanzas de Su Magestad para los nuevos Descubrimientos Conquistas y Pacificaciones*. July 13th, 1573, in vol. 16 of *Doc. de Indias*, p. 143: “Ninguna persona de cualquier estado y condición que sea, haga por su propia autoridad nuevo descubrimiento por mar ni por tierra, ni entrada, nueva población, ni ranchería en lo que estobiere descubierto, o se descubriere, sin licencia y provisión Nuestra o de quien tobiere nuestro poder para la dar, so pena de muerte y de perdimiento de todas sus bienes para nuestra Camara, etc. etc.”

33. *Ibidem*, p. 144: “Desde el pueblo que estobiere poblado en los confines por vía de comercio y rescate, entren indios vasallos, lenguas, a descubrir la tierra y religiosos y españoles, con rescate y con dadas, y de paz; procurando saber y entender el sujeto, substancia y calidades de la tierra y las naciones de gentes que las habitan, y los señores que las gobiernan; y hagan discreción de todo lo que se pudiere saber y entender, y vayan imbiando siempre relación al Gobernador, para que la imbie al Consejo.”



indefinitely postponed, as it was for the supreme authority or its highest representatives to decide whether it would be advisable to attempt it. The term "conquest" was even officially abrogated. "The discoveries shall not bear the name and title of conquests since, as they shall be made with all the peacefulness and charity we desire, we do not want the name to give occasion or pretext for violence and damage to the Indians."<sup>34</sup> The following clauses deserve particular attention: "The discoverers, by land and sea, shall not engage in war nor in any conquest, nor assist any Indians against others, nor enter into questions nor contests with those of the country, for any cause or reason, nor do them any damage, or take any of their belongings against their will, only by barter and with the (owners') free consent."<sup>35</sup>

"Having made the discovery or voyage, the discoverers shall come back, to render account to the audiencias and governors by whom they were sent out."<sup>36</sup>

"If they should see that the people are domesticated and that some ecclesiastic can remain among them with security, and there should be one willing to remain in order to teach them and put them in good polity, he may be left there, promising to come back for him in a year, or before if possible."<sup>37</sup> After determining the conditions of the country and of the settlers it is further disposed: "The region, province, district, and land determined upon by expert explor-

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34. *Ordenanzas de Su Magestad*, p. 152: "Los descubrimientos no se den con títulos y nombre de conquista, pues habiéndose de hacer con tanta paz y caridad como deseamos, no queremos quel nombre, de ocasión ni color para que se pueda hacer fuerza ni agravio a los indios."

35. *Ibidem*, p. 149: "Los descubridores por mar o tierra no se empachen en guerra ni conquista en ninguna manera, ni ayudar a unos indios contra otros, ni se revuelvan en quistiones ni contiendas con los de la tierra, por ninguna causa ni razon que sea, ni les hagan daño ni mal alguno, ni les tomen contra su voluntad cosa suya si no fuere por rescate, dándosela ellos de su voluntad."

36. *Ibidem*: "Habiendo hecho el descubrimiento o viage, los descubridores vuelvan a dar cuenta a las Audiencias y Gobernadores que los hobieren despachado."

37. *Ibidem*, p. 148: "Si vieran que la gente es doméstica y que con seguridad puede quedar algun religioso entrellos, y hobiere alguno que huelgue de quedar para los doctrinar y Ponner en buena pulicia, lo dejen, prometiéndole de volver por el, dentro de un año y antes, si antes pódieren."

ers, when the sites for establishing settlements, capital and minor places, shall be selected without prejudice to the Indians, being vacant, and with the free will of the natives."<sup>38</sup>

"As workingmen and artesans, Indians may go to a new settlement of their own free will, provided they are not themselves settled and have houses and lands, in order the country may not become depopulated, nor shall Indians from repartimientos go, that the holder of that trust be not injured, except, if in some repartimiento there should be Indians without work and such Indians might wish to go, they may do so with the consent of the owner of the trust."<sup>39</sup>

The instructions imparted for the "pacifications" (the term then newly applied to what was previously called "conquests") are not less interesting, but to transcribe them in full would be too long. Every possible precaution is taken, in the Ordinances, to prohibit discoverers and settlers (especially the latter) from doing prejudice to the Indians in any form and from provoking them to hostility. To prevent conflict contact of the whites with the natives is limited to what is the most necessary,<sup>40</sup> and where: "the teachers of the Evangel are sufficient to pacify the Indians, convert them and render them peaceable; it shall not be permitted to persons who might impede their conversion and pacification to enter."<sup>41</sup>

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38. *Ibidem*, p. 154: "Elexida la Region, Provincia, Comarcana y Tierra por los descubridores espertos, elixanse los sitios para fundar los pueblos cabaceras y subgetos, sin perjuicio de los indios, por no los tener ocupados, o por quellos lo consientan de su voluntad."

39. *Ibidem*, p. 158: "Para labradores y oficiales de nueva poblaci3n. puedan ir indios de su voluntad con que no sean de los que est3n poblados y tienen casa y tierras por que no se despuebla lo poblado; ni indios de repartimiento, porque no se haga agravio al encomendero, eceto sea de los que sobconsentimiento del encomendero." I have used the term "trust" for *repartimiento*. The Indians of these conditional grants were not slaves. They were in fact "entrusted" (encomendados) to the party to whom the land had been granted.

40. *Ibidem*, p. 152, 180, 181, 182 etc.

41. *Ibidem*, p. 186: "En las partes que bastaren los predicadores del Evangelio para pacificar los indios y convertirlos y traerlos de paz, no se consienta que entran otras personas que puedan estorvar la conversi3n y pacificaci3n."

A tribute, "of the products of the land in moderate quantity" is imposed but: "If, for the easier pacification of the natives, it is necessary to concede them immunity from tribute for some time, it shall be done, and other exemptions and privileges given to them, and what is promised them, shall be complied with."<sup>42</sup>

These and analogous stipulations contained in the Ordinances, constituted the basis on which the rediscovery of New Mexico and subsequent incorporation of the Pueblo Indians in the Spanish domain were ultimately accomplished. Further reference to the text of these royal ordinances from July 13th, 1573, will become necessary. They applied to Spanish America in general—were to be carried out everywhere. Their tenor had already been foreshadowed in 1571. In all these royal dispositions special stress is also placed on the urgency of numerous and careful descriptions (and maps) of the Spanish-American dominions. Of the maps, little if anything is known beyond a few local ones.<sup>43</sup> Concerning northern Mexico and the regions beyond there are, as already stated, very meagre and unsatisfactory descriptions. López de Velasco and the "Sumario de las Yndias tocante a la Geografía" (brought to light in 1580)<sup>44</sup> are a good example of the dearth of information concerning them. In the "Sumario" a reason is assigned for this disregard for the northern countries, and a quite characteristic one: "The provinces of Cíbola and Quivira are the last ones

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42. *Ibidem*: "Si para que mejor se pacifiquen los naturales, fuere menester concederles inmunidad de que no paguen tributos por alguno tiempo, se les conceda, y otros privilegios y exenciones; y lo que se les prometiére, se les cumpla."

43. *Relaciones geográficas, Antecedentes*. It is to the late distinguished, most erudite, and highly practical Spanish scholar, Marcos Jimenez de la Espada that I owe many if not most of these details, but he also complains that comparatively few maps from that time were to be found.

44. *Relaciones, Antecedentes* XCIV. Señor de la Espada identifies a book in manuscript, of the title given in the text, with an anonymous document "*Demarcación y División de las Indias*" published in vol. 15 of the *Documentos de Indias*, pp. 409 to 539, and the text from the latter quoted in the note that follows shows, that the manuscript certainly belongs to the period between the years 1542 to 1581, of which I treat.

that have been reached from the Kingdom of Galicia. Cibola, thirty leagues from Culiacán towards the North and Quivira two hundred from Cibola to the east. Although of this there is little certainty, nor about the qualities of the country, except, that it is cold for being in a high latitude, and therefore poor."<sup>45</sup> This impression, due to the reports on Coronado's expedition, prevails in every document of the time.

In fact details of any kind relative to that expedition seem to have been very imperfectly known, where known at all. Reference to it is, however, found in the papers concerning the offer made, in 1584,<sup>46</sup> by Francisco Díaz de Vargas, to explore and settle New Mexico, but not a word is breathed by Juan Bautista Lomas de Colmenares in 1589.<sup>47</sup> The documents touching the agreement with Juan de Oñate allude briefly to Cibola, Quivira and, in one place, to Tiguex, placing the beginning of Coronado's expedition in the year 1538.<sup>48</sup> Oñate's companion, the captain Gaspar Pérez de Villagrán (1610) refers to Coronado with more so-called poetry than information,<sup>49</sup> and in 1619 the "royal historiographer" Luís de Cabrera of Córdoba gravely informs us, that in 1544

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45. *Demarcación y División de las Indias*, p. 461. See preceding note.

46. The title to this collection of documents is misplaced in Volume 15 of the "*Documentos de Indias*. It should be on page 126 instead of on page 151. It reads: *Expediente sobre el ofrecimiento que hace Francisco Díaz de Vargas, de ir al Nuevo Mexico, y refiere la Historia de este Documento*. After page 150 there is no more allusion to Vargas, only to Espejo, his explorations and proposals for settlement of New Mexico. The references to Coronado are found on pp. 128, 131, 138, 144 and 145. Quivira is named "Cuybira" and the Piro villages near San Marcial on the Río Grande are identified with Zuñi, showing how carelessly the documents from Coronado's time had been read, or that Vargas wrote about it from hearsay.

47. *Asiento y Capitulación que el Virey de la Nueva España, Marqués de Vilamanrique, hizo con Joan Bautista de Lomas Colmenares, sobre el Descubrimiento y Población de las Provincias del Nuevo Mexico*, (1589, *Doc. de Indias*, vol. 15.) In 1583, Cristobal Martín from the city of Mexico also applied to the viceroy for a concession to discover, pacify and settle New Mexico. This was after the return of Espejo. *Asiento con Cristobal Martín por el que se ofrece ir en persona al Descubrimiento. Pacificación y Población del Nuevo Mexico*. (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 16.) Further reference will be made to these documents. Martín is silent about Coronado.

48. See *Documentos de Indias*, vol. 16. Further reference shall be made to these data.

49. *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, Canto Tercero and Canto Quarto.

Coronado penetrated to the north but soon returned, whereas Fray Marcos of Niza continued on and was killed by the Indians.<sup>50</sup> Even Antonio de Herrera, the laborious historian of the Indies, who besides enjoyed the efficient cooperation of Andrés García de Cespedes, calls Tiguex "Huex" and states that the Spaniards spent two winters at Pecos (which he calls Cicuique) instead of on the Rio Grande. Many features in his voluminous work seem to indicate that he was largely guided by the report of Jaramillo, and yet he commits such flagrant errors.<sup>51</sup> This was because the subject was regarded as unimportant, hence undeserving of a critical examination requiring painstaking labor.

Hence, it need not surprise us if the rediscovery of New Mexico, at the beginning of the ninth decade of the sixteenth century, had to be made from another geographical basis than that of Coronado and if, in course of time, that rediscovery appeared to the public (as far as that term went) as the original discovery.<sup>52</sup> Only those who either were survivors of the earliest enterprises or who had access to, and took an interest in, the original sources, could know better. The work of Gomara was the only printed source at the time containing somewhat precise information.<sup>53</sup> That book was virtually prohibited in 1553.<sup>54</sup> The prohibition lasted until 1727, although the work was reprinted various times in the sixteenth century and was also translated into foreign languages.

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50. "Extrait de l'Histoire de Philippe II, Roi Despagne," vol. 10, p. 432, in the translation by Ternaux Compans, *Voyages, Relations et Memoires originaux pour servir a l'Histoire de la Decouverte de l'Amerique* (1838).

51. *Historia general*, Dec. VI, lib. IX, cap. XI and XII, pp. 205-207.

52. *Primera y Segunda Parte de la Historia* etc., p. 288. Gomara of course refers to Coronado in the proper manner, and the principal Spanish historians following, also, but in minor publications the attribution of the discovery to Espejo is often found. That authors not of Spanish origin, should repeat the error is not surprising. So in the *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses*.

53. *Primera y Segunda Parte*, p. 288. The reference is always to Volume I of the reprint by Enrique de Vedia, *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*.

54. That prohibition was on account of Gomara's relation to Cortés, at least ostensibly.

Until 1581, the most northerly Spanish settlement in New Spain (Saint Augustine in Florida excepted) were the mines of Santa Barbara or Barbola, in southern Chihuahua.<sup>55</sup> North of the latter there was territory that may be called unknown though not completely untouched or unexplored. Prospectors were sporadically pushing northward, as yet only to recoil upon their basis, near where now is Allende.<sup>56</sup> There was a curacy at the mines of Indehe, in that neighborhood, and itinerant Franciscan friars visited the places, with a view also of penetrating further in their work of conversion and civilization. The Spaniards at work in the mines in 1575 amounted to thirty men.<sup>57</sup> There were not many Indians about the mines of Santa Barbara,<sup>58</sup> but not far from it ran the river Conchos<sup>59</sup> where the Indian tribe of that name roamed and also Indians called "Tatarabueyes" which word may have been a "Concho" name for the "Jumanos."<sup>60</sup> There were hostilities going on in that region,

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55. Santa Barbola is usually mentioned together with the mines of Indehe, and the two establishments, not strictly contiguous, were the most northerly Spanish settlements. They belonged to the Province of Nueva Vizcaya. *Informe al Rey del Cabildo de Guadalajara* (1570), p. 494. Joan de Miranda, *Relación hecha por . . . clerigo, al Doctor Orozco, Presidente de la Audiencia de Guadalajara; sobre la Tierra y Población que hay desde las Minas de San Martín a las de Santa Barbara, que esto último entonces estaba poblado.* (1575, *Documentos de Indias*, vol. 16, pp. 563 and 565) "Ocho leguas mas adelante estan las minas de Santa Barbara, ques lo postrero que hay poblado de españoles;" López de Velasco, *Geografía y Descripción*, p. 277. *Demarcación y Descripción de las Indias (ut supra*, p. 460.)

56. In southern Chihuahua.

57. *Informe al Rey del Cabildo*, p. 494. Joan de Miranda, *Relación*, p. 565: "habrá en ellas treinta vecinos."

58. Miranda, *Relación*, p. 564: "dexase de sacar mucha plata por la poca gente que hay de indios que las labren y estar tan apartadas de donde se pueden haber."

59. *Idem*, p. 566: "A diez y a doce leguas de las minas de Santa Barbara. al Norueste, está un rio muy grande que corre hacia Labante; llamanle el rio de las Conchas y Pesta causa llaman a los Indios que enel hay, de las Conchas, hay grandísima cantidad de indios"

60. *Testimonio dado en Mexico sobre el Descubrimiento de doscientas leguas adelante de las minas de Santa Barbola, Gobernación de Diego de Ibarra.* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 15, p. 497.) Hernando Barrado, one of the men who went with Chamuscado and the priests in 1581 testifies, October 20th, 1582: "y que el uno de sus compañeros, llamado Andrés, lo habían muerto ciertos indios en una población que toparon entre los de la nación concho y los Tatarabueyes;" Antonio de Espejo, *Relación del viage* (also vol. 15, p. 105) identifies the Jumanos with the "Patarabueyes" but remarks: "los Jumanos, que por otro nombre, los llaman los españoles, los

probably among the Indians themselves as well as between them and the whites,<sup>61</sup> and occasional depredations calling forth reprisals that led to forays to the northward.<sup>62</sup>

There was at Santa Barbara, in the year 1581, and had been for some time before, a Franciscan monk who had joined the order upon coming to Mexico.<sup>63</sup> Obtaining permission to undertake peregrinations for purposes of conversion, he proceeded first to Zacatecas and thence slowly to Santa Barbara where, it is said, he heard of sedentary Indians that lived in the distant north.<sup>64</sup> When, in 1581 the soldiers (or miners) who accompanied him to New Mexico returned to Santa Barbara, the usual inquiry into their undertaking was initiated and official interrogatories ensued. Those of the participants in the reconnoissance headed by

patarabueyes." It is needless to observe that "patarabuey" or "tatarabuey" is not a Spanish term. But Espejo did not meet the Jumanos contiguous to the Conchos; there were still, between them, the Pazaguates and the Tobosos (he writes "Jobosos").

61. Miranda, *Relación*, p. 566: "e por la mucha guerra que hay, no osan ir a ellas."

62. Of Indehe, in the vicinity of Santa Barbara he states: "tiene alrededor, por muchas partes, muchos indios de guerra muy cursados en ella, por los continuos daños e muertes que han hecho." Miranda, *Relación*, p. 565.) In *Testimonio dado en Mexico*, p. 489, Hernando Gallegos testifies: "que este Declarante abia hecho muchas jornadas, la tierra dentro, adelante de Santa Barbara, en seguimiento de indios salteadores, con los caudillos y capitanes que nombraban para el efeto."

63. This is asserted by Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, lib. XXI, cap. IX, p. 626. Agustín de Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p. 412, copies the statement. Rodriguez was a Spaniard and he is also called, by Francisco Díaz de Vargas, "Fray Agustín de Ayamonte" probably from his birthplace. (*Expediente*, p. 130.) Mendieta, (*Historia ecclésiastica Indiana*, Lib. V, Part II, p. 761) says of him: "lego, natural del condado de Niebla, tomó el hábito de religión en esta provincia del Santo Evangelio, donde sirvió a sus hermanos muchos años en el oficio de lego, con singular ejemplo de su persona y con estremada caridad para con todos, asi enfermos como sanos." It is by no means impossible that Father Mendieta might have known or at least seen him.

64. Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 762: "Siendo ya viejo, en edad, moviolo el espíritu y celo de la salvación de las almas a que pidiese licencia a sus prelados para ir a morar a la custodia de Zacatecas . . . y ilegado a Zacatecas anduvo ultimamente, teniendo su por entre aquellos barbaros . . . (p. 763) . . . hasta que ultimamente, teniendo su asiente y morada en un valle que llaman de San Bartolomé, ciertos indios . . . le dieron relación de unas grandes poblaciones que habia lejos de allí, que por ser de tanta gente, despues las llamaron el Nuevo Mexico." Mendieta is the source whence Torquemada, Vetancurt, and perhaps the Martyrologies, derived their information,—of course, with exception of the Martyrologies anterior to 1587. Gonzaga, in 1587, mentions Father Rodríguez in his, *De Origine Seraphicæ Religionis Franciscanæ*, Part I, fol. 107.

Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado in 1581, came to the City of Mexico the year after and were interrogated by order of the viceroy, the Count of Coruña.<sup>65</sup> The first witness examined, Pedro de Bustamante, a soldier, when asked why, if for more than two years he had contemplated the Journey to New Mexico, he regarded it as a fruitful enterprise, answered: "because an Indian told him that beyond the district governed by Diego de Ibarra, there was a certain settlement of Indians who had cotton and made mantles with which they covered themselves; and that the book written by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca had also contributed to encourage him."<sup>66</sup> The next witness was Hernando Gallegos, who replied to the same query in the following terms: "that the witness had made many trips in pursuit of Indian highwaymen, beyond Santa Barbara, with the captains and leaders therefor appointed, and through one of the Indians captured on these pursuits he learned that, beyond the Government of Francisco and Diego de Ibarra and very far from it, there were very large Indian settlements, which had cotton and made mantles in which they dressed; and that they lived from maize and fowl of the land, and beans, squash, and the meat of cows, and that this created in him and the others the desire to go inland."<sup>67</sup> He also mentioned the book of Cabeza de Vaca. A third witness, Hernando Barrado, con-

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65. *Testimonio dado*, p. 81. The viceroy, Corde de Coruña, declares: "y ayer, quinze del presente, vinieron a esta ciudad, dos hombres de los que fueron en compañía de los dichos religiosos, y dan noticia de aber hallado y descubierto doscientas leguas, adelante, de las dichas minas de Santa Barbola, . . . y para saber lo que en esto pasea, mando se tome la declaración con juramento de los dichos dos hombres . . ."

66. *Testimonio dado*, p. 82.

67. *Testimonio*, p. 89: "y por la relación que le dió un indio de los que prendieron en las dichas entradas, supo que adelante de la dicha Gobernación de Francisco y Diego de Ibarra, muy lejos della, abia muy grandes poblaciones de indios; que tenian algodón e hacian mantas, de que se vestian; e que se sustentaban de maix, e gallinas de la tierra, y frijoles y calabazas, y carne de vaca." The "government" of the Ybarras was New Biscay that is, it included southern Chihuahua, thus lying due south of the New Mexican Rio Grande region, and the sedentary Indians alluded to can have been only the Rio Grande Pueblos. The mention of buffalo meat used by them as food may, possibly, apply to the Pecos.



firms the above testimonies insofar as he declared himself to have been present at everything and to have made the journey with the others.<sup>68</sup>

Hence some of the Indians who roamed through northern and central Chihuahua had knowledge of the Pueblos of the Rio Grande, at least before the year 1580.<sup>69</sup> These Indians may have been Conchos, but the Jumanos may also have been consulted, since they were neighbors of the former.<sup>70</sup> The depositions were taken respectively on May 16th, and October 20th of the year 1582. It is not unlikely that the information given by these men to Father Rodríguez while at Santa Barbara induced him to extend his travels to the distant north, for Pedro Bustamante declares also that nobody animated him to undertake the journey but that, "desirous of serving God and his Majesty" it was more than two years that he and Father Agustín Rodríguez were thinking of the matter, hence already previous to 1580.<sup>71</sup>

Fray Agustín Rodríguez (he is also mentioned under the abbreviation of "Ruiz"), was already aged.<sup>72</sup> He obtained authorization from his provincial and the viceroy but two more Franciscans associated themselves with him. One was Fray Francisco López, an Andalusian and a native of Sevilla. The other was Fray Juan de Santa María, by origin

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68. *Idem*, p. 96. He does not, however, say that he had heard of the report before, through any other source than his companions.

69. The witnesses, Bustamante (p. 82) and Gallegos (p. 89), both assert that for more than two years previous to 1582 they had been considering and planning the journey, therefore previous to 1580.

70. This is indicated by the statement of Parrado (p. 97.) Besides, the Jumanos lived in the vicinity of the Concho river at the time. They appear to have been less shy or hostile than other perhaps more roaming tribes.

71. *Testimonio dado*, p. 82: "y que lo que principalmente le movió a hacer la dicha jornada i acompañar a los dichos religiosos fue principalmente de servir a Dios Nuestro Señor y a Su Magestad; y que ninguna persona le persuadió a ello, antes con el deseo que tenia dicho, el y el dicho religioso abía mas de dos años que trataban de ir la dicha jornada; y el procuró atraer a los demás que fueron, para que la hiciesen."

72. Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 762: "Siendo ya viejo en edad." I attach importance to his statements as already stated; he was a contemporary, was at Mexico again after 1573, and might easily have known Father Rodríguez personally.

a Catalanian.<sup>73</sup> The latter two, although young, were ordained priests, whereas Rodríguez was a laybrother only.<sup>74</sup> Some ecclesiastical authors state that Rodríguez, before starting on the great journey, made a reconnoissance as far as the Pueblo country, but, here again, we meet with a contradiction between the eyewitnesses and posterior sources. No mention is made of such a preliminary attempt by the laybrother, nor by the companions of Chamuscado nor by Antonio de Espejo who followed their steps in 1582 and 1583, and the viceroy, while recounting that Fray Agustín Rodríguez, in appealing to him for the authorization stipulated as essential in the Ordinances of 1573, does not mention any previous attempts at probing—*de visu*—the reports on which the friar based his plans. The head of the trio of ecclesiastics became Fray Francisco López, as the most prominent one of the three.<sup>75</sup>

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73. In the preamble to *Testimonio dado*, p. 80, the Viceroy Count of Coruña declares "que por quanto por relación que le dieron Fray Agustín Rodríguez de la orden de San Francisco, con otros religiosos de la Dicha orden, de que pretendian ir a predicar el Santo Evangelio, adelante de las minas de Santa Barbola y de la Gobernación de Diego de Ibarra, a cierta tierra nueva que tendrán noticia." In his letter to the king, dated Mexico, November 1st, 1582, the viceroy writes (p. 98): "Por Noviembre del año pasado de ochenta, vino a mi, un Frayle que se decia Fray Agustín Rodríguez de la orden de San Francisco, y me dijo que queria entrar a predicar el Santo Evangelio, adelante de las minas de Santa Barbola, ques en la Nueva Vizcaya; y viendo su buen zelo, . . . le di licencia para que lo hiciese, llevando consigo otros religiosos." It appears, therefore, that Father Rodríguez returned from Santa Barbara to the city of Mexico, previous to November, 1580, and obtained the requisite authorization through personal application to the viceroy. The permission from the ecclesiastic authorities he must have secured already previously. Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 763: "dió la vuelta para Mexico y pidió religiosos para la conversión de aquella nueva gente. El prelado le dió dos sacerdotes por entónces, que se ofrecieron: para aquella jornada, hasta recibir aviso de lo que mas conviniere. Llamábase el uno (que fue por superior de los compañeros) Fray Francisco López, venido de la provincia del Andalucía, y el otro Fr. Juan de Santa María, de nación catalán ambos mancebos virtuosos y teólogos, que actualmente salían del estudio." I limit myself on these points to quoting Mendieta. The other ecclesiastic sources are mostly copied from his work, or confirm his statements. Even Gonzaga, although his book appeared eleven years previous to that of Mendieta, may, as I have already indicated in the first part, have drawn his information on Mexican topics from Mendieta.

74. This is so absolutely proven, that I need not refer to any of the very numerous sources.

75. I quote Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 763: "Y para certificarse si esto era verdad, netiose la tierra adentro por la parte que le señalaron hacia el norte, y halló buenas poblaciones y tuvo noticia de otras mayores;" but none of those who were in inti-

The monks had asked the viceroy for permission to take along an escort of not more than twenty men. This was conceded, but the friars selected but eight<sup>76</sup> and the leader, who was Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado. Of him, hardly anything is known beyond the fact that he proved to be sagacious, prudent, energetic and mild. But he did not live to see the end of the expedition. Together with a dozen Indian servants the twelve left Santa Barbara or Barbola, on the fifth day of June fifteen hundred and eighty-one.<sup>77</sup>

mate relations with Father Rodríguez make any mention of such a reconnoissance. The soldiers that escorted him state that his information was obtained from them, orally. The viceroy (*Testimonio*, p. 80) only states that the monks had information about the countries they wished to visit: "a cierta tierra que tendrán noticia," and in his letter of November 1st, 1582: "y que se tenia noticia que por el rio de las Conchas habia gente donde se podia conseguir este buen intento." Antonio de Espejo, whose celebrated exploration was beginning at the time when the last deposition of the eyewitnesses was taken (November, 1582) says (*Relación del Viage*, p. 101): "teniendo noticia un frayle de la orden de San Francisco, que se llamaba Fray Agustín Ruiz, que recidia en el Valle de San Bartolomé, y por ciertos indios conchas, que se comunicaban con los pazaguates, que hacia la parte del Norte Había ciertas poblaciones no descubiertas." There seems a possibility that Fray Agustín may have gone to a preliminary reconnoissance previous to his going to the City of Mexico, and may have visited the Conchos with the view of obtaining information directly from them or some neighboring tribe, but it is as good as impossible that he could have reached New Mexico, alone as he would have been. On this occasion I must call attention to a statement by Francisco Diaz de Vargas (*Testimonio dado*, p. 130): "y despues de todo esto, por la noticia que algunos religiosos, . . . los que volvieron de entre ellos que entraron hacia la parte de Prunco y Florida, dijeron, habea sabido y entendido de la gente rrayada y otras naciones desnudas, que por aquella derezera hacia el Poniente había muchas jentes y poblaciones desnudas, casas de dos y tres altos, y que usaban vestidos, por lo cual, habiéndosele dado noticia dello al Virrey Conde de Coruña, imbió a Fray Agustín de Ayamonte y otros dos religiosos, y por caudillo a Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado y otros ocho soldados y otras gentes de su servicio." The interest about this statement lies first in the fact that, not three years after the expedition which Father Rodríguez initiated, the first origin of it could be so utterly distorted as to confound it to some extent with Florida. And Diaz de Vargas was a high official in Mexico at the time, being "alguazil mayor" of the city of Puebla de los Angeles!

Second: in the mention of "tattooed Indians" (rrayados) as having conveyed the information. The tattooed Indians were the Jumanos. That Father López, although a young man, was the superior of the three is asserted by Mendieta, *Historia*, p. 763, and is reiterated (copied) by Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, Lib. XXI, Cap. IX. p. 626. Vetancurt (*Menologio franciscano*, p. 404) alludes to him briefly, without mentioning his position as superior.

76. *Testimonio*, Preamble, p. 81. The statement is from the viceroy directly and is abundantly confirmed.

77. For the number of the escort I adopt the statement of the eyewitnesses in the so often quoted *Testimonio*, given under the heading of *Relación breve y verdadera del descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico, que descubrimos nueve compañeros que*

Thus the rediscovery of the Rio Grande Pueblos was begun. It had been called forth through vague information casually obtained by energetic frontiersmen; but initiated and organized by the efforts of a simple lay-brother, an humble member of the church, and carried out, finally, under the auspices of, and according to, the Ordinances of July, 1573. Great is the contrast between this modest enterprise and the display that attended the commencement of Coronado's march. The latter was intended to initiate forthwith a settlement of the country to be discovered and explored; the former was a precautious reconnoissance with the view to christianizing the natives and investigating their country.

(*End of Part II*)

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*salimos de Santa Balbola, en compañía de tres religiosos de la orden de San Francisco*, p. 146: "todos los nueve compañeros." The viceroy (p. 81) states: "fueron los dichos religiosos, y ocho de los dichos hombres:" The eyewitnesses also mention only eight men in their separate depositions (pp. 82, 88 and 96). But in his letter to the king, Nov. 1st, 1582, the Conde de Coruña also says: "y que alque dellos, el Frayle señalase, fuese por caudillo, a quien los otros obedeciesen, por que no isiesen desorden, los cuales entraron con hasta ocho hombres que con ellos quisieron ir" (p. 98). The date I also take from the *Relación breve*, p. 146: "salimos a cinco de Junio de mil e quinientos e ochenta e un años." In their separate declarations the witnesses Bustamante and Gallegos say the fifth.

## THE SOUTHWEST IN 1880

(With a brief note which is self-explanatory, the late Lieut. John G. Bourke, 3rd Cavalry, U. S. A., aide de camp to Brigadier General George Crook, pasted in one of his note-books a newspaper clipping which gives an intimate and somewhat racy account of a visit to Arizona and New Mexico fifty years ago. It is reproduced through the courtesy of his eldest daughter, Mrs. Sara Bourke James of Montclair, New Jersey.—Editor.)

*February 28th (1881) . . . The following extract from the pages of the San Francisco Stock Report appeared in its issue of January 15th and is from the pen of my old friend, Joe Wasson, now a State Senator of California. He describes in a vivid way the country of Arizona and New Mexico; where he and I were once associated on terms of the strictest intimacy.*

## THE SOUTHWEST

## A JOURNEY THROUGH ARIZONA AND INTO NEW MEXICO

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 THE NEW RAILROADS AND THE COUNTRY THEY  
 ARE OPENING UP
 

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## A CURIOUS MINGLING OF INDIAN, MEXICAN AND AMERICAN

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 THE WAVE OF SPECULATION WHICH IS TO FLOW INTO  
 OLD MEXICO
 

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A Spicy Resume of Reminiscences and Experiences—Interesting Descriptions of the New Mining and Railroad Cities and the Districts Around Them.

EDITOR DAILY REPORT:—It would require the humor, temper and patience of the late Mr. Sterne himself to make a “sentimental journey” out of the subject of this sketch, which implies about 4,000 miles of travel by railroad, stage, buckboard and on horseback, exclusive of stoppages between San Francisco and Santa Fe, during a period of less than forty days. Yet there was a great deal more of real interest and that which was novel in the trip, than the disagreeable and disgusting. I have no special desire to be a railroad king, for however great his powers, they are limited as compared with my express wants. Nothing much less than omnipotence would ever satisfy me in this mortal American world of ours, where God made plenty of food and the devil made the cooks and keeps them on deck at all hours and at all home stations as well as half-way houses. I am busy with a bill making it a felony for any person to hereafter spell God with a big G and the devil with a lower case d. This condition of things does not apply to Arizona and New Mexico much more than to other parts of the United States, so far as the public eating-places are concerned. If Wendell Phillips does not include cooking in his next lecture on the “Lost Arts,” he will have to be looked after himself; and I have not got the dyspepsia, nor has dyspepsia got me. If necessary I can digest the bowsprits of a Texas steer. But I will not digress. In 1862, when I was an emigrant in the northern mines—Oregon and Idaho—I sought information in all quarters. One day I met a little Indian boy, a body-servant of an adventurer from Los Angeles, who had ridden across the country, inside the Sierras, to Carriboo and back. I interviewed him over every inch of the ground, and the answer to every question was:

“IT IS A LONG COUNTRY”

Did anybody live in it? Is there anything doing in it? “It is a long country.” Poe’s raven was a perfect variety

show on wheels along side of that stoical *aboriginis* on horse-back. Having been over all that country, so to speak, since, and much of it again and again, I have concluded, that, considering the time and circumstances, the youthful heathen was wise beyond his years. So much by way of prelude. Leaving out all north of the Central Pacific Railroad, and even beginning with Los Angeles, it is still a "long country." That it is not such a blank in this world's existence as popular opinion has heretofore made out or affected, it will be the purpose of this article to set forth, whether long or short—I mean the article, of course.

It seems but yesterday, though over ten years ago, when I first went to Arizona. The nearest railroad projection toward the Colorado river, was Soledad, Monterey county; the nearest telegraph, San Diego. A "jerk-water" stage swung out from the latter point, detouring over into Mexico or Lower California, and we were five days and four nights in getting to Tucson, the old entrepot or trading-post with respect to Sonora. Now one can sail along from San Francisco to Tucson in a palace car in fifty-six hours, and when they come to shorten up the time between Los Angeles and El Paso, the time to Tucson will be shortened at least ten hours. It would seem conclusive that the world does move. Between Los Angeles and the end of the S.P.R.R. track, passengers are subjected to freight train time, and yet they are not happy. A stage coach is good enough for them; but you should see how glad they are to get in sight of even a construction train, after being pinched up two or three days and nights like a second-class sardine, or swung around in space on the hurricane deck of an Arizona buckboard, or mustang. I long since discovered that Arizona did not contain all the *mal pais* (or bad land) incident to the Pacific coast water-shed. California herself possesses the lion's share of the celebrated Colorado desert, and has a monopoly even of those essentially bad places on land with an elevation below sea level. Mining was carried on at several

points within sight, as it were, of Fort Yuma (California) and Yuma City (Arizona), ten years ago. These interests have been perceptibly extended more recently, until that hot, black and sandy basin has become the centre of

#### A CIRCLE OF SUBSTANTIAL DISTRICTS,

with the Colorado River leading off north and east to others. However, none of these have ever become sensational, and the old Fort stands on its little volcanic *mesa* (table land) not unlike the Roman soldiers amidst the ruins of Pompeii. The little steamboats and barges in tow are mostly retired before the remorseless sweep of the locomotive. The shapely forms of the Yuma Indians are gradually giving way before the modern style of dress, and the case is rather exceptional where one sees the close-fitting garments of our first parents made perfect. I fear we are all saddest when we sing.

At Yuma City the route is up the barren valley of the Gila river. It reminds one very much of the Humboldt in Nevada, though the latter is better defined. There are narrow strips of fertile soil adjacent to the lower Gila, but for 150 miles from its mouth this resource does not foot up much amid the wide expanse of volcanic debris, relieved at intervals by mountain ranges that rise up as clearly cut as so many pyramids. One can trace the Nevada type of mountain range by gradual stages down south into old Mexico, the vegetation, such as it is, blending along accordingly, beginning with sage-brush, grease-wood and mahogany, and ending in every variety of cactus and the mesquite, an excellent firewood. In the moonlight, struggling specimens of cactus stand out like fingerposts, and the imagination can employ itself in creating all sorts of things on the mountain tops, from a ship on a wave down to a sphinx.

The first spread of scoria or black lava is suggestive. It does not seem possible that it ever came from the cone-like



craters with which such results are usually associated. Rather, the whole earth, hundreds of miles in extent, was fissured and fractured and filled again and leveled off. Those mountains do not look either like upheavals in a modern sense, but rather islands in an ocean drawn away to the south, playing the part of the sculptor in the general course of subsidence. It is probable that the western-coast has as gradually risen as the waters have fallen, leaving us Death Valley in Inyo County and the Colorado Desert, in San Bernardino, San Diego, as the missing links, or more properly speaking, the cemeteries strewn with fossils serving as mile-stones, significant of the silent but awful movements of nature.

But suppose we give nature a rest? Along about the Big Bend of the Gila, the weird desolation begins to give way to a more inviting landscape. At this point there is an example of splendid engineering in the way of railroad curves. As level as the Gila valley appears at first glance, there are a good many heavy grades, comparatively speaking. From the Gila Bend there is rather plain sailing into Tucson, passing through the Pimo [Pima] Indian country into that of the Papago, and within sight of the old ruin known as Casa Grande (big house) of the unknown civilization of pre-historic times. It is a mud-built structure, interlarded with more or less wood, and artistically described by Prof. Hanks in a recent number of the *Californian* magazine. Excellent photographs of it are on exhibition in the State Museum, 313 Pine Street.

#### OLD AND NEW

The changes wrought in and about old Tucson since my first sojourn there, are numerous and significant enough of the tramp of Americans toward the old city of Mexico itself. Two-story mercantile structures of modern brick, with wooden floors, and residences studded with bay win-

dows, form an almost amusing contrast. At that time, the whites lived on the reservations and the Apaches ran the country. Now all hands and the cook go up and down in the land with not even the fear of the Lord before them. Tucson contests the claim of Santa Fe, N. M., and St. Augustine, Fla., on the score of being the oldest town in the (now) United States. It is a curious claim, methinks; though I would have to see it first, before I would prefer even the newest. Man is never, but ever to be blest. The romance of old Tucson is sadly compromised, with its harp and guitar hung on the willows, and the banjo, violin and piano having a go-as-you-please walk-over.

That reminds me of an incident one Sunday evening after mass in the old church on the Plaza. I heard an awful rattle of things and scented an awful dust in a little den around the corner. I was tempted and did enter in, and truly there was just cause for that sound of deviltry by night. According to custom, a Spanish girl squatted in one corner on the ground floor, with a harp between her knees. There were other nut-brown maidens swinging round the narrow circle, held in place by as many American teamsters and packers with spurs and six-shooters on. Tam O'Shanter never saw anything half so inviting, and the first thing your correspondent knew he was duly interested, but meeting with such a catastrophe as to suggest the end of things. The spur on the left heel of a big festive cuss got tangled up in my partner's *túnica* (dress) and it came as near winding up the evening's entertainment as it did the entire calico structure. I held on to the upper if not better half of the girl and let the other feller take the ribbons.

I never could account exactly for the existence of

#### TUCSON AS A BUSINESS PLACE

as there are no very paying mines even yet within its immediate vicinity. Yet it grows apace, and to-day has more

business in sight, of all sorts, incident to the country, four times over, than any other one place in the Territory. It is destined to direct railroad connection with Sonora at no distant day. For eight months in the year, the climate is excellent—seldom more than a taste of snow or frost. The other four months, one is inclined to stand from under. But for that 120 degrees in the shade at times, your humble servant might still be a resident, if not solid citizen, of Tucson. After assisting in putting a new head on the military, as several years previous in Idaho, he sought pastures new.

You have heard the old formula of our south border civilization? It is very hackneyed. How they cut wood with a maul, hay with a hoe, chained up the hogs and let the dogs run loose. And also how they never got the yoke on their oxen further back than the horns. This sort of thing is getting to be the exception instead of the rule. Yankee wagons, harness, etc., with native drivers are common. Ten years ago there was but one case of carriage—now there are scores of fine turn-outs. The most startling sign of the times is that of Sam Sing and Ah Sin—"washing and ironing." One more reminiscence, and I'll move on. Ten years ago last November, Gov. Safford and I occupied the same quarters, and sent our clothes out in a common heap. They came back one Saturday night (my first experience) in the most uncommon pile you ever saw. You see, those old Mexican girls were universally too poor to buy *xabón* (soap), *lina* (wood) [*leña*] or anything else; and as a rule, the one who did the washing could not do the ironing. In any event, "Saff" ought to have known better, besides he was eternally bragging on the beautiful customs of the country. However, he forgot himself, and about nine o'clock Saturday night we went to our rooms, expecting a nice cleaning up Sunday morning. The clothes (all we had left) were found in a wet twisted heap in Saff's bed. There was scarcely a button or button-hole left—the washboard consisting of bowlders on the banks of the Santa Cruz river. I was raised an iron-clad

Presbyterian on the old farm in Ohio, but never till that night did I fully realize that form of expression known as weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth. We just took turns for about half an hour. Arizona generally possesses a hazy-blue atmosphere, but I have never before or since seen it where you could sweep it out of a house by the bushel basketful. Since the Governor has got rich, he doesn't like to have me mention these trifles. When I see those Celestial signs at every turn, I am so pleased to think that the Chinese must go.

#### EASTWARD FROM TUCSON

From Tucson, I took the train eastward, resolving to see and do New Mexico somewhat before farther investigation in Arizona. The country is rising ground for at least 100 miles, (Railroad Pass is over 7,000 feet above sea level,<sup>1</sup>) or about opposite Fort Bowie, the railroad passing over grassy plains and flanking those pyramid-like mountains at regular intervals. From Tucson east to the New Mexico line and beyond, the country is seldom repulsive, but as a rule inviting and interesting—the mining districts one sees and hears of on either hand lending an unusual air of importance to it. Every station almost assumes more or less an increasing business aspect.

In getting access from the Southern Pacific to the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad, I met with a most royal deception. It had been given out that there were only 120 miles of staging, whereas it was over 300—one hundred and twenty of it being almost parallel with and in sight of the Southern Pacific R. R. This announcement came from the east. They can beat us western people three to one in drawing the long bow. They are most heavenly liars. They dragged men, women and children all over the country there, night and day, for weeks, at 20 cents per mile, before dis-

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1. Possibly a misreading for "4,000." Today, at least, the highest point of the Southern Pacific is only about 4,300 feet.

covered. Had I known the true inwardness of the trap, I'd have quietly sent my little baggage around, and gone down to Mimbres Station, sixty miles beyond Lordsburg, and walked over for 15 miles and got in the stage at Fort Cummings. However, we got to see Silver City and Fort Bayard, 90 miles northeast and 60 out of our way, and were cramped up all one night in a little cold stage.

You may recall the celebrated Burri-burri mines and the town of Ralston excitement ten or more years ago? It got into such flavor that they changed the name to Shakespeare. It is three miles west of the railroad, at Lordsburg station—named after Dr. Lord, a leading merchant of Tucson. The ledges stand up like walls of fortifications, but are apparently dismantled of all other works. They may be good yet, but I surmise the Atchison folks have made the most of them in their railroad posters. The Burri-burri people abandoned the scheme and inaugurated the celebrated diamond enterprise of 1872—Harpending, Arnold, Slack & Co. And I swear right now that it is at least a mistake to say that a rolling-stone gathers no moss. That section of

#### NEW MEXICO

crossed by stage in this instance is historically more interesting than otherwise. It is a mixture of pasturage, prospects for mines, stretches of sand, volcanic debris and general graveyard in the wake of the bloody Victorio and other Indian desperadoes gone before. The operations of Victorio are fresh, and Cook's canyon, approaching Fort Cummings from the west, is lined with graves. Not half the people met with down there believe he is yet out of the way. I think he is, for such a bold leader would have returned ere this.

We came out on the Rio Grande valley early one morning, and after dragging through sand an hour or so, forded the stream and drove up to the leading hotel for breakfast, cold and hungry. If the breakfast itself had been both cold and hungry too, it might have served to keep the peace at

least; but their infernal attempt at warming it over and playing it off on us for something fresh, came near causing something more than the usual Mexican revolution—which is generally bloodless. I shall never forget the damnable preparation set out as coffee. I was so hungry in about an hour—the stage stopped several hours there—that I got a box of sardines and dry crackers at a store across the way, and in a back room sat down to a square meal, mad enough to commit murder, and therefore happy. The atmosphere is so dry in that country that the oil had evaporated through the tin casing.

Messilla (Mes-seeya) is a very fair specimen of the average town in the Rio Grande valley. The houses are dry mud boxes with the bottom knocked out and the top covered with poles, straw and more mud. The suburbs are too frequently stormed by sand, and in some instances entirely covered up. Las Cruces is a twin sister of Messilla, three miles distant, with railroad favors more promising. Little strips of the valley are irrigated, and wool is grown in the adjacent highlands, mesas, etc. These good people, the old natives, are easily satisfied as to this world's goods. Beyond driving a jackass and listening to his music at off hours, luxury is seldom known or indulged in. The Rio Grande as a river does not come up to its high-sounding title; in fact it hardly comes up to a horse's knees this time of year, and it is so thick with mud and sand as to make it difficult to say whether it is wading or merely pulling through. It gets very hot along this valley during the summer, but I did not hear much complaint of ill health.

From Messilla and Las Cruces we dragged along up the valley north about 90 miles before

#### CONNECTING WITH THE RAILROAD

coming down towards El Paso, the Southern Pacific, etc. Messilla is forty miles north of El Paso, to which the main Atchison road is extending, as well as the road southwest

and crossing the S.P.R.R. at or near Deming. The El Paso part of the Atchison road is destined for the city of Mexico, the Deming portion for Guaymas, as per general report. In that 90 miles we passed through or by several native towns, and crossed the somewhat celebrated "Jornada del Muerta" (journey of death), where the natives are said to pray before starting in on it, and every one else prays when out of it.<sup>2</sup> (A distinction with a good deal of difference.) The railroad has ere this bridged this chasm and the Death Valley of New Mexico will be a thing of the past.

About one o'clock one Sunday our stage pulled into San Marcial. It is situated a few miles above Fort Craig and just across the river from Valverde, celebrated during the early part of the war for one of the sharpest fights between rebel and union soldiers, followed by a succession of skirmishes, and winding up with the battle at Glorietta Pass just east of Santa Fe, where the Texas troops gave it up to the regulars and Colorado volunteers. San Marcial was a rattling railroad town.

Thirty miles further north, I stepped off at the very interesting town of Socorro, also near the river and railroad, in the midst of all sorts of mines, as gold, silver, copper, coal, etc., and distant from five to fifty miles. Magdalena district is especially important in the carbonate sort of ores. Mexican and Indian (Pueblo) towns are strung all along up the valley, 70 miles farther to Albuquerque, where I made something of a stay.

#### ALBUQUERQUE

I believe, is named after a Spanish general of olden times. It is a genuine type of the town Mexican—mud houses inhabited by men with a *serapa* (blanket) of all the glaring colors, looking as if it might be the American flag

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2. The writer's Spanish is a little weak. Here the "jornada del muerto" means the "day's journey of the dead man." Above, "Messilla" should be "Mesilla"; below "serapa" should read "serape."

kicked over their shoulders by a government mule; and women who go about at all hours with one eye done up in a shawl of colors to match. Fill in the fore and back ground with dogs, hogs and jackasses, and call in the man with the camera oscura.

Did'st ever see a Mexican hotel? It is the most perfect of hollow squares, without any roof on, you ever saw outside of San Quentin. They never have more than one story, unless by mistake, or where an earthquake has doubled up on the proprietor. The open court sometimes has a flower-pot or two, but more frequently pots of another color. I was not happy in the first fortification I was thrown into at Albuquerque; there were too many of us, including several Chicago and Kansas City drummers.

#### OLD SANTA FE,

(The Holy Faith) is 70 miles beyond Albuquerque again, and off north from the Atchison road proper, 18 miles on a branch track. It is the most handsomely located place on all the rounds. It is also away from the barren river-valley, nestled in an amphitheatre of wooded hills, with quite a range of mountains not far in the background. It is the Tucson of New Mexico, enlarged and improved. It is a place in which any one could live in comparative comfort and die in peace, if anywhere. The climate is never so hot in day times as elsewhere and the nights never so warm but that a blanket is essential. Of course, it is built on the regular plaza style, with a lively business all round, largely carried on by Americans. It is one of the oldest of the far interior American trading posts. I can remember when Santa Fe seemed so far off it was like a dream. The daily paper, so kind as to announce my arrival, had a whole page devoted to their new gas-works, but among the clippings I ran across the following paragraph: "Jerusalem is to have gas, street cars, passenger elevators, and a telephone exchange. Jerusalem! somebody ought to start a theatre and a dollar store."



Which, for the past three hundred years would have applied equally well to Santa Fe as to Jerusalem or Jericho. A gas company, by the way, is about ready to start operations in Tucson.

Santa Fe is the capital of the Territory and has a "Palace" for the Governor and other offices. Governor Lew Wallace is a "literary feller," chiefly given to writing novels of an uncertain sort. He is following up the "Fair God" with "Ben-Hur, a Story of the Christ." I protest, as a friend of Christ, that He has been crucified enough already, without having a Territorial Governor after Him. Fancy old Gov. Jim Nye or Gov. Safford writing stories about the Redeemer?<sup>3</sup>

I met with a most agreeable reception in Santa Fe on the part of an old acquaintance of Washington City, who is married and settled. His pretty wife can cook as well as play and sing. But speaking of Christ. Those Yankee tradespeople are not slow in getting on the soft side of the natives. It is very common to see pictures of the Sacred Heart, with an arrow through it, cheek by jowl, with cold pig's liver and pickled chickens; Christ and Him crucified trying to take the ace with the deuce of clubs, etc. There is an air of unconsciousness if not innocence about it all next to that of my girl at Albuquerque. One of the mercantile features of Santa Fe is the pottery made by the Pueblo Indians of the country.

#### BUT THE BIGGEST STORIES

I ever heard about gold, silver and what not in the way of mines, are in circulation. South of there a short distance, begin the celebrated Ortiz (Or-tees) and Cañon del Agua (water canyon) grants of land, embracing many thousand

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3. Governor Wallace was inaugurated on Oct. 1, 1878; his successor, Sheldon, took office on June 4, 1881. From the way in which the writer speaks of Wallace, it would seem doubtful whether he had any personal acquaintance with either Wallace or his literary work. Possibly he is simply reflecting the current views of those who were unfriendly to the governor.

acres. It was with this that ex-President U. S. Grant's name was for awhile associated. Placer gold is considered the grand resource of these grants; the chief drawback consisting of want of water to utilize it. Col. Gillette, formerly of Virginia, is superintending a big scheme for a Boston Company, on the Canyon del Agua. It is estimated that two million dollars will be required in either case to bring water to the ground. On the Ortiz grant, within a few miles of the main railroad, anthracite coal is found, and is used in making steam for a big quartz mill near there. In short, the Santa Fe country is fascinating in both its character and history, and I was very loth to leave it so soon.

On returning to Albuquerque, the train was side-son folks, who are pushing it rapidly but quietly. It will tracked all night on account of a sand-storm in the Rio Grande valley. These interferences have been frequent. The Southern Pacific used to be blockaded on the Colorado desert, also, but I am told such interruptions are much less frequent of late.

You have probably taken little account of the construction of the Atlantic and Pacific railroad, westward across northern New Mexico and Arizona.

#### CALIFORNIA WILL HAVE TO WAKE UP

one of these days, especially the mercantile community, to several potent facts. This railroad is better known as the "35th parallel," whose land grant was secured by the Atchepass north of Prescott about 80 miles. It possesses a good route, with few exceptions. Its highest altitude, at Continental Divide, 100 miles west of Albuquerque, is 7,200 feet. Its eastern terminus, on paper, is Vinita, Indian territory, but practically it is New Albuquerque, on the east side of the Rio Grande.<sup>4</sup> The trains run down the Atchison-Santa

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4. The new town, building up near the railroad, was apparently still separated from the original "Alburquerque" (about half a mile west) by a branch of the Rio Grande which ran approximately where Fourth Street is today.

Fe road 12 miles; thence turn off west on their own track, which was completed one month ago a distance of 80 miles.

I rode out on it 60 miles to Laguna, one of the most interesting of the Pueblo Indian villages. As I understand the term, the word "pueblo," thus applied, means "town or city builder," that is, Indians who build houses, as distinguished from the Sioux, Apaches, etc., who live in lodges, wickiups, etc. The word is Spanish, of course. These Indians are, doubtless, offshoots from the more celebrated Zuñis, concerning which I will have something to say further on. The Laguna village people number several thousand, their business being the raising of sheep, horses and cattle, their rulers being elective and during good behavior, individuals holding property as Americans.<sup>5</sup> This village stands upon a point of sandstone, fronting south. This rock, like the rock of ages, is worn smooth enough. The children slide down hill upon it, as I used to slide down a strawstack in my father's barnyard. For several generations the Catholics held sway, but latterly the Presbyterians have obtained a foothold, and I felt sort of at home once more.

#### A MISSIONARY FROM THE NORTH OF IRELAND<sup>6</sup>

and his niece are teaching the youngsters how to say the Lord's Prayer, and to "read, write and cipher." I made it a point to visit the school, ostensibly, but more particularly to see the schoolmarm and impart spiritual consolation. A family of railroad people had several little towheads mixed up with the rest of the young savages, lending a cheerful and picturesque air to the institution worthy of mention. That Irish missionary was with Dr. Livingstone in Africa,

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5. The details of this paragraph are inaccurate,—the relationship to Zuñi, the number of the Laguna Indians, term of office, holding of property.

6. The Rev. John Menaul, M. D., Presbyterian missionary. He had met his future wife while both were on shipboard going to Africa. They had begun their work at Laguna in 1876. John Menaul has been confused with his brother, the Rev. James A. Menaul, who had been sent out in 1870 as a Presbyterian missionary to the Navajos and who, in the '90s, was synodical missionary of New Mexico.

and is a genius. He has a printing office at Laguna, and is engaged in translating American schoolbooks for the benefit of the heathen.<sup>7</sup> Herewith is a stanza from the original "Mary had a Little Lamb," which I dropped on immediately, my knowledge of Indian dialects coming to my rescue accordingly:

Muh! iske natse oshtyatthuts.

Iske oshtyatthuts nasho hishome.

Hinome saiske oshtyatthuts.

Immee oshtyatthuts natsetsa.

However, I am not happy over the fact that Mary is still going around having little lambs. My advice to Mary is that, for the benefit of her reputation as well as the human race, she had better marry, settle down and have a little baby or two for a change. If you have her address, send her a copy "marked."

Savage or civilized, the Laguna Indians (the women, I mean) are the most natty and attractively dressed of any people I ever saw. They throw a sort of robe over them and pin it one side with marlin-spikes of silver in the most ship-shape style. It comes down slightly below the knees, from where canvas or buckskin leggings complete a very picturesque habit. But when they get an "olla, oyah" (water-jar) on their heads they walk off so straight and graceful that a Kearny-street belle would go wild with envy at sight of them. Some of these good people (the females, I mean) are very pretty. One of the natural curiosities of the country is a weed or shrub, very rooty in character, which they use instead of soap in washing clothes, etc. Two brothers there, American merchants, have married into the tribe and have children, showing that man cannot live on soap alone.

7. A bibliography of the issues from this press would be interesting. The editor has a copy of a Laguna hymn-book, and the Historical Society has another copy. A reader in the Laguna language was issued in 1882. About 1889 it is thought that this press was moved to Albuquerque and was used by Dr. Menaul in printing Spanish tracts. Bancroft xvii, 777, note (based on *Ritch's Blue Book*) mentions *La Sona*, published at Laguna in 1878.

From Laguna to Ft. Wingate, some 90 miles, there is little change of scene. There is one good-sized Spanish town.<sup>8</sup>

#### FORT WINGATE

Was named after an old army officer, who figured before the war. It was, next to Ft. Defiance, the rallying point of the diamond-hunters of 1872. I believe it was Wellington who prayed for "night or Blucher," and Harpending saw the importance of a snow storm, and so shifted the scene up north among the highlands of Wyoming. That is the beauty of precious stones—you can transplant millions in a very small compass, and quickly.

The location of Wingate is exceptionally picturesque. The Zuñi Mountains, and spurs and mesas attending, form a basin, whose rim takes in new forms and colors like the kaleidoscope at every turn. It is largely a sand-stone formation. In plain view, to the north, the wind and rain have sculptured an almost perfect cathedral, known as the Navajo Church. The Navajo Indians are a powerful tribe, given to industrial pursuits. Their woolen blankets are widely celebrated for thickness, compactness and fineness. The Atlantic and Pacific road is graded past Wingate, and several hundred miles of contract let beyond the end of track, which will be favored with abundance of fuel at all points, whether coal or timber, as development progresses.

At Wingate I renewed the buck-board experience, crossing the Zuñi Mountains and reaching the chief and most celebrated village after midnight. It was a tedious ride, the team consisting of an old horse whose sands of life had about run out, and the genuine remains of a Government mule, so experienced in shirking his duty that it kept my Spanish boy driver too busy.

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8. San Rafael, near which was *old* Fort Wingate. The later, or *new*, Fort Wingate is the one here visited.

## THE ZUNIS

The word Zuñi is Spanish for flesh,<sup>9</sup> as applied to the tribe which has cost the antiquarians so much trouble. The village stands on an island-like location on the prairie, and has several thousand inhabitants, who are given to the strangest manifestations and ideas of any tribe on the continent. Their belief in the origin of man does not differ much from the protoplasmic theory of Darwin, Tyndall & Co. They practice the most severe ceremonies and rites imaginable, and what is strangest of all, there is an educated white man among them, who has subjected himself to every feature of this awful penance, all for the good of science. He kept this up for several months, when he at last secured their confidence, and the result is likely to be the most thorough research of all others together. His name is F. H. Cushing, ethnologist, of the Smithsonian Institute. I would not, could not, subject myself to the sacrifices he has made for all the wealth of the bonanza firm. As much as they are called "civilized," the idea of eating this wretched cooking as a regular diet is too much. Excepting the coffee, we all took breakfast out of the same pot with our fingers, but it was a case of groundhog with me, you bet. Cushing interested me exceedingly with his accounts of his experience and knowledge of the customs and history of that strange people. He claims that the cliff-builders further north are an offshoot. There is a great high mesa, with perpendicular walls, in plain sight of the present village, to which the Zuñis have been wont to retire in time of siege. A deserted town stands up there to which there is but one access. This style of architecture is quite peculiar, when completed according to the Darwinian theory, etc., a dwelling consists of four steps, including the ground to start with, two houses on top of the

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9. The writer is again inaccurate. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, under "Zuñi" says: "Their tribal name is A'shiwi (sing, Shíwi), 'the flesh' . . . Their common name, Zuni, is a Spanish adaptation of the Keresan *Sjinyitsi*, or *Sj nyitsa*, of unknown origin."

lower or larger, and a third one lending a watch-tower appearance to the whole structure. Access to these is usually by rustic ladders from the outside, entering from the roof. Those Indians have a knowledge of the ocean and believe all life comes from the bottom thereof—your “protoplasm” again—and have the greatest reverence for certain shells. Our buckboard was loaded with a variety of shells sent out by mail from Washington, and those people kept me awake all night with their jabber over the new acquisition.

#### ONE OF THE STRIKING FEATURES

of this society is the Albino element—men and women of the purest blonde type; white hair and blue eyes. Science has not yet fully determined the answer to this human conundrum. These Indians are rather small of stature. Like the Pueblos, they were once considerably Catholicized, but latterly they are also bedeviled by the Presbyterians, who have a station near by, which in a year or so more will be obliterated by sandstorms. There are a thousand things funny in themselves worth relating about these people, but I will close the paragraph with an item regarding their custom of naming their children after their mother in all cases. They don't want to take any chances. Like seven months' children among white folks, they rarely come but once in the same family.

The route from Zuñi to Fort Apache, A. T., passes through the Mormon settlement of St. Johns, on the Little Colorado River. The whole country is over 6,000 feet above the sea, interspersed with timbered mesas, grassy valleys, plateaus, and finally blending west and south with the well-defined Mogollon and White Mountains—all one range. Mogollon (pronounced Mo-go-yone) is Spanish for spur,<sup>10</sup>

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10. Lieutenant Bourke entered the following note here: “Not so. Mogollon-Bummer.” It is more probable that the true derivation is from the name of Gov. Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollón, who held office in New Mexico from 1712 to 1715, although this connection has never been established.

and the range might be designated the Sierra Nevada of Arizona. It is a finely-timbered section of country, for several hundred miles north and south; all from twenty-five to seventy-five inches in width. The water-shed west is a lovely mountain country, White, Black, Rio Verde, the Gila and their branches containing trout and other fish and the mountains considerable game, as deer, bear, antelope, wild turkey and other things. Much of this interesting country is within the jurisdiction of the Southern Pacific Railroad. Coal of a good quality is traced across from New Mexico. Speaking of the Mormon settlement, it is growing aggressive, and the Gentiles are already opposing it and hating it as in Utah. At the election last Fall the ticket was simply for or against "the faith." There is a big grazing interest established, but room for much greater over all Western New Mexico and Eastern Arizona. Gold and silver is not so commonly reported as copper and coal, and a railroad north from some point on the S. P. railroad would serve a great purpose.

#### FORT APACHE

is one of the pleasantest located military posts I ever saw. The bulk of the Apache Indians, who surrendered to Gen. Crook several years ago, are located farther down White river, and do not threaten further trouble.

There is one item worthy of Huxley's special consideration. I refer to the Apache Indian cats. They are given to forked tails. Given a certain quantity of regular tail, say six inches from the cat, and from two to three prongs will start out, some of which will reach a length of two inches. Otherwise these cats do not differ from those Thomases and Tabbies that render my temporary residence at Sacramento especially agreeable.

From Fort Apache to Fort Thomas the distance is 80 miles. There is a good wagon road, but roundabout; but as I had to make it horseback, I made it a good deal longer through trying to cut off the crooked places. A certain old



white mustang and I suffered occasionally with thirst and hunger. We would meet armed Apaches out hunting and at times feel rather uneasy, notwithstanding their schooling under Crook. Fort Thomas is located on the Gila River, seventy miles north of the railroad, at Wilcox Station. It is not distinguished for anything in particular. The Gila valley above and below is farmed to some extent and is susceptible of additional settlement. There are gold quartz ledges, rich but rather small, located in the granite mountains in sight of Thomas. In all the expanse of country between Albuquerque and Thomas prospecting of any kind has been meager and scattered, and the country is practically a fresh field.

#### WILCOX STATION

is located over 100 miles east of Tucson, and is named after the General commanding the department, headquarters at Prescott. It is the first of importance east of Benson, from which point Tombstone receives its chief supply. Wilcox is in plain view of the Dos Cabezas (two heads) district which promises well. It is in the north end of the Chiricahua<sup>11</sup> (Cheer-a-caw-wa) range, which also contains the California District Mines, promising better still. Both districts are very accessible and California is exceptionally favored as to wood, water and pleasing location, fronting east and reached from San Simon station, next east of Wilcox. The Bisbee copper mines of the Dragoon range are also rapidly approached from Wilcox—all south of the railroad. It is a curious fact that, except the celebrated copper mines at Clifton and the Silver King mine in the Globe District, all mining districts of sensational character are as yet located south of the railroad. So far as Arizona is concerned, I am not sure but San Simón (Si-mone) station is destined to be a point of distribution of leading importance on the railroad

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11. Chiricahua.

east of Tucson. There is a singular feature existing at Wilcox, with respect to the obtaining of good water almost anywhere in the apparently dry valley at a very shallow depth—six to ten feet. The supply also appears to be inexhaustible. Speaking of San Simon, there is a feature of social life rather prevalent throughout the two territories. I mean the so-called “cow-boy” element. These are mostly recent importations from Texas, where they learned that rough style as vaqueros, or cattle-herders. To excel in throwing a lasso or handling a six-shooter, is the height of their ambition. They are generally naturally bright and genial fellows, but dangerous when “interfered” with very much. San Simon tells some tough stories about them.

#### BENSON

is 60 miles east of Tucson and 25 from Tombstone, the chief centre of attraction at present. The road is almost as level and smooth as that to the Cliff House. There is a curious drift or belt of sandstone boulders near the town and mines, through which a smooth, natural pass or road is made. The town stands on a little mesa or cap of limestone, sloping off every way except to the east, affording an excellent site for a healthy town. The mines in several instances dip under the town, but, where mostly worked, they are distant from one-eighth to three-fourths of a mile, with a gradual slope to them, in all not more than 250 feet above the town. The surface of the district is as free of inequalities or obstructions almost as a lawn. The croppings consist of a broad red stain of iron. The formation is a mixture of limestone, quartzite and a rock they call porphyry, with occasional indications of granite. The ore is chloride of silver, very easily reduced, and in this case as easily extracted. As yet the mills are confined to the San Pedro river, distant from seven to ten miles. Water works to connect with a stream in the Huachuca (Waw-chu-ca) range, seven miles distant, are under way, which promises to afford a supply for mills as

well as the town. This town is a well laid out, as well as a well constructed place and has little or none of the architecture native to the country about it. I feel safe in saying that there is now exposed above the 400-foot levels more ore in this district than in any other district in the United States—silver ore that will yield at least \$100 per ton. There is an air of dullness throughout, everything being overdone early, and owing to the few miners required to extract the ore necessary to run the mills on hand. Had the district fallen into San Francisco hands in the first place, matters no doubt would be much further advanced. It is a rather comical sight for one used to other ways, to see a pair of mules and the front gear of a wagon serving as a hoisting works over “propositions” said to be worth “millions.” As slow as things seem, owners or claimants of undeveloped properties are not slow in piling up terms. I have no doubt the S.P.R.R. Co. will connect Tombstone by rail at an early day.

Almost due south of Tombstone is Harshaw District, west of which is Oro Blanco, Arivaja and other sections of note south of Tucson. Crossing into Sonora there is a succession of districts reported. Stage lines connect everywhere and we can come and go at pleasure. I met a score of old mining acquaintances who had been across the border in quest of mines, lands and general adventure, all telling one story—that Sonora, Chihuahua and other Mexican States constituted “the place to go.” And go they will. In conclusion,

#### THE WAVE OF SPECULATION

to the southward is already irresistible and increasing in volume every day. The Mexican rulers and people see and recognize it, and are spreading their sails accordingly. The conquest will be a peaceful one—largely by purchase, the rest by chicanery and cheek. California has raised up an army alone sufficient to overrun the whole country, once

the railroad magnates make the first big opening. Capt. Eads and others are attacking the poor old republic in the rear, and the next five years will see his ship railroad connected with roads now pushing south toward the City of Mexico. Guaymas will make quite a little seaport right along, and in the vicinity of El Paso will grow up a self-supporting inland city of no mean dimensions. The railroad shops and men alone will do it. It would seem that San Francisco merchants and manufacturers, what there are of them, are slow to realize that all this is and has been going on under their very noses for two or three years past. If they have not already waked up to it, they will get their eyes fully opened very soon after the two roads are connected and the great East obtains direct, full swing. As long as there is a mile of road unfinished, the public will have to wait. The Atchison-Santa Fe trains were regularly behind on account of construction materials, fuel, etc. The Denver and Rio Grande narrow gauge road is an enterprise of great and comprehensive magnitude, destined to play a part second to none, owing to its vast resource in coal alone. It is pushing down the valley in the wake of the Atchison road. Should the Atlantic and Pacific road extend through to San Diego as threatened, it would nip off another slice of San Francisco's bread and butter. One cannot realize the extent and importance of this movement of human forces by reading of them. To go over the ground, however, and see and hear for one's self, is another thing. The impression is convincing. I have spoken of ten years ago, yet all this business has been practically accomplished in half that time. This long costly Southern Pacific has been built to Texas without subsidy, such have been the inducements held out by nature to its owner. Now, that the hard work is done, and capital for such purposes seems unlimited, is it not easy to predict what another five years will bring forth in the same direction? Macaulay grew eloquent over the conquests by Lord Clive in the jungles of India—was inclined to underrate

those of Cortez in the New World, where there is every resource, tropical as well, and a land of comparative health. It may remain to be seen whose achievements conferred the greater blessings on mankind.

There is so much to say about Arizona, New Mexico, etc., just now that one does not know how to begin or stop. I was satisfied with the hurried trip, and if your readers are not pleased with this more hasty account of it, they are simply out of luck.

JOS. WASSON.

## THE ROYAL ORDER OF 1620

To Custodian Fray Esteban de Perea

LANSING B. BLOOM

As recently as the spring of 1929 there were in various parts of Mexico uprisings of *insurrectos*, popularly known as "Cristeros," who proclaimed "against a government which acts illegally and mocks in contemptuous form all the sacred principles . . . which the revolution formerly conquered . . . The present conditions are due to the Machiavelian interference of the clown Plutarco Elias Calles in the present administration."

As the name indicates, this outburst was an expression of the "Church and State" struggle in Mexico, so frequently recurrent throughout the history of that country, and indeed running far back into the history of the mother country Spain. It permeated all parts of the vast Spanish realm, and in the distant frontier province of New Mexico, especially throughout the seventeenth century, trouble was caused repeatedly by disagreement as to whether the ecclesiastical or the civil authorities were supreme.

In an earlier issue<sup>1</sup> one side of the controversy in New Mexico in 1620 was presented by means of the text and translation of the order from the viceroy to Governor Juan de Eulate, dated at Mexico City, February 5, 1621, and mention was made of the fact that another communication, similar in purport had been addressed to the custodian, Fray Esteban de Perea. The original of this latter was doubtless destroyed in the Indian Rebellion of 1680, but an excellent copy has been preserved in the so-called "oldest archive" now in Santa Fe, translation of which is given herewith.<sup>2</sup> A study of the two documents together will bring out similarities and differences which are significant in throwing

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1. *N. Mex. Hist. Rev.*, III, pp. 357-380.

2. *Museum of N. Mex., Sp. Archs.*, no. 1. 6 ff. See cut of first page.

1621.

101.

Don Felipe por la gracia de Dios Rey de Castilla  
 de Leon, de las Indias, de Jerusalem de Portugal  
 de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de Valencia, de  
 Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla de Cerdeña de  
 Cordoba de Logreña de Murcia, de Buen delos al  
 garbes de Algezira, de Gibraltar, de las Islas de Ma  
 ynas, de las Yslas de Canaria de las Indias Occidentales  
 de Indagu de Austria, duque de Borgonia, conde  
 de Montreuil, conde de Ardenas, conde de Flandres  
 de Artois de Barcelona, Senor de Navarra de  
 Molina de la Cerda y de las Yslas de Canaria  
 de Persea del orden del Seraphico con Francisco,  
 Custodio de las Religiosas de la dicha Orden que han  
 sido en las prouias de San Pedro, Oucio qualquiera  
 Eslado cuyo cargo estubiere la dicha Real Audiencia, Peta  
 ara de ellas Sabed, que en la Suma que el Marques  
 de Guadalcaxar pareniere mi Rey Governador de las prouias  
 de las Indias de Nueva España y por donde de  
 mi Audiencia de Baraxa lleuare Real que se de en la  
 Ciudad de Mexico, tubo en Nueva España de  
 Julio deste año con los tres e. lores mas antiguos  
 de la mi Audiencia presente mi fiscal en conformidad  
 del orden que luego dado; se brexon algunas cartas  
 misivas, memoriales, y otros requeridos que  
 en las dhas prouincias han serpacado de reuente al dho  
 mi Rey diferentes personas de la e. llerianica, como se  
 e. llerare, por los que les ha tomado de las competencias  
 de su dho dition y otros e. llerare por el dho Custodio  
 de el dho mi Gov. ha h. llerado, y ay pretendiendo  
 por el dho Padre que en virtud de las bulas  
 de su Santidad Leon de ximo, y Mariano deotto





light on the situation, and which also show more clearly the procedure followed by the superior authorities.

Governor Juan de Eulate had been appointed to his office Dec. 31, 1617, but he did not start from Mexico City until March 1, 1618. He arrived in the Villa of Santa Fe on Dec. 22, 1618, upon which date his predecessor, Admiral Bernardino de Çavallos, delivered to him *el bastón de su gobierno*. Eulate in turn delivered over the office to his successor, Admiral Phelipe Sotelo Ossorio, on Dec. 21, 1625, so that Eulate's term of actual service in New Mexico was exactly seven years in length.<sup>3</sup>

It was during the year 1619 that the dissensions between Eulate and the Franciscan missionaries in New Mexico reached such a stage that both sides in the controversy appealed to the viceroy, and apparently the numerous documents in the matter, letters, memorials, affidavits, etc., were sent south by special messenger.<sup>4</sup> In fact, it is probable that there were two transmissions of such documents, the first of which left Santa Fe on June 25, 1619, and arrived in Mexico City early in the following January.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps it

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3. These data are from disbursements recorded at Sevilla in A.G.I., *Contaduria*, legajos 721-724.

4. A.G.I., *Contaduria*, 723. By order of the viceroy dated May 5, 1620, payment was made to Juan Francisco de Vertiz, agent for Gov. Juan de Eulate, covering the salary of the latter until June 25, 1619, "que quedaba siruiendo en ellas . . ." (the Provinces of New Mexico.)

By another order of Nov. 7, 1620, a payment of 50 pesos was made to one "Don Andrés, Indio principal de la Provincia del Nuevo Mexico." He had been in Mexico ten months, suffering from a great sickness which had been occasioned by his journey thither with the soldiers from New Mexico. He had had to beg from house to house and needed help to return home.

5. This is the natural deduction from the records given in note 4. When Governor Eulate entered New Mexico in the fall of 1618, he had passed 15 wagons of the regular mission supply-service going south under escort. These wagons were sent on from Zacatecas to Mexico City, and before Dec. 4, 1618, had there been sold "por cuenta de su Magestad . . . en su Real almaneda." (A.G.I., *Cont.*, 721). There is no record of another supply-train to New Mexico until the year 1621. On Jan. 28 of that year, payment was made for 16 wagons with 12 mules each, all fully equipped. (A.G.I., *Cont.*, 723).

Eulate may have had a few wagons with him, besides pack-animals; but if so, it was not one of the regular supply trains which were primarily for the service of the missionaries. Therefore the soldiers who left New Mexico at the end of June, 1619, were not escorting a supply-train but, presumably, were bearers of despatches.

is safe to infer that the despatches carried by this little band of soldiers represented only the Eulate side of the controversy, and that the frailes did not succeed in getting their papers to Mexico City until the summer of 1620.

At any rate, it was not until July 29, 1620, that the viceroy brought the whole matter before the special council which he called for its consideration. Their decision, as reduced to writing over that date, was sent to the king in Spain and must have reached his attention in October, for his approval of the decision was back in Mexico City early in the following January. It will be noted that the cedula to Fray Estéban de Perea, as we have it in the copy given below, is addressed from the *king* but is signed by the *viceroy* in Mexico on January 9, 1621; whereas the order of February 5 to Governor Eulate is both addressed and signed by the viceroy. At the same time, the phraseology of the two documents shows that both were based upon the decision rendered by the council in Mexico City on July 29, 1620.

While the governor of New Mexico and the custodian are enjoined respectively in these two documents to keep each within his own province, nevertheless the intent of the king, and of his administrative officials in Mexico, is clear that in any definite conflict the authority of the State was to have priority over that of the Church.

PLAIN COPY OF A CEDULA DISPATCHED BY THE ROYAL AUDIENCIA OF MEXICO TO THE GOVERNOR AND CUSTODIO OF THESE<sup>1</sup> PROVINCES, UNDER DATE OF JANUARY 9, 1621.

DON FELIPE, by the grace of God King of Castile, of Leon, of the Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Portugal, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Ma-

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1. The title as given is the endorsement on the cover of this document. The word "these," here used and also once in the body of the text, shows that this copy was made in *New Mexico*. In other words, they were slips by the copyist. At other places, he used the correct "those."

jorca, of Seville, of Cerdagne, of Córdoba, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarbes, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Isles, of the Islands and mainland of the oceanic sea [Atlantic]; archduke of Austria; duke of Burgundy, Brabant and Milan; count of Hapsburg, of Flanders, of Tyrol and Barcelona; lord of Vizcaya and of Molina, &&<sup>a</sup>—to You the venerable Father Fray Estéban de Perea of the Order of the seraphic San Francisco, Custodio of the Religious of the said Order who reside in the provinces of New Mexico, or to whatever other Prelate among the Religious of those provinces may have the said Custodia in his charge: know ye, that, in the Council which the Marques de Guadalcazar, my cousin, viceroy, governor and captain-general of the provinces of New Spain and president of my royal Audiencia and Chancery who resides in the City of Mexico, held on the twenty-ninth of July of this year<sup>2</sup> with the three senior *oidores* of my said Audiencia, with the attendance of my *fiscal* in accordance with the order which I have given, there were seen certain letters, missives, memorials, depositions, and other documents which have been written and dispatched from those said provinces to my said Viceroy by various persons, ecclesiastic as well as lay, through which [documents] account has been given of the strifes over purisdiction and other [matters]<sup>3</sup> which there have been, and are, between you, the said Custodio, and my said Governor, you, the said Father, claiming that, by virtue of the bulls of His Holiness Leo X, and of Adrian VI, you have in those said provinces authority and jurisdiction su-

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The original, as appears at the end of the text, was to pass into the keeping of the governor and, therefore, must have perished with the other archives at Santa Fe in the Rebellion of 1680. In chirography, the copy is work of the 17th century and may have been made at, or soon after, the receipt of the original. But how did it escape the destruction of 1680, and find its place among the papers now at Santa Fe? Perhaps the best surmise is that it is a copy which was made for one of the southern missions, that in some way it got to El Paso del Norte, and from there was brought back to Santa Fe in the time of De Vargas.

2. The wording at this point would seem to have originated in Spain.

3. The phrasing of the two documents at this point differs slightly. Probably "otros" in this text should read "otras," referring back to "competencias."

preme as well as ordinary *ad universitatem causarum*<sup>4</sup> so that you can take cognizance of any ecclesiastical matters whatever, and can issue any censure and interdict against any persons of whatever state, condition and preeminence they may be, imposing upon them the punishments at your command, and [you claiming further] that my said Governor should not and could not decree or determine any matter touching his said government without [first] consulting with you and following the advice of you and of the Religious of your Custodia, with many other causes and reasons which it appears are set forth at length in the said letters, memorials, depositions and other documents; and moreover through other documents which have been presented before my said Viceroy and [through] complaints which have been, and are, pending in my said Audiencia there have been reported the serious difficulties which have followed and resulted from [the fact] that the Prelates your predecessors made use of the said jurisdiction against Don Pedro de Peralta and against the Admiral Bernardino de Zeballos who have been my governors in those provinces with greater scandal and less prudence than would have been just, exceeding and going contrary to what has been determined by the holy canons, bulls of His Holiness, and my cédulas, in excommunicating them and, in order for them to have absolution, imposing upon them public penances without due authority and humiliating to my said governors and to the rest of the Royal Jurisdiction which was then in force.

And in order that from now henceforth procedure may be in accord with what is right and that such scandals may be avoided, [the matter] having been considered by my said Viceroy in the said Council and in others which he held with my said *oidores* and *fiscal*, it was agreed that he must give this my letter in the said Cause, and I approved it; wherefor I ask you and I enjoin you that, you the said Father Custodio

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4. Translating freely, "in all sorts of causes."

holding ordinary jurisdiction in those said provinces, you employ it and exercise it in conformity with what is right in the matters spiritual and ecclesiastical which may pertain to your Jurisdiction, and in these [matters] you alone shall proceed without the other Religicus of your Custodia intruding themselves further than in th administering of the Holy Sacraments, without their officiously making *autos* over what may be brought up by appeal before you, nor any other [*autos*], and in those [*autos*] which you may draw up, whether it be by petition of some party or officially [on your part], you shall always proceed in writing before an apostolic<sup>5</sup> notary if there be one, and if there be none you shall name one in form, and if the layman or laymen against whom you shall make the process shall feel themselves ag-grieved by the definitive sentences or interlocutory *autos* lest they might have final force or be an encumbrance which it might not be possible to correct and should take an appeal to the Metropolitan judge, the Archbishop of Mexico, and should protest against the Royal aid in the enforcement of them, you shall not proceed to execute your decisions until after my said Audiencia which resides in the City of Mexico may decide whether you shall give [them] effort or no, for which purpose you shall send to my Audiencia the original process which you may have fulminated with all the *autos* without the lack of anything, in the meanwhile absolving those whom, by the said process, you may have excommuni-cated and raising and removing whatever interdicts and censures you may have imposed; and in the executive and ecclesiastical causes, cognizance of which may pertain to your ecclesiastical jurisdiction, you shall proceed according to law, taking care as to the form and extent of the judg-ment and what is provided by my Royal laws, noting that in cases of sacrilege, concubinage and in the others which may

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5. The abbreviation for this word in the Eulate document was misread "public." See *N. M. Hist. Rev.* III, 372, 361.

be of mixed jurisdiction<sup>6</sup> the judge who should act is to be informed of them; and against lay persons you shall not proceed in any manner except it be in ecclesiastical matters according to law [and] in these you shall not proceed to imprisonment without first requesting the aid of the secular arm from my said Governor or from his Lieutenant, who shall give and afford you such aid, [you] showing him by what you have written that you will proceed legally.

And since from the documents seen in the said Council it appears that you the said Padre Custodio and your other Religious have attempted to dissuade the Indians of these<sup>7</sup> provinces and to give them to understand that your authority was the superior and that from it and your hand depend all their interests with the [authority?] of their governor, civil and political, and you and your said Religious complain that the said Governor is interfering in the [matters] of your Charge even to the naming of the *fiscales* of the Church and other more trifling matters, my said Viceroy may send an enactment to my said Governor<sup>8</sup> so that he [the governor] may give orders how each of the pueblos of those provinces, on the first day of January of every year, may carry out their elections of governor, alcaldes, *topiles* and *fiscales* and other public officers<sup>9</sup> without my said Governor or any other Judiciary, you or any other Religious of your Custodia being found present in the said elections so that in them the said Indians may have the freedom which is fitting, and that the [elections] which may be effected in this manner may be carried [reported] to my said Governor in order that [the elections] having been effected and by the majority [of the

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6. That is, in cases where both the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities might proceed legally.

7. See note 1.

8. This permission was embodied in the Eulate document. *N. M. Hist. Rev.*, III, 363.

9. The autonomy of the Pueblo Indians in local government has continued to the present day, as here stipulated by the Spanish sovereign.

Indians] with the freedom indicated, he [the governor] may confirm [the fact] that everything is in accord with what is customary in our said Spain.<sup>10</sup>

You shall have it so understood in order that, in what touches you, you may give order that [my instructions] be observed, executed and fulfilled.

And whereas my said Viceroy, in the said Council and in others, has decided that my said Governor may not collect, nor he [you, the Custodio?], the Tributes from the Pueblos which may be in process of conversion without his order, and that when there may be reasons for doing so he report the motives which he may have for imposing such Tributes, and that you the said Custodio and the minister of instruction in any such pueblo do the same, in order that, being fully advised, my said Viceroy may provide what may be convenient, and that until after taking these steps the said Tributes be not collected from the Pueblos of Zuñi and Moqui of those said provinces,—having it so understood in so far as it touches you, I charge you that from the pueblos which may be already agreed upon for the collecting of the said Tributes, you shall not impede nor allow your said Religious to impede the said Governor nor the *encomenderos*<sup>11</sup> of the said pueblos in collecting the said Tributes.

And because likewise my said Viceroy has ordered and commanded my said Governor that he have good relations with you, the said Father Custodio, and with the other Religious, without meddling in matters and affairs which pertain to your persons and to the ministration of the doctrine which is in your charge nor in anything else which pertains to you, and in order that matters which might import to the

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10. There is a curious difference in the texts. The viceroy to Eulate wrote: "in accord with what is customary in this *New Spain*;" the king to Perea wrote: "in accord with what is customary in our said *Spain*."

11. See *N. M. Hist. Rev.*, III, 365, note. This is another side to the picture, which has no counterpart at the present day. Not only was tribute in the form of *mantas*, corn and various forms of service required of the Pueblo Indians by the Spanish governors beginning with Juan de Oñate, but also grants to collect such tribute had been given to many of the early settlers.

common good of the baptized Indians and to the universal conservation of the Republic, of Spaniards as well as of Indians, [may be properly arranged], let him [the governor?]<sup>12</sup> consult upon them [such matters] with you and with the Governor of the Villa of Santa Fee and with two others *definidores* if there should be such, and if not, [then] with the two senior Religious of that Custodia, and with the *cabildo* of the said Villa and with the captains and the sergeant whom he may select, so that, having listened to all, he alone, my said Governor, may decide what may seem to him to be most convenient for my service; and that in everything he proceed with the tactful prudence and good consideration which is expected of his person, and that if someone of those who may be found in the said Council should be of contrary opinion and, because of my said Governor not deciding in conformity with his views, he should request a testimony, let it be given him, it being understood that the councils are to be held in the form stated and with the persons indicated, if my said Governor should be found in the said Villa of Santa Fee, capital of those provinces, but if he should be found in some other Pueblo or on the road, let him comply by holding the Council with the captains whom he may have with him and with such other persons as may seem to him best, and with the religious who may be ministering to them at that time. Thus you will have it understood so that as to other matters you shall not intermeddle nor allow your said Religious to intrude themselves upon my said Governor and upon the other judiciaries nor impede them in the use and exercise of their Jurisdiction and government; on the contrary I charge you that in everything you have with them good and courteous relations, giving orders that when any one of your said Religious may preach in the presence of my said Governor, he do him courtesy with the cap and with the

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12. In employing the phraseology of the action of July 29, 1620, there seems to be here a double reference to the governor. See the similar passage in *N. M. Hist. Rev.*, III, 363-4.



head, without saying anything to him, and if you the said Custodio should enter at the same time, he may do you similar courtesy afterwards;<sup>13</sup> and you shall so provide that a religious go on Sundays and feast days to [each] Pueblo where there may be a church to say mass for them, to instruct them and to administer the sacraments, in such way that they do not receive inconvenience through their being taken for this purpose from one pueblo to another. .

And since it has been understood that, in some cases in which you have proceeded, you and your Religious, against the Indians for errors and light faults, you have had their hair sheared, a punishment from which they suffer very great affliction because it is for them the greatest affront that there is, from which has resulted the fact that some have removed to the Peñol of Acoma, returning to idolatry, and other grave inconveniences, you shall give order that the Religious of your Custodia do not inflict such punishments but rather that those recently converted be shown in everything good treatment and consideration.

And because also your said Religious sometimes send to the mountains a great number of Indians for things of little necessity and which might be excused, you shall not allow their time and labor to be utilized except for things necessary for the church and the convenience of the living-quarters, and in those things with the greatest moderation that may be possible to the end that they may not suffer hardships.

And because the observance and fulfilment of all in this my letter contained tends to the service of God our Lord, and to mine, and to the peace and quiet and concord of those provinces, I charge you that ye observe, guard, comply and execute, and that ye make to be guarded, complied and executed wholly in all that touches, or can touch, you the said Father Custodio and each one of your said Religious who

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13. In other words, as between governor and custodian, priority of recognition is to be accorded the former.

are now, or in the future may be, in that your said Custodia, so disposing in everything in a manner that what is in it contained and each matter and part of it may have entire and complete effect, contrary to the tenor and form of which [letter] ye shall not go nor pass, nor shall ye consent nor give place that anyone of you, directly or indirectly, go or pass in any manner, but rather that it be carried into due execution to the end that in everything there may be peace and concord which has always been desired in those provinces, so that thus ye shall serve me, and in case of the contrary I shall consider myself very ill-served and shall provide for it suitable remedy in a manner that my Royal Will may have due effect; and I order that my said letter be placed in the books of the Government of those said Provinces and in those of the Custodia which are in your charge, the original, with whatever notification thereof may be given you, remaining in the possession of my said Governor in order that to those of the one [side] and to those of the other it may be entirely and thoroughly manifest what you [both] are required to do.

Given in the City of Mexico, the ninth of January, one thousand six hundred and twenty one. The Marques de Guadalcazar.—I, Francisco Nuñez Basurto, lieutenant of the *escribano mayor* of the government of this New Spain for the King our Lord, caused it to be written by his command, his Viceroy in his name.<sup>14</sup> Recorded.

Cosme de Medrano—Chancellor Don Sebastian Carrillo—*escribano's* fees, gratis—recording fee, twenty-five—secretary, fifty-six—affirmed, inspector's office (?)—The Father Custodio of the Religious of the Order of San Francisco who reside in the provinces of New Mexico is asked and charged by what is here contained and [which was] agreed upon in the Council which his Excellency held with the three senior *oidores* and the señor *fiscal* of His Majesty of this Royal Audiencia.

## DOCUMENTARY

On the first page of the issue for December 4, 1841, of *Niles' National Register*, published at Baltimore, appeared the communication herewith, photostat of which was kindly supplied by Dr. F. W. Hodge.

The editor first met this letter in *Nouvelles Annales de Voyages et de Sciences Geographiques*, xciii, 308-313, and used it in part in *Old Santa Fe*, ii, 41, under the misapprehension that the French form was the original. That series consisted of 168 volumes, published at Paris from 1819 to 1860, and it is probable that this particular letter was drawn from the source here reproduced.—L. B. B.

## SANTA FE AND THE FAR WEST

*From the Evansville (Indiana) Journal*

We are permitted by a gentleman residing in the neighboring county of Gibson to take the following extract from a private letter from a friend, dated,

*Santa Fe, July 29, 1841.*

I left Vincennes on the 23d April for St. Louis, with a view of ascertaining the object of the visit by the company raising for the Pacific ocean. When I arrived at St. Louis, I found I had to proceed to Independence, the upper county on the Missouri river and adjoining the Indian boundary, four hundred miles farther. There I found three different caravans busily recruiting; the reverend bishop Smidth, with a caravan to establish a mission amongst the Blackfeet Indians, in the valley of the Columbia river, who left with the caravan, to California by way of the head waters of the Columbia river, commanded by col. Bartletson and Richma, composed of about ninety persons, male and female. The second to California, composed of about one hundred men

and about thirty women and children—the yearly caravan composed of merchants to this city, Chihuahua and Senora, composed of about eighty men and forty wagons, loaded with merchandise, &c. The caravans all left between the 8th and 10th May. After ascertaining the object of the California caravan, governor Boggs and myself having understood positively a caravan was to leave from Santa Fe to join the one by the way of Columbia, raised ten men and agreed to leave in time to overtake the Santa Fe company at or near the Arkansas, but on the evening previous to our departure the governor's wife was taken unwell, and he was compelled to abandon the adventure. Accordingly, on the 19th May, myself with eight others, with three little wagons loaded with provisions and arms, and three riding mules, left the line of Missouri for the far west.

The Indian country as far as Council Grove, two hundred miles from the line, is perhaps as fine a tract of country as can be found in the world; there is rather a scarcity of timber, but in soil and water none superior. The Council Grove, as it is called, is the ancient site of once a proud and mighty city. It is situated on the main White river, which here forms a crescent or curve of about nine miles in circumference, and contains more than a hundred mounds, half of which are more than ten times as large as those near Vincennes—those in the centre are in the form of a square, many containing a surface of more than two acres, some in the form of a triangle and others perfectly round. Here the Pawnee, Arapaho, Camanchee, Loups, and Eutaw Indians, all of whom are at war with each other, meet and smoke the pipe once a year in peace. Every person and the things are sacred for many miles around this peaceful grove. This ceremony has been handed down for many centuries to the red men by their forefathers, and here their chiefs and great men are brought from hundreds of miles around to be interred; one of whom, but a few weeks before we passed, had a proud mound of stones erected to his memory, with a

pole painted red and a scalp appended thereto, to show that he had been a great brave. The numerous camps every where to be seen around here, at once convince the traveller that here is the great rendezvous of thousands annually. From thence onward, for four hundred miles, there is nothing to be seen but one eternal desert, without one, even one solitary stick of timber to cheer the eye for thirty days. Nothing here is to be had but buffalo dung to cook the food that is used, but of this the whole prairies are covered, and it is an excellent substitute.

We overtook the caravan in sight of the Arkansas, about four hundred miles from the line of the United States and eight hundred from St. Louis, without trouble by the Indians, and attached ourselves thereto for duty in crossing the river, which is much larger than at the mouth, and always muddy and rolling her quicksands into bars almost every hour, so that fords or crossings are dangerous and uncertain. From the Arkansas river the scarcity of water commences, and even the little to be had is so deeply impregnated with salt, sulphur, &c. that stern necessity alone brings the traveller to the use of it. On the Simerone river there are one or two good springs, at one of which we met of the Arapahoe Indians five hundred warriors, who treated us with a proper friendship, elated with their success ten days before, when, in battle, they killed seventy-six Pawnees. We gratified them with encamping on the battle ground, where the unburied bodies were yet almost unbroken. The next day we visited their lodge, six miles from the battle ground, where we had a full view of savage life in a perfect state of nature; amongst five hundred women and children there were but few that had ever before seen the dress and equipage of the white man.

After leaving these good and friendly Indians, we were cheered in eight or ten days with the far distant appearance of the Rocky Mountains. From day to day as we approached them, the beauty of the scenery increased, and

when within twenty miles, the reflection of the sun through the melting snow that eternally crowns their highest peaks is splendid beyond all description. Here the traveller beholds a chain of many hundred, nay, thousands of miles piled up, as it were, until they reach to heaven, with stone uncovered with verdure or shrubs of any kind; nothing but the white caps of snow, and rough and terrific precipices, varied for the eye to behold, until you reach the crossings of Red river, at the foot of the mountain, and here the pine and cedar tree again, on the mountain side and in the valley, greet the eye once more; and here on this plain we had to encounter about three hundred Eutaw warriors, but, after repeated skirmishing, they were fain to retreat, without effecting any damage of consequence. From here to the good town of Bogas we found water, wood, and good cheer. The caravan arrived in this city on the 2d July, all in good health, in less than two months, the quickest trip ever made over the desert.

Now for Santa Fe, or the Holy City. It is situated in a valley 10 miles long, and from 2 to 5 wide, surrounded by immense mountains covered with pine and cedar trees, and affords the most beautiful scene the eye can conceive or mind imagine. Santa Fe is the seat of government of New Mexico, and is commanded by a governor general. It is also a military post, port of entry, and depository of all the ancient archives of the neighboring states. The houses are built of raw bricks, two feet long, six inches deep, and one foot wide, made with straw and mud, and dried in the sun; and such is the durability that many houses more than two hundred years old are standing and look well; they are only one story high, handsomely whitewashed inside, with dirt floors. Even the palace in which his excellency resides has no other than a dirt floor, but they are generally covered with carpets; the houses are covered with stones and dirt, and are flat roofed, perfectly weather proof. The city contains six churches, generally richly fitted out. The population is about eight thousand inhabitants, all rigid Roman

Catholics. It is situated on a small branch of the Rio del Norte, and about 14 miles from the main river, which is near the size of the river Wabash at Vincennes.

The ladies, certainly, are far more beautiful in this country than those of the same ranks in America; their jetty black eyes, slender and delicate frame, with unusual small ankles and feet, together with their gay winning address, make you at once easy and happy in their company. Perhaps no people on earth love dress and attention more than the Spanish ladies and it may be said of a truth, that their amorous flirtations with the men are matters to boast of amongst themselves. They work but little; the fandango and siesta form the diversion of time. The fandango is a lascivious dance, partaking in part of the waltz, cotillion, and many amorous movements, and is certainly handsome and amusing. It is the national dance. In this the governor and most humble citizen move together, and in this consists all their republican boast.

The men are honest—perhaps more so than those of the same class in the United States, proud and vain of their blood—the descendants of the ancient Spaniards of their pure blood—those of the Spaniards and Puebla Indians, the descendants of their great monarch, Montezuma, doubly more so. The pure blood cannot inherit office here; the present governor general, and all the officers of state, are of the mixed blood of Montezuma. This has been the case since the year 1836. In that revolution fell the most honorable and beloved of all the native Spaniards in Mexico, and all his family were banished. In the city there is but one officer of justice, the Alcalde, and he has nothing to do.

The commerce of this place is certainly very considerable; and although there is but one gold mine worked here now, and one copper mine, yet the daily receipts afford about six or seven hundred dollars nett. More than from one to two hundred and twenty hands are employed at work.

The revolution has set every thing aback here in the mining departments, as they were generally held by natives of old Spain, and accounted forfeits to the general government after the revolution. This thing will soon be settled, and then the Holy City will appear in all her gaudy plumage again.

I start in two or three days to California. The company consists of about two hundred Americans and Spaniards, to co-operate on the 1st of January, 1842, with the Columbia caravan, at Monterey, on the bay of San Francisco. We expect the governor will allow us to settle, and concede to us certain lands, &c.



## COMBS' NARRATIVE OF THE SANTA FE EXPEDITION IN 1841

There has recently been published<sup>1</sup> a body of data in regard to the part played by Thomas Falconer, the Englishman who accompanied the Texan Santa Fe Expedition as a guest by invitation of President Mirabeau B. Lamar. As is well known, the ill-fated expedition set out from Austin in June, 1841, but did not reach its destination, its starved and broken ranks being intercepted and disarmed by General Armijo's militia not long after the Texans had crossed the border into New Mexico, and soon started from San Miguel on the long march to the City of Mexico as prisoners.

The principal account of the history of the affair is that by George Wilkins Kendall, whose *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition* first appeared in two volumes in 1844, and in several subsequent editions until the seventh was issued in 1856; and indeed there was a partial reprint as late as 1929. In the seventh edition appeared an extract from the diary of Falconer, covering the period from August 31 to October 9, 1841, during which time he was with the main body under Gen. Hugh McLeod which had remained in camp on the Quintufue, (called by Combs the Palo Duro) a branch of Pease river in northwestern Texas, while the others, in several parties, were sent ahead. Because they fill this hiatus in the history of the expedition as recorded by Kendall, the Falconer accounts are of considerable value.

Otherwise supplementing Kendall's account is a narrative by Franklin Combs, a son of Gen. Leslie Combs of Kentucky and also a guest of the expedition, written in the City of Mexico soon after his release as a prisoner, and printed in *Niles' National Register* of March 5, 1842. The first part

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1. Letters and Notes on the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, by Thomas Falconer, with Introduction and Notes by F. W. Hodge. New York, Dauber & Pine, 1930.

of young Combs' account bears on the journeying of one of the advance parties, under Commissioner William G. Cooke and Captain Sutton, of which Kendall was likewise a member, but not Falconer. This was the force which, in its efforts to avoid the escarpments of the Llano Estacado, traveled too far northward to reach San Miguel directly. The narrative, which follows, gives considerable information not found in Kendall, especially as Combs was with those prisoners who started on the long and dreary march nearly a month before the others.

F. W. H.

## SANTA FE PRISONERS

### NARRATIVE OF FRANKLIN COMBS

The expedition after about ten weeks march, through a country infested by Indians, arrived at the Palo Duro, where being straightened for food, and having previously sent their guides in advance, it was determined to despatch about a third of the armed force, and two of the commissioners to procure provisions and prepare the way for the entrance of the expedition into the province of Santa Fe. The impression at the time was that the expedition had reached within 90 miles of Santa Fe, in consequence of which belief the advanced division took with them only three days rations. Col. Cooke and Dr. Brenham were the commissioners accompanying the advance and Capt. Sutton commanded the armed escort. The remainder of the forces were left at the Palo Duro under the command of Gen. McLeod, surrounded by a vast number of Indians, who were continually harrassing them and who had actually killed five of them the day upon which the division set out upon its march.

The advanced force soon learned that the expedition had made a fearful mistake in supposing the Palo Duro to be within 90 miles of Santa Fe. The distance was nearly 300 miles, and as a consequence the rations provided for the

troops were exhausted before they accomplished a third of the road to Santa Fe. The division then resorted to every expedient to escape starvation. They first subsisted upon such of the horses as had broken down, and wild berries which were occasionally met within the prairies. When these resources failed, they were compelled to live upon snakes, horned frogs and other reptiles which abound in the prairies and which constituted their principal and for a time, their only food. After marching in this way for two weeks or thereabouts, the division arrived at Gallinas. From this place, Van Ness, Lewis, Howard and Fitzgerald, accompanied by Mr. Kendall, were sent on to Santa Fe, to hold an interview with the governor, explain the pacific objects of the expedition, obtain stores for the troops and permit to bring the merchandise taken out by the traders within the province.

Two or three hours after these gentlemen left the camp at Gallinas; a note was received from Captain Lewis to the effect that the country was in arms, but that they would proceed on their journey to Santa Fe. They were, however, seized shortly afterwards, (as Capt. Lewis stated) bound and taken out to be shot but that their lives were spared through the intercession of a Mexican officer, who took them to meet governor Armijo. In the mean while the governor had despatched a force of several hundred men to intercept the Texians. The commander of these troops held several interviews with the commissioners, and endeavored to get the Texians to lay down their arms by assuring them of the friendly disposition of the governor and the inhabitants. This the Texians would not do. The Mexican officers undertook to take care of the few remaining horses of the Texians, and supply the men with food in order to allay all apprehensions of any hostile purpose. His next step was to cross the Gallinas with his men, with the avowed object of camping the two forces together as further proof of friendship. This he did, but as he drew near the Texian

camp, the disposition of his lines left little doubt of his beligerent intentions. The Texians were immediately got under arms. About this time also another party crossed the river, and forming a junction with the first, banished every lingering doubt of the objects of the Mexicans, and an engagement was on the eve of taking place when Capt. Lewis and the nephew and confidential secretary of the governor made their appearance.

When Lewis and the governor's nephew came up, a parley was had between them and the Texians, the troops upon both sides maintaining their battle array. Capt. Lewis represented the governor as willing to receive the Texians on condition that they would lay down their arms in conformity with a law of Mexico, which made it necessary for an armed force entering the province to give up their weapons before reaching San Miguel. He represented himself, and the nephew and secretary of the governor as empowered to stipulate for the surrender of the implements of war, and to negotiate for the safe conduct of the troops to the frontier after they had complied with this stipulation. The governor had empowered them to blind<sup>2</sup> the authorities to label the property of each individual, supply food for the march home, and return to every man his property. The representations were confirmed by the nephew and secretary of governor Armijo, as well as by the Mexican officers, a number of whom had joined in the parley.

The commissioners hesitating to confide in these representations, Capt. Lewis informed him that the governor with a well appointed troop of 3,000 men, was within twelve hours march, and if the Texians gained the battle, they would soon be engaged with a more formidable foe. The commissioners, yet not satisfied, Captain Lewis pledged his honor to the truth of all these statements, swearing upon his Masonic faith (both being Masons) to every word of it.

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2. Should read "bind"?

Such being the circumstances of the division, without food, jaded and worn out by fatiguing marches, in front of a force of some six hundred men and expecting the arrival of 3,000 more, and being especially ordered by the Texian government to avoid hostilities if the people were opposed to them, and not apprised of the capture of the gentlemen despatched to Santa Fe, and not suspecting Lewis to be a traitor, the Texians laid down their arms upon the terms of surrender proposed. Food was then furnished the troops, and they were treated with some leniency until the next day, when the governor arrived with about 1,500 men, a force sufficient to make him secure in his barbarity; we were seized and bound six and eight together, with hair ropes and thong of raw hide, and put in a filthy sheep-fold, surrounded by a large armed guard. The Mexican officers then excited the Peons to the highest degree of phrenzy, by the accounts they gave of the Texians, and we were prevented from being slaughtered by being huddled together in a small yard enclosed by a mud wall, and defended by the regular troops. In this place we were kept all night, lying in heaps, one upon another, and suffering the most intense agony from the closeness of the confinement and the pressure of the ropes with which we were bound, and in full hearing of the disputes in the council called by the governor to deliberate upon our destiny, which decided about daybreak, by a *single vote*, that we should not be shot but marched off for Mexico.

At sun rise we had to take up our march for the city of Mexico, about 2,000 miles distant—the soldiers telling us that we were going to the mines.—Bound six and eight together, we were forced to travel, the three first days about thirty miles each, without food and even denied the privilege of drinking when we were wading the small streams, through which we were marched. We were stripped of hat, shoes, blankets and coats. The governor himself took from me my blanket and buffalo robe, cursing and striking the

prisoners and raving like a madman; because (as we heard) his wish to have us shot had been overruled in council. I was obliged to give my shirt, in the extremity of my distress, for a loaf of bread, and swapped a tolerably good pair of pantaloons for a ragged pair upon receiving a mouthful or two to eat in the exchange. When we arrived at the Rio del Norte I had parted with every thing but my tattered trowsers, vest and suspenders, every thing else having been disposed of for bread or robbed from me by the soldiers. Nor were the other prisoners in a better condition. The weather was then cold and we were nigh perishing in our nakedness.

After a few days march, it was found, impracticable for us to get on with any speed bound together in such numbers. We were then tied two together, and to each pair there was a rope tied about the waist, neck or arms, and fastened to the pommel of the saddle of the horses on which the guard was mounted. The soldiers would occasionally put their horses in a gallop to torture those fastened to them, and whenever any of us fell down or lagged behind, we were dragged upon the ground and beaten with thongs, sticks or whatever else was at hand.

The principal, indeed almost all the food we received during the route was furnished by the women, who would follow us in large numbers for miles, weeping at the cruelties to which we were subjected. They would not be allowed sometimes the discharge of their offices of charity—the soldiers beating them off and reviling them with obscene and abusive language. We were marched, at times, all night and all day, blinded by sand and parched with thirst, until our tongues were so swollen as almost to be incapable of speaking.

In this manner we were hurried on to the city of Mexico, which we reached towards the close of December. But I must here pause, to do justice to one of the captains of the Mexican army, who had charge of us for about five days of

the journey, who treated us with kindness, and furnished us with money out of his own pocket. He respected us as prisoners of war, and I lament that I cannot recall his name. He was the only officer who seemed to regard us as human beings during the whole of our long march. The foreigners also in Chihuahua and Zacatacas, raised a contribution for us, which gave us a temporary relief.

After we were taken prisoners, we learned that Howland, Rosenbery and Baker, the guides we took with us from Texas, and who had been sent on before the division left the Palo Duro, had been taken and shot—as well as an American merchant, named Rowland, who had gone their security when they were taken up, upon the information of one Brig-nole, a deserter from the expedition. Of these transactions however, I can only speak from heresay. A number of other outrages were reported to have been perpetrated upon American citizens—no doubt correctly reported.

When we arrived at Mexico, we were covered with filth and vermin. We there met an order from Santa Ana, to be chained with heavy iron. We were lodged in the Convent Santiago, about two miles from the palace; confined in a room over the cemetery, and the effluvia from the dead bodies beneath was offensive in the extreme.

Upon our arrival, I wrote to our minister Mr. Ellis, informing him of my situation, and of being a citizen of the United States, and stated the fact of my having gone with the expedition only as a guest of the commissioners, which circumstance was corroborated in writing, by Messrs. Cooke and Brenham, two of the commissioners then prisoners with us.

The prisoners were, upon the order of Santa Ana, waked up and chained two and two together, and marched to the palace, at midnight. When they arrived there, the doctor<sup>3</sup> was asleep; the prisoners were kept in the public

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3. Misprint for "dictator"?

square for some time, for the gratification of the rabble, and then marched back, no one daring to disturb the slumbers of the tyrant. I was not then put in chains, in consequence of my illness. Those prisoners who were able to do so, were subsequently made to work upon the streets of the capital.

About three weeks after we reached Mexico, two of the prisoners made their escape. This incensed Santa Ana to such a degree, that he ordered the whole of us, the lame and sick included, to be chained, and made to work with the rest. I was myself taken out of bed and chained with a heavy log chain about my ankles, and made to work in the streets. This, too, after I had been demanded as a citizen of the United States by our minister, Mr. Ellis; *I was kept in chains about two weeks*, and ill as I was, compelled to sleep and work in them, having thereby nearly lost my hearing, when I was sent for by Santa Ana..

The dictator asked me a variety of questions about myself, my parents, the objects of the expedition, and other matters. After I was in his presence about 15 minutes, the chains were taken off me by a blacksmith; Santa Ana then said, that in consequence of my youth, the capacity in which I accompanied the expedition, and my being the son of a general, I was at liberty, and might go home. During the interview, Santa Ana did not once mention the name of our minister, Mr. Ellis, as having demanded me; and I gathered from what I heard and saw, that my liberation could not be traced to the energy of our representative in Mexico, or the dread of the dictator of the resentment of my government.

Before my release I ascertained from our secretary of legation that Mr. Ellis had called several times upon Santa Ana, but was refused an audience. To my enquiry if this was the manner in which the representative of the United States allowed himself to be treated, he answered there was no help for it.—Mr. Ellis subsequently addressed a note to



Santa Ana, but what effect it had I know not; it can be imagined from the refusal of an audience upon three several occasions. Whilst I was in prison I neither saw Mr. Ellis nor received any word of reply to my letters to him. The secretary gave for an excuse for this negligence as I deemed it, that it was not becoming the dignity of a minister to correspond with a prisoner.

After my release, Mr. Ellis treated me with attention and politeness, and I have to thank him for the loan of money to bring me home. Whilst sick in prison Mr. Black sent me bedding, the foreigners sent me some necessaries, and Mr. Lumsden loaned me some money.

Amongst the persons who accompanied the expedition was one Mr. Faulkner, a British subject, who joined it with Mr. Kendall and myself under the same circumstances, except that he did not have a passport, which Mr. Kendall had procured before he left New Orleans from the Mexican consulate here. Mr. Packenham, the British minister, informed me that Mr. Faulkner would be demanded the moment he reached the city at whatever hour in the night or day that event would take place. I delivered a package to the British consul of this city, Mr. Crawford, in which there was a note from Mr. Packenham, stating that orders had been obtained for Mr. Faulkner's immediate release, although he had not reached the city of Mexico at the date of the note.

The remainder of the expedition, under General McLeod was expected to arrive in Mexico two days after I left the city. I heard they had suffered very much from bad weather, ill-treatment, &c. &c.; and that to sum up their troubles, the small pox had made its appearance amongst them, and they reported that about fifty had already perished, or had been left on the road, through its ravages and the cruelty of their captors.

I have omitted to state in its proper place, that on my release the dictator ordered his state coach to convey me in

my rags to look at the city, and thence in company with General Barragan to the office of Mr. Ellis. Several of the higher Mexican officers in the city—especially Barragan—expressed sympathy for me, and treated me kindly.

My warmest gratitude is due to the American consul at Mexico, (Mr. Black), for his constant kindness and attention to me while sick and in chains, as well as after my release.

FRANKLIN COMBS.

## CONFEDERATE REMINISCENCES

The turning-point of the Confederate invasion of New Mexico in 1862 was at Pigeon's Ranch, a short distance east of Apache Cañon and Glorieta Pass. At the time it was owned by, and got its name from, a Frenchman named Alex. Valle who talked "pidgin" English. It was a stopping-place of the old Santa Fe Trail, and later a post-station in the stage service. Through the courtesy of the present owner, Mr. T. L. Greer, we are enabled to record the recollections of three old Confederate comrades which differ in a number of details from the usually accepted account of that campaign. (Bancroft, xvii, 680-700; Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, ii, 357-390.) They do not explain why Chivington, after destroying their supply-train in the rear, failed to hold the strong position in Apache Cañon and so bottle up the Confederate force; but they confirm the fact that Sibley was not there. They seem to refute pretty clearly the assertion that the flag of truce was used as a subterfuge to enable them to slip away to Santa Fe, leaving their dead and wounded uncared for, nor does the retreat southwards appear to have been entirely a rout. Especially noteworthy is their tribute to the honorable treatment given their sick and wounded in Santa Fe by General Canby, and the gracious services of Mrs. Canby.—L. B. B.

Trinity, Texas,

Aug. 5, 1927.

Dear Mr. Greer:

The last week of July my daughter and her daughter and their husbands were in New Mexico and at your place and enjoyed the short stay there very much. They brought me several pictures and also one of your little booklets which I read with pleasure, but I told them I could give a much more correct statement about the Confederate side than the

little booklet gave, so my daughter, Mrs. Smith, insisted on me writing you. It isn't necessary for me to tell you that my education is very limited, for when I should have been in school I was in the Confederate army for four years.

Well, to begin with you have got the Confederate army that took part in the battle of Pigeon Ranch over estimated. You say, "Sibley's army of Texas soldiers came up with 2500 and fought 3000 Union soldiers which was reinforced that day with 400 volunteers from Colorado, commanded by Captain Chivington, a brave and daring young man," which I hope to have something to say about later on.

In the first place General Sibley was not there and only nine companies of his brigade were there. This was nine companies of the 4th Texas Cavalry of which I am proud to say I was a member.

On the morning of March 25th, 1862, the nine companies left Albuquerque and left Company A, commanded by Captain Hardemann, to guard the hospitals there which were full of our sick soldiers. We had had nothing to eat for several days except bread made of flour and cold water, not an ounce of meat of any kind or an eye of greece. We marched all day in a northeast direction and camped at a gold mine, I disremember the name. We still had our same old bill of fare, flour and water. The next day, the 26th, we marched in the same direction until about the middle of the afternoon, and camped in the edge of a prairie which I think was a part of the Beard sheep ranch. The hands on the ranch began to kill and bring in a large quantity of as fat mutton as any one could wish for, so we were all happy once more, but only for a short time. We began to put our mutton on the fire, and thinking and talking about what a feast we would have in a short time, and happened to look across the prairie and saw the dust rising and it was only a few minutes until it showed to be a man. He had a paper in his hand and loped up to Colonel Scurry's tent and handed the paper to the colonel. We were all watching and saw the

colonel give him a paper and off he went. I was only a boy, but another man was standing by and said: "Hell is brewing and not a mile off." About that time Colonel Scurry came down the line with his old cap in his hand and hollowing out, "Pack up, boys, Major Piran [Pyron] has been fighting 600 Yankees with 20 men for two days and has got a truce until 12 o'clock tomorrow and we must go to him." The next order came in a few minutes to fall in line and leave the packing up for the teamsters, so in a short time we were on the march for Glorieta Pass, and arrived at the Santa Fe Trail where it enters the canyon about one hour before day. We lay down on the ground until day. Soon after day the wagon train began to arrive and we began unloading in hopes of finding our mutton, but no mutton was to be found, so we had to be contented with our regular bill of fare. After breakfast we formed a battle line across the road at the head of the canyon, and held it all day, but nothing unusual occurred that night. We had a heavy guard all night. Next morning [28th] after eating our breakfast we were told to put what we had left in our haversacks, that we would not be back to camp till night, and in a few minutes we were on the march for Pigeon Ranch. When we were in one-half or three-fourths of a mile of the corral the picket guards began firing on us. We formed a battle line where a branch or ravine crosses the road and were soon under a heavy fire and a charge by the Federals. We let them charge up to about 30 yards of us, and then we rose up out of the ravine with a Texas yell, and a volley of rifle fire and drove them back with some loss on both sides. We kept that up for some time when Colonel Scurry decided to divide us up and send about one-half of the men up on the right side, the other on the left. We kept moving up until we were opposite the old corral so we had them under a cross fire and they pulled out and left the battlefield with us. We slept in the old corral that night. As soon as they left Colonel Scurry rode up and called for a white handkerchief, said he

wanted to send a flag of truce to tell them damned Yankees to come back and pick up their dead and wounded. No one came forward with the white handkerchief, so the old colonel said: "God Damn it, tear off your shirt tail, we have got to have a white flag." I had just picked up a new beautiful white silk handkerchief off of the battlefield. I hated to give it up, but after looking around I decided there was not a shirt tail in the crowd that would do for a white flag, they would have suited better for battle flags, so I walked up and gave the colonel my much prized silk handkerchief. He said it was just the thing and that I should have it back, though I did not expect it, neither did I get it back. The men that took the flag of truce said they followed the Yanks eight miles before they caught up with them, but in a couple of hours they were gathering up their dead and wounded. They worked all night and the next day they buried their dead and loaned us their tools to bury ours. This was the 29th and as we hadn't eaten a bite since early the morning before, so all we had to eat that day was corn we picked up in the corral the horses and mules had wasted. We had to roast the corn in the ashes of our camp fire, but it was a change and we enjoyed it. That was the last we got to eat that day. If the Union commander had only known our condition and held out until 12 o'clock the next day the Confederates would have had to surrender as we had no rations and our ammunition was about exhausted. We started out the morning of the 28th with a good supply of ammunition, but had used it freely all day. When Colonel Scurry would come around he never once told us to be saving with our ammunition, but would tell us to give them Hell boys, which we were trying to do, if he called using bullets Hell they were getting plenty of it. Just at dark on the 29th the bugle called us in line and Colonel Scurry made us a little speech and told us our wagons and all supplies had been burned and our sick taken prisoners and the nearest and only place to get any supplies was in Santa Fee, which was 28 miles

and the only way we could get it would be to beat the Yankees there and we struck out for Santa Fe and reached there early next morning and got quarters and plenty to eat.

Now I will have a few words to say about Captain Chivington, the brave captain from Colorado, after burning and destroying all our supplies which I admit he had a perfect right to do as it was enemy property, and he also had a right to make prisoners of our sick soldiers, but when he lined them up and gave his men orders in case they were attacked by the Confederates to shoot them down like dogs he was going further than any brave man would or could go, and I or any other brave man are bound to consider him a contemptible coward.

Now I have written this and tell it all as I see it from memory of 65 years. I was in my 19th year at the battle of Glorieta, am now in my 85th year. I don't know how many men we had killed. In our company we had only four killed and several wounded. I think the regiment lost about 75 men and maybe more, it all seems like a dream to me now and I only wish it was. Two of my mess mates were killed, John Manton and Willie McCormic, two boys I loved like brothers and both killed on the left wing of our little army firing under Major Ragly who was also killed. I don't know but two men besides myself who were in the battle that are still living. There may be others but I don't know who they are or where they are, you see that has been 65 years ago and men that was as old as 30 years are now 95. The two men that was in the same company with me and also in the battle of Glorieta are living in Austin, Texas. Their names are B. H. Tyler and H. C. Wright. I am sure either of them or both will be glad to write and give you a short history of the part they played in the campaign in New Mexico and if you write to them tell them it is through the request of Harvey Holcomb, Trinity, Texas, and ask B. H. Tyler to send you some of his war songs. He wrote several songs about the war and one about the battle of Val Verde and Glorieta

which I am sure you will appreciate. B. H. Tyler is about 92 or 93 years old now. Mr. Wright is about 87 or 88 years old now. I don't know either of their addresses but if you will address the letter to H. C. Wright, guard at Capital, Austin, Texas, they will get your letter. I want you to get letters from each of them and compare them with my letter and see how near alike we saw things. There will no doubt be a difference as no two men can see any thing alike.

Now before closing I must not fail to give a word for that noble lady, Mrs. Camby [Canby], the Federal commander's good wife. She was living in Santa Fe when we landed there March the 30th, 1862. She lived in a large house and threw open her door and invited in all our sick and wounded and nursed them like they were her own sons. We stayed in Santa Fe about 10 days and she had her house full of our sick and wounded boys as long as we stayed there. At one time she was nursing 14 of our boys.. I will say this that Mrs. Camby captured more hearts of Confederate soldiers than the old general ever captured Confederate bodies. I must quit.

(Signed) Harvey Halcomb,

Trinity, Texas.

P. S. Should you write to B. H. Tyler and H. C. Wright at Austin, Texas, I would suggest that you send them one of your little booklets and let them see how Colonel Sibley's forces was so much overestimated in the battle of Pigeon Ranch. Your little booklet says the Confederates was 2500 strong, but we could not have had more than 600 men all told in the Glorieta Battle. Colonel Scurry said he only had a hand full of men, but they are all damn good scrappers.

I want to thank your little boy for the soubiner he sent me. I appreciate them ever so much.

H. H.



Austin, Texas, Sept. 7, 1927.

Mr. T. L. Greer,

Dear Sir:—Your very interesting letter addressed to Mr. B. H. Tyler and myself was received yesterday. I was not aware that Harvey Holcomb was still living. He has been reported dead several times, and both Tyler and I have written time and again to him and received no answer. I will try again. B. H. Tyler is now 90 years old. I am 87. I know of no other member of our company living. The old brigade met for a reunion in June every year. There were only 10 this year. We unite with the Hoods brigade and meet at Bryan. I inclose this year's program. B. H. Tyler was not able to attend. He lives here with his daughter (93 Rainey street). I dropped him a card yesterday and hope he may be able to come up to the capitol to see me today (he may be out of the city). I want to see him so as to brush up my memory in regard to those old times. There are many things I never knew or cannot recall. But there are some facts that stand out prominently in my mind; and they are utterly in variance with some of the things you have recorded.

In the first place Gen. Sibley was not at Glorieta. He did not even command the brigade at Val Verde, a month or two before. He was utterly incompatable (some said a coward), and Col. Tom Green was in command at that time. At any rate after that battle we never saw him again. Col. Green had command as brigadier general and later as division commander until two years later he was killed. As well as I remember (I will consult Tyler about it) only two of our regiment. (4th and 5th) took part in the Glorieta fight. If so then we did not have over 1200 or 1500 men. Even if the 7th (3rd of our brigade) were present we could not have had quite 2,000.

We left Santa Fe and marched some 15 or 20 miles to meet the Fed's. We camped two or three days waiting for

them, but they did not show up. Then our scouts brought word that they were on their way, and leaving our camp we went forward and met them at the pass. It was a hard fight for they were brave men. But tho we were greatly outnumbered we drove them steadily back until at last they retreated in great confusion. So much so that a white flag messenger had to gallop for miles before he could find officers in sufficient command to stop the retreat and send back men to bury the dead and care for the wounded. It was a great shock to us to find that after we had won the battle we had lost the victory by our supplies having been destroyed.

Your account says they killed 1100 mules. At the outside we did not have over 500, and I for one never saw or heard of a dead one. They captured the mules and drove them off, and burned our wagons (less than 100) and supplies.

There was a lot of sick and wounded men there; also cooks, drivers and camp guards. These they payrolled. The most of our men marched back to Santa Fee that night and there commandered supplies. But others remained on the battlefield to care for the dead and wounded. A few provisions were found. I myself found a lot of baled buffalo meat (the first and only lot I have ever seen), said to have been put up by Indians and a number of sacks of flour. These were stored at a little place about a mile, as well as I can remember, down the road from the pass. I had a dear friend shot down by my side in the battle. I was compelled to leave him, but when the fight was over I went back to look for him, but did not find him till the next day. He had been taken off the field (had wandered off himself) and got to this little place—there I found him with a dozen more wounded men piled on the dirt floor helpless and forgotten. I at once took charge and as I said found a lot of meat and flour hidden away. I secured a sack of flour and a bale of meat, the rest disappeared like magic. In a little dugout (or

potatoo house) I found a hen just beginning to set on 13 eggs. That hen made into soup and those eggs fed those poor fellows nearly a week until the last of them (that lived) was hauled into Santa Fee.

Here I want to state that Mrs. Gen. Canby, the lovely wife of a noble man and also a sympathiser with the south, invented a way in the absence of ambulances to bring the wounded to town. She had tent cloths nailed across the rough wagon beds, so as to form hammocks, on which wounded could ride in comparative comfort, thus doubtless saving many lives. I with my wounded friend remained nearly a week until the only ambulance could be obtained for him. (I am glad to say he finally recovered and lived to be 84).

Our troops remained in Santa Fee (I think) about a week and then started for Texas. Doubtless they endured hardships on the way, but as for having to kill and eat their horses and mules, that is all nonsense. There were but few deaths on the way, and the fact that only 1200 reached Fort Bliss only shows how greatly their numbers were overestimated in the battles. Neither did the Feds follow them up closely. It was quite a while after they left Santa Fee before the Feds ever came in sight of the town, and five months later when I passed through Mesilla no federal troops had been nearer than Fort Craig over a hundred miles above.

You see I had remained in Santa Fee at the hospital to care for my friend. Now I never heard before that Gen. Canby commanded the Feds at Glorietta. We had left him at Fort Craig after the battle of Val Verde and how he could have passed our army and gotten away above Santa Fe I can't see. It may be so but I never heard it before. However he was in command of the forces that came into the town after our troops left, and right here I want to pay tribute to one of the noblest men that ever served in any army.

It was fully a week after the troops entered S. F. before

we were aware of it. Not a man was allowed to come near the hospital, and not until our supplies and provisions had entirely failed did we have any intercourse with them at all. At last our officers with 3 or 400 sick or wounded on their hands were forced to appeal for help. They went to Gen. Canby and stated the case.

He replied: "Gentlemen, I had no intentions of interfering with the hospital in any way. But the only way I can assist you would be as prisoners of war."

They told him that was what we expected. He then sent down and took our weapons, also our names, commands, etc. Then he issued us full supplies of everything needful, and months afterwards when we were able to travel furnished mules, wagons and provisions and sent us back to Texas, of course under parole. A nobler man never lived and when he was murdered by Modoc Jack I was grieved to my heart. But I must close before I become tiresome. I could write much more, but will spare you. I would love to meet you, and if you ever come to Austin come to see me. You will find me at the capitol.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. C. Wright.

I met Mr. Tyler and he could not add anything to what I have written. He is very feeble.

H. C. W.

## NECROLOGY

## HENRY WOODRUFF

Henry Woodruff was born in Connecticut on December 31, 1849, a lineal descendant of Matthew and Hannah Woodruff who settled in the historic town of Farmington in 1640, in which their memory is preserved by the Hannah Woodruff Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Woodruff Inn, a famous hostelry. Accompanying his parents to Dixon, Ill., in 1858, ill health brought on by an attack of the Spanish influenza, in 1872, took him to Colorado, where he lived in Pueblo, then at Leadville, and finally at Fort Garland. There he met Miss Sarah Frazer, who had come from her Missouri home in 1879, to teach school. Their wedding took place on December 21, 1882. In 1880, Mr. Woodruff went into the cattle business in Colfax county, his ranch being located near the town of Springer. In 1888, Mr. and Mrs. Woodruff took up their residence in Santa Fe. In 1890 he was appointed curator of The Historical Society of New Mexico which at that time occupied only the two rooms and the hallway at the east end of the Palace of the Governors. Mrs. Woodruff joined him in looking after the treasures of the Society. Together, in the forty years of faithful service, they must have greeted something like a million visitors to the Palace. They saw the collections of the Society grow accession by accession, until now it occupies practically the entire eastern half of the Palace and has stored away many objects which cannot be exhibited for lack of space. A few months ago, Mr. and Mrs. Woodruff announced that they expected to retire from the service of the Society on July 1, this year, and plans were under way to give the couple a testimonial dinner in lieu of the May meeting, to signalize the completion of forty years of faithful and loyal service. But Death stepped in and took Mr.

Woodruff on the morning of May 4, 1930. Interment was made in Fairview Cemetery, services being by the Rev. Walter Trowbridge of the Church of the Holy Faith. Mrs. Woodruff bravely took up again the curatorship of the Society in order to serve out the time she and Mr. Woodruff had set themselves for retirement. Like her husband, she is a life member of The Historical Society.

Mr. and Mrs. Woodruff with their geniality, their faithfulness and their tact, won the admiration and friendship of the many with whom they came in contact, and to their fellows they were shining exemplars of good citizenship.—P.A.F.W.

#### JOSE E. CHAVES

Jose E. Chaves, life member of the New Mexico Historical Society, died suddenly at his home in Los Angeles, on Tuesday, May 13. Born in 1870, at Belen, Valencia county, he had just celebrated his sixtieth birthday. He was the son of the late Felipe Chaves, the descendant of an illustrious family, which traces back its ancestry many centuries in the history of Spain. Don Felipe, was reputed to be a man of great wealth and much influence. At Los Padillas near Albuquerque, he had established the first steam flour mill in New Mexico, but a flood which swept down the Rio Grande compelled him to flee. Says a chronicler of the event: "The mules were slow and the water of the river close behind but Don Felipe and his family reached Belen in safety and it was there in one of the old houses of the Estate that Jose was born." He was only seven years when he accompanied his mother and sisters over the Santa Fe Trail to St. Louis where he learned English at Miss Cusbach's School. He attended Notre Dame, Indiana. At 14, he went to New Haven, Conn., to attend military school but circumstances inducted him in the Hopkins Grammar School or Academy. He lived in the family of General Russell, founder of "Scroll and Keys," and grew very fond of the

Academy, remembering it financially in an endowment campaign in later years. The boy was active in athletic games including football, baseball and tennis. On several occasions, during critical plays, he carried off victory for his school in their games against Yale Freshmen and other antagonists. He taught several prominent residents of New Haven, the finer points of Tennis, and for many years gave a trophy cup to the New York Tennis Club. Chaves was prevented from entering Yale by his lack of Greek, at that time an essential requirement, and matriculated at Cornell. He followed his favorite professor, George Bassett Moore, to Columbia, and became very fond of New York City where he joined the New York Athletic Club and the Seventh Regiment, at his death being a member of the Veterans Club of both organizations. He was confirmed in the Protestant Episcopal faith by Bishop Johnson in Los Angeles, and became a member of the Church Club in New York City. He was an attendant at St. Bartholomew's church and a close friend of Dr. Leighton Parks, pastor emeritus. Mr. Chaves was not only a successful financier, a large stockholder of The First National Bank of Santa Fe, but also took an interest in science. He belonged to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Museum of Natural History, the Zoological Garden, the Botanical Garden and the Horticultural Society of New York, often attending their meetings. In 1906, he married Ella May Berger, daughter of Colonel William Berger, for so many years prominent in the affairs of the New Mexico Historical Society. The wedding took place in St. Mark's Church in Denver. Eight years ago, Mr. Chaves underwent an operation on his vocal chords, the after-effects of which caused him to seek Palm Beach, Florida, during the first three or four months of each year. During the summer he would come to New Mexico and California, maintaining residences in both states, while fall and early winter were spent in New York City. Besides his widow, a sister,

Manuelita Chaves of Albuquerque, survives him. The funeral services were held in Los Angeles, interment being in Inglewood Cemetery.—P.A.F.W.

#### EDWARD P. DAVIES

Tragic was the death of Edward P. Davies, another life member of The New Mexico Historical Society. After a discussion with Ramon Garcia over an estate for which Mr. Davies was attorney, Garcia fired a revolver, the bullet piercing the brain of Mr. Davies. Garcia turned the revolver on himself, but the wound he inflicted did not prove fatal. Davies died several hours later in St. Vincent's Sanitarium, Monday, May 12, leaving a widow, a daughter and two sons.

Edward Patrick Davies was born at Floren, Iowa, in January 1880, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Patrick Davies, who died only recently. He attended the schools of Iowa City and later Drake University. He was admitted to the Iowa bar when he was only 21 years old. He served as assistant secretary to Governor Cummings and became associated in law with Lieutenant Governor James Murtaugh of Iowa. In 1906 he came to Willard, Torrance county, and opened a law office. In 1912 he arrived with his family in Santa Fe, going into partnership with Attorney A. B. Renehan, but eventually establishing himself in his own office. As a Republican, he was active in politics, serving as assistant district attorney, as mayor of the City of Santa Fe in 1918, was a member of the legislative house, assisted in codifying the Laws, was considered for judicial nominations, was an eloquent campaigner and esteemed for his oratorical powers. Mr. Davies was state deputy of the Knights of Columbus for nine years, past exalted ruler of the Elks and active in the Woodmen of the World.—P.A.F.W.



## NOTES AND REVIEWS

*Texan Santa Fe Expedition.* BY THOMAS FALCONER. (Dauber & Pine Bookshops, Inc. New York City, 1930. Pp. 160.) The Texan Santa Fe Expedition 1841-1842, not entirely out of the realm of controversy, had as its main chronicler George Wilkins Kendall whose *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition* went through many editions. Falconer, an Englishman by birth, a writer on legal subjects, accompanied the expedition as a scientific observer. His Diary, which was printed as an appendix to the seventh edition of Kendall's *Narrative*, adds much to the value of Kendall's account. As stated in the *Introduction* to the present edition by F. W. Hodge: "Kendall as we have seen, had no personal knowledge of the experiences of the main force of the expedition after he had joined the party under Captain Sutton, sent forward by General McLeod from the Quintufue on August 31 to find the New Mexico settlements. Kendall was also the acknowledged debtor to Falconer for the description of the Spanish missions in the vicinity of San Antonio, in his third chapter, as well as for the names and dates of the several places through which the prisoners passed on their march from San Miguel to the City of Mexico. However, there are divergencies between dates given by the two writers, explained by the fact that the Santa Fe authorities seized most of the papers of Falconer and his companions, and "it would seem from this that the memory of each was often taxed to determine the specific dates of the earlier stages of the journey, but that Falconer's dates, on the whole, are the more trustworthy." Falconer's diary appeared in part in the *Daily Picayune* of New Orleans in 1842, and completely in pamphlet form the same year. The present edition is supplemented with the letter of introduction addressed to President Lamar of Texas in Falconer's behalf,

an invitation to Falconer to become a member of the expedition, his acceptance, and a note from Falconer to Lamar. The footnotes by Hodge are invaluable. The paper, letter press and binding of the present edition are attractive.

*The Catholic Historical Review* for April.—The April number has as its leading article the presidential address of Leo Francis Stock at the annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association at Washington, D. C., its subject being: "Catholic Participation in the Diplomacy of the Southern Confederacy." "The Lateran Concordat with Italy," by Philip Bernardini, "Popular Church Building in Medieval France," by Hewitt B. Vinnedge, "The Reformation at Cambridge," by Lawrence K. Patterson, are other contributions. A detailed account of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association, extensive Book Reviews and "Notes and Comments" complete the number.

*Chronicles of Oklahoma* for June reprints the Oklahoma section of "Jacob Fowler's Journal" with comment and notes by W. Julian Fessler. Other articles are: "John Chisholm, a Soldier of Fortune" by Kate White; "Notes on Perryville" by Muriel H. Wright; "The Life and Work of Sequoiah" by John B. Davis; "Government of the Creek Indians" by Ohland Morton, and "Fort Towson" by W. B. Morrison.

*Minnesota History* for June prints "The Early History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River" by William J. Petersen. This is followed by "Ralph Waldo Emerson in Minnesota" by Hubert H. Hoeltje; "Minnesota as Seen by Travelers in 1853," and the regular departmental notes.

*Missouri Historical Review* for April. The story of Waterman L. Ormsby, "special correspondent of *The New York Herald*, and the first and only through passenger by the overland mail route, in 3 hours less than 24 days," is

reviewed in the April *Missouri Historical Review* which reprints the item from *Daily Alta California* of October 12, 1858. "Advisory Constitutional Opinions of the Missouri Supreme Court" by Buel Leopard Smith, "Some Impressions of Frank P. Blair" by C. B. Rollins, "Experiences of Lewis Bissell Dougherty on the Oregon Trail" by Ethel Massie Withers; "Public Opinion and the Inflation Movement in Missouri, 1875-1879," by J. A. Leach; "John Bradbury, the Earliest St. Louisan of Botanical Note," and "Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri, an Incident in the Anglo-Spanish Rivalry for the Indian Trade," are the main articles in the issue.—P.A.F.W.

### JUNE MEETING OF SOCIETY

At the monthly meeting of the New Mexico Historical society in the Palace of the Governors on Tuesday evening, June 17, the president announced the death of four life members since last meeting: Curator Henry Woodruff, Jose E. Chavez, J. M. C. Chaves, and E. P. Davies, and presented biographical sketches paying a tribute especially to the loyalty, efficiency and high character of the late curator who died after 40 years of service.. Among accessions reported were the fatigue cap of Colonel Albert J. Fountain as a member of the First New Mexico volunteer militia, the gift of his son, Albert J. Fountain of Dona Ana county; a copy of Archbishop J. B. Salpointe's rare volume "Soldiers of the Cross," presented by Mrs. R. E. Twitchell; vestments and chair of Padre Martinez, the gift of Miss Candida Read, daughter of the late Benjamin M. Read. Most interesting were a map of the west dated 1846, old papers and letters found in the old Delgado house on Burro alley torn down by Dave Steele. The president reported that the executive committee had named Miss Hester Jones as curator and guide to the Historical Society collections succeeding Mr. and Mrs. Woodruff. The committee arranged for partici-

pation of the Society with the University of New Mexico and the School of American Research in research work in the archives in Mexico by the secretary of the Society, Mr. Lansing Bloom, who will leave for Mexico City on July 21, and also for the sorting and classifying of the society's priceless newspaper files. The following were elected to membership of the society: Mrs. Howard Anderson of Chihuahua, Mrs. F. F. Doepp of Carlsbad, Vivian Macan of London, Mrs. Walter Trumbull of New York City, Mrs. F. E. Mera, Mrs. Harry P. Mera, Mrs. H. Postma of Holland; Clarence Reckmeyer of Fremont, Neb.; Mrs. David Reiter, Frank E. Andrews, Mrs. R. O. Brown, Judge Reed Holloman, Mrs. F. A. Koch, Mrs. Levi A. Hughes, Mrs. David J. McComb, Mrs. Arthur Seligman, R. C. TenEyck, Cassius D. McCormick, Harvey S. Lutz, A. W. Anderson of Carlsbad, William McPherson of Orange, Calif.; Floyd Studer of Amarillo, Texas; Clinton H. Kearny of San Antonio; Los Alamos Ranch school, Santa Fe Transportation company, New Mexico Normal university, Cleveland public library and University of Wyoming.

Those present took cognizance of the rearrangement of exhibits into period rooms under the direction of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett and the museum staff and under the guidance of Mrs. Rupert F. Asplund. The exhibits are declared to be the most interesting and most attractively displayed of any American historical society. Through the generosity of the museum authorities additional space has been allotted the Society until its exhibits now occupy one-half of the palace.  
—*Santa Fe Daily New Mexican.*

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO  
(INCORPORATED)

*Organized December 26, 1859*

PAST PRESIDENTS

- 1861 — COL. JOHN B. GRAYSON, U. S. A.  
1861 — MAJ. JAMES L. DONALDSON, U. S. A.  
1863 — HON. KIRBY BENEDICT  
1881 — HON. WILLIAM G. RITCH  
1883 — HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE  
1923 — HON. FRANK W. CLANCY  
1925 — COL. RALPH E. TWITCHELL  
1926 — PAUL A. F. WALTER

OFFICERS FOR 1930-1931

PAUL A. F. WALTER, *President*

FRANCIS T. CHEETHAM, *Vice-President*

LANSING B. BLOOM, *Corresponding Sec'y-Treas.*

COL. JOSE D. SENA, *Vice-President*

MRS. REED HOLLOMAN, *Recording-Sec'y*

MISS HESTER JONES, *Museum Curator*

FELLOWS

RALPH P. BIEBER

WILLIAM C. BINKLEY

LANSING B. BLOOM

HERBERT E. BOLTON

AURELIO M. ESPINOSA

GEORGE P. HAMMOND

REV. THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M.

CHARLES W. HACKETT

EDGAR L. HEWETT

FREDERICK W. HODGE

ALFRED V. KIDDER

J. LLOYD MECHAM

PAUL A. F. WALTER

CONSTITUTION  
OF THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

**Article 5. Elections.** At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

**Article 6. Dues.** Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

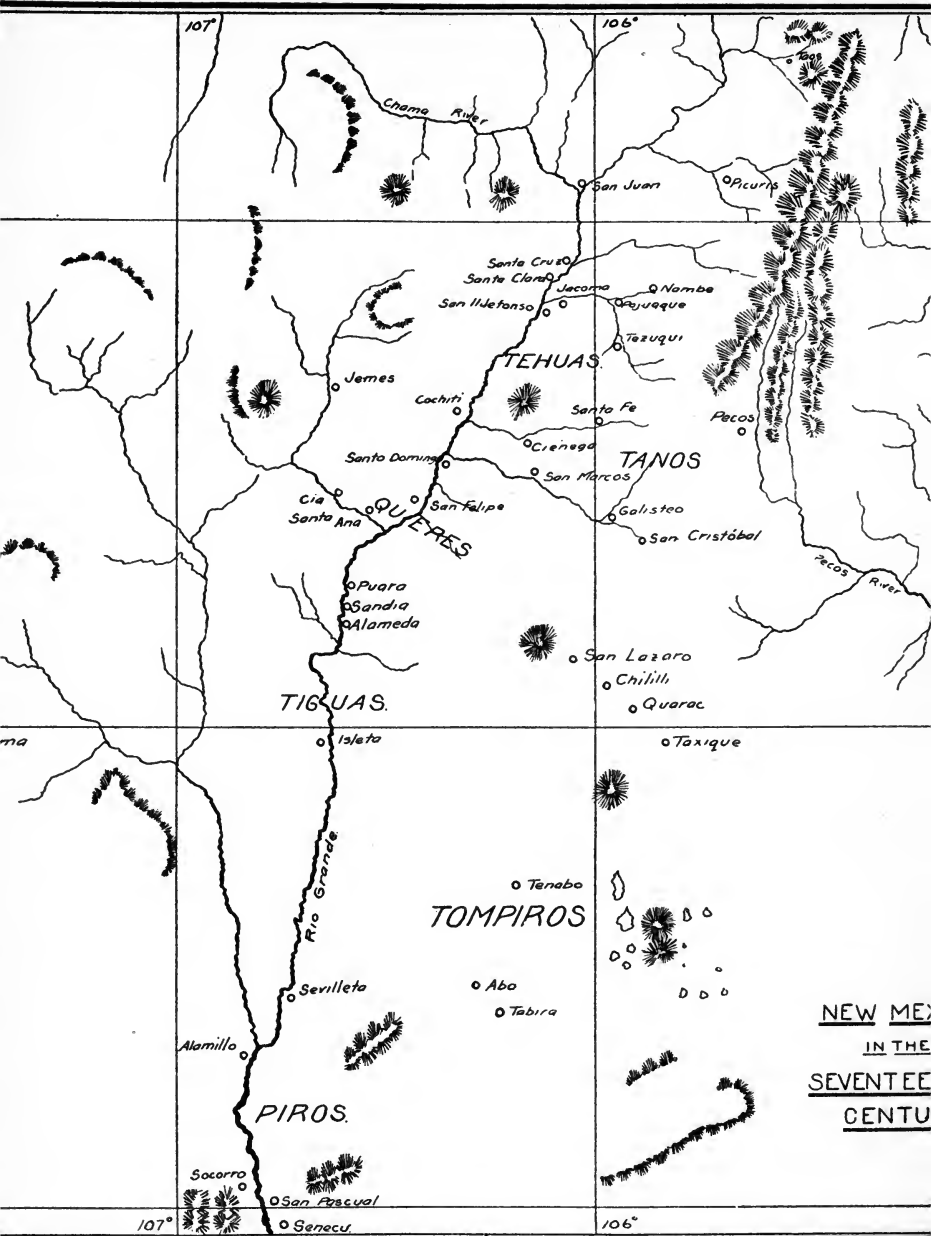
**Article 7. Publications.** All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

**Article 8. Meetings.** Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

**Article 9. Quorums.** Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

**Article 10. Amendments.** Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, Santa Fe, N. Mex.

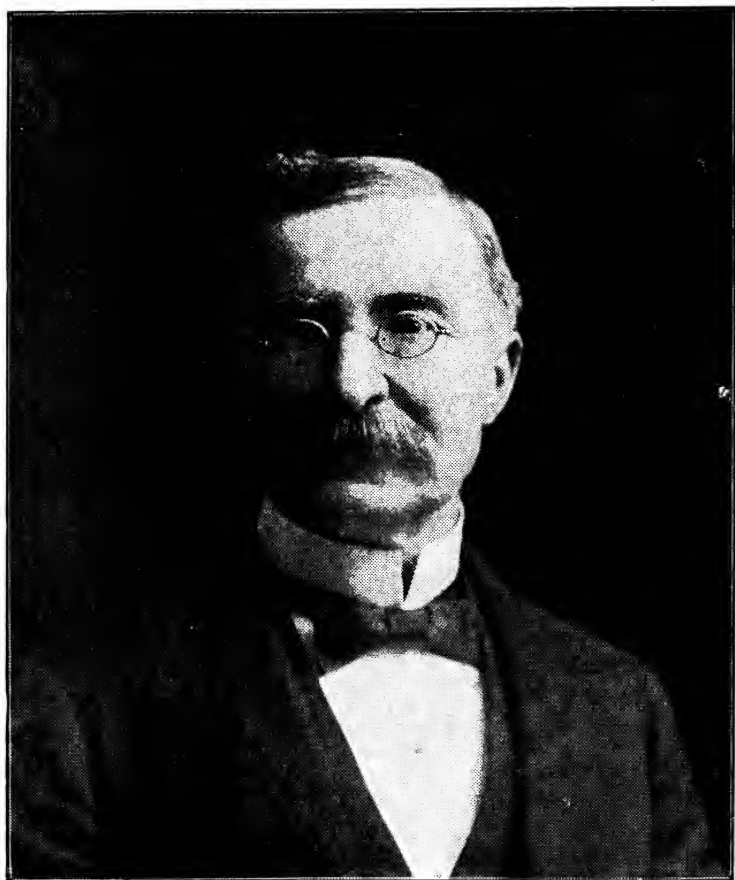


*Twitchell's Leading Facts of New Mexico History*

MAP OF NEW MEXICO IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, SHOWING LOCATION OF VARIOUS PUEBLO INDIAN GROUPS







JUDGE JOHN R. MCFIE, ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO, WHO, AS AN ABLE JURIST, HELPED TO MAKE NEW MEXICO HISTORY OF THE LAST GENERATION

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## DOCUMENTARY HISTORY OF THE RIO GRANDE PUEBLOS, NEW MEXICO

Part III—1581 to 1584

By ADOLPH F. BANDELIER

THE royal ordinances of July 13th, 1573, prescribed: "the discoverers by sea or by land, shall keep a daily commentary or memorial of all that they may see or find in the countries they discover, and of what happens to them, and shall write it in a book, and it shall be read in public every day, to those who participate in the said discovery, so that more may be ascertained of what takes place and the truth of it may be established. It shall be signed by some of the leading men. That book shall be kept with great care, and, when they return, it can be presented before the Audiencia, under whose authorization they went out."<sup>1</sup> We have, about the exploration of Francisco Chamuscado, positive knowledge that such a Journal was kept, and it may be that it still exists in archives, but I am as yet limited for material concerning the events of the year 1581 to reports lacking the minuteness of a dairy. The same was already the case with Coronado. That commander was employing a

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1. *Ordenanzas de Su Magestad*, p. 149: "Los Descubridores por mar o por tierra, hagan comentario e mororia por dias, de todo lo que vieren y hallaren y les aconteciere en las tierras que descubrieren; I todo lo vayan asentando en un libro, y despues de asentado, se lea en público cada dia, delante los que fueran al dicho descubrimiento, porque se averigue mas lo que pasare y pueda constar de la verdad de todello, firmándolo de algunos de los principales, el cual libro se guardará a mucho recaudo para que cuando vuelvan le traigan y presenten ante la Audencia con cuya licencia hobieren ido."

special chronicler for his expedition, Pedro de Sotomayor, but where the writings of that scribe have gone to is unknown to me.<sup>2</sup>

On the journey of Father Augustin Rodriguez and his ecclesiastic companions, escorted by eight men at arms under the leadership of Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, only legal testimony, brief relations, and a few corollary hints are so far known. The "brief and truthful account" bears date October 26th, 1583,<sup>3</sup> and the depositions of three eyewitnesses at the City of Mexico are (as already told in Part. II) respectively from May 16th and October 20th of the preceding year. The latter therefore have precedence in point of date and, perhaps also, in point of freshness of recollection, although the difference in time is comparatively slight. The three deponents confirm each other, and the first one examined, Bustamante, states in the main.<sup>4</sup>

After leaving Santa Barbara on June 16th, 1582, and entering "the valley of San Gregorio," they followed that valley downward to a large river to which they gave the name "Guadalquivir." That river can only have been the Rio Grande.<sup>5</sup> They followed it for twenty days, and always upstream, for a distance estimated by them at "eighty leagues," through an uninhabited country (there is no description of its features) at the end of which<sup>6</sup> they reached a settlement which they named "the province of Sant Felipe," and there found a regular village with houses of

2. Castañeda, *Cibola*, p. 450: "por que aua ydo con don garci lopes un pedro de sotomayor que yha por coronista de el campo."

3. *Relación breve y verdadera del descubrimiento del Nueva Mexico* (Doc. de Indias, vol. 15, p. 146 and 150.)

4. *Testimonio dado en Mexico sobre el descubrimiento de doncientas leguas adelante, de las minas de Santa Bárbara*, p. 80 to 97. Bustamante's name was "Pedro."

5. *Testimonio dado*, p. 83: "e yendo por el rio abajo, fueron a dar en otro rio que le pusieron por nombre el rio de Guadalquivir, por ser grande y caudaloso." The first river, which they met at the end of the valley of San Gregorio was the Concho, and it seems they followed its downward courses to its confluence with the Rio Grande: "y fueron por el propio Valle, abajo, hasta dar en el rio que llaman de Concha. . . ."

6. *Ibidem*. "Y así fueron adelante por el propio rio, arriba, y caminaron veinte jornadas de hasta ochenta leguas de despoblado, y llegaron a una población. . . ."

two stories and well designed, built of mud, and white inside; and the people were dressed in cotton mantles and shirts of the same, and they obtained information that on both sides apart from the river there were many other villages of Indians of the same nation, who received them peaceably and gave them of what they had, which was maize, squash and beans, and fowl, and other things upon which they lived. Taking information, if there were other settlements, the natives answered through signs and in the affirmative. In consequence of that notice they ascended further up the same stream and found other pueblos along the road they were traveling as well as on the sides, as was seen from the way. They arrived at another nation of Indians of another language and dress.<sup>7</sup>

Comparing the above with what we know through the expedition of Coronado, and bearing in mind the "great river" along which the adventurous men ascended, it is easy to recognize that they struck the southern limits of the Rio Grande pueblos, meeting there the Piroas.<sup>8</sup>

The "nation" next met by them, always up that river, can only have been the *Tiguas*, "where they were also received peaceably and with joy, the natives kissing the hands of the friars."<sup>9</sup> Of the *Tiguas* it is stated that they also went

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7. *Ibidem*. "que le pusieron por nombre la provincia de Sant Felipe, y allí hallaron pueblo formado con cascas de dos altos y de buena traza, hechas de tapia y blancas por dentro, y la gente vestida de mantas de algodón y camisas de lo propio; y tubieron noticias que a los lados fuera del rio, había otros muchos pueblos de indios de la misma nacion, los cuales los recibieron de paz y les dieron de lo que tenían, que hera maíz, calabazas y frisoles y gallinas y otras cosas, que es de lo ellos se sustentan; y tomando lengua si había mas poblaciones de gentes, por señas respondieron los naturales, que sí; y con esta noticia pasaron adelante por el mismo rio arriba, y hallaron otros muchos pueblos, así por el camino que llevaban como a los lados que desde el camino se vian; y llegaron a otra nacion de indios de diferente lengua y traje. . ."

8. Compare, in regard to the location of the Piroas, Fray Alonzo de Benavides, *Memorial*, p. 14, 1630: "Llegado a este rio por esta parte [after passing the "Jornada del Muerto"] comiençan las primeras poblaciones, por la Provincia y nacion Pira."

9. *Testimonio*, p. 84: "Donde . . . fueron recibidos de paz y con alegría de los Indios besando la mano a los religiosos." What the Spaniards took for a hand-kiss was the Indian (Pueblo) custom of breathing on the hand in salute. At all events it denotes an amicable reception.

clothed, and had houses of three stories, whitewashed and painted within and without. They noticed many fields of maize, beans and squashes, and the people had many fowls.

They continued to the northward, always along the river, to "another nation." Of these the witnesses speak with much praise, calling them "the noblest people of all they have yet seen on the same river." The villages of these Indians and the houses were better than any they had yet seen on their journey, and here they were better entertained than even before. The witnesses says that the houses were "four and five stories high, with their corridors (galleries, balconies), and halls twenty-four feet long and thirteen wide, whitewashed and painted. They keep their squares well, and from one to the other, are streets, through which they go from one to the other in good order."<sup>10</sup> The villages were from two to three leagues apart, and at the same distance from the river were other villages, of about three and four hundred houses each, like those mentioned. The people also dressed in cotton.

I call attention to the agreement in general of this sketch of the Rio Grande pueblos with the descriptions by the chroniclers of the time of Coronado, for the last named group of housedwelling natives were manifestly the Queres.<sup>11</sup> Here was the end of the journey along the Rio

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10. *Ibidem*: "los cuales tambien andan vestidos y tienen casas de tres altos y encaladas y pintadas por dentro, y hacen muchas senteras de maiz y frisol y calabaza, y crian muchas gallinas."

Of the Queres the witness says: "y de allí pasaron adelante a otra nacion de gente que hay por el mismo rio arriba, que es la mas noble gente de la que atrás habran viste, y de mejores pueblos y casas, y los que mejor tratamiento les hizo, dándoles de mejor voluntad de todo lo que tenían; y las casas tienen, de buenos edificios, de cuatro y cinco altos con sus corredores y salas de veinte y cuatro pies de largo y trece de ancho, encaladas y pintadas; y tienen sus plazas muy buenas, y de una a otra hay calles por donde pasan a ellas con buena orden, tienen muchos bastimentos como los de otras (may be "atras"); y de dos o tres leguas, hay otros pueblos de su nacion de a trecientas y cuatrocientas casas, por la propia orden queste; visten de algodón como las naciones de atras."

11. The distance between the Queres pueblos indicated, two or three leagues, is indeed approximately correct in the case of San Felipe and Santo Domingo, also between San Felipe and Santa Ana. The Queres were (and are today) the immediate neighbors of the Tiguas in the North, along the Rio Grande. See Part I.

Grande, since the formidable cañon which terminates a short distance above Cochití arrested their progress, compelling them to deviate either to the east or to the west. They chose the eastern direction where the plateau to the base of the "Sierra de Santa Fe" was more inviting than the much broken country forming the foothills of what is called the "Sierra del Valle." Proceeding in the direction indicated they saw, after a day's journey, a large village of four or five hundred houses and noticed that its houses were of four and five stories and were also informed that ten journeyings further north there was a very large Indian population. Owing to the dilapidated condition of their clothing and the lack of shoeing for the horses they dared not proceed further northward, which would indeed have been a hard undertaking for man and beast.<sup>12</sup>

The large village, with buildings four and five stories high, appears to have been Pecos (which may be reached from near the Rio Grande in a hard day's journey), from where they went back to the river at the Queres villages, one of which they named "Castildavid."<sup>13</sup> From it they crossed the river to the west and went to see three pueblos, two of which had about two hundred houses each and the third about seventy.<sup>14</sup> The crossing was effected at the junction of a small stream with the Rio Grande, but it is not said whether this affluent was on the east or on the west side.

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12. *Idem*, p 85: "y que hasta aqui fueron caminando siempre hacia el Norte; y saliendo del rio, una jornada, siguiendo el Norte, vieron un pueblo grande de cuatrocientas a quinientas casas, pocas mas o menos; que llegado a el, vieron las casas de los indios de a cuatro e cinco altos, que le pusieron por nombre Tlascalca, por ser tan grande; y alli fueron recibidos de paz, como en los demas; y de alli fueron tomando lengua de los mesmos naturales, que habia a diez jornadas de alli muy grande poblacion de indios en la misma derecera del Norte por donde iban caminando; y que por falta de herrage para los caballos, y de ropa el y la demas gente, no osaron pasar adelante. ." Here the term "norte" is taken, successively, in the sense of the "Sea of the North" and of real north.

13. *Ibidem*. [See note at end.—Editor.]

14. "Pasaron el rio hacia el Sur, por un rio pequeno que se juntaba con el otro; fueron a ver tres pueblos de que les dieron noticia, los cuales pueblos primeros tenian hasta doscientas casas, los dos, y el otro hasta setenta." No mention is made of a change in language, it might therefore be supposed that the three villages were inhabited by Queres also.

It is not stated whether the three villages were near the river or not. They may have been the Queres pueblos of Cochiti, Santa Ana, and (further west) Cia; in which case another group of which they heard (but did not see it), of eleven pueblos, would have been those of the Jemez, and perhaps two yet pertaining to Cia. Leaving this point unsettled and only noting that the eleven were situated "up the river and of another language and nation,"<sup>15</sup> it is stated that from there (the three villages mentioned) they turned their steps to the east again in order to see "the cows," that is, the buffaloes, "thirty leagues" off. They saw the great quadrupeds and killed some, and also met roving Indians on the plains, with dogs that carry their belongings.<sup>16</sup> From the plains they went back to the village whence they started (and which may have been near the river) and from it descending along the Rio Grande, to a pueblo named "Puaráy," (on the river) where the three missionaries afterwards determined to remain.<sup>17</sup>

The ruins of the Pueblo of Puaráy, a former settlement of the Tiguas, lie nearly opposite the modern town of Bernalillo, on the west side of the Rio Grande. I made a detailed ground plan of these ruins in the summer of the year 1882. That plan showed that the village might have harbored as many as 800 people at one time. It was built of adobe. How many stories the houses had, could not be determined on the surface, whereas the tracing of the pueblo was distinct.<sup>18</sup> Puaráy has since 1581 become a well established historical site, and it is likely that in 1541 it played a part in the hostilities between Coronado and the

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15. *Ibidem*. "en el cual se tuvo nueva de once pueblos que habia, adelante el rio arriba, de diferente nacion y lengua de estotros. . ."

16. *Idem*, p. 86: "y llevaban su bastimento de maiz y datil, en perros cargados que por este efecto crian." "Datil" (date) is the name given today, by Mexicans and Indians in New Mexico, to the fruit of the *Yucca bacata*.

17. "y quedaron en el dicho pueblo los religiosos con los indios de servicio que avian llevado." It is not clear, whether the missionaries remained at Puaráy then or later, but I incline to the belief that the friars accompanied Chamuscado on all his subsequent excursions. My reasons will be given further on. See footnote 25.

18. *Final Report*, II, p. 226.



Tigua tribe.<sup>19</sup> Through its identification by the expedition of Chamuscado and, more so even, through the tragic fate of two of the friars whom Chamuscado and his men escorted, it has been made a landmark in the History and, to a certain extent, of the Geography of the Rio Grande pueblos.

The three missionaries decided upon accompanying their escort as far as possible through New Mexico. The duty of their escort was not only to accompany the friars but, (according to the often cited Ordinances) to investigate the country.<sup>20</sup>

At Puaráy, they were informed "of a certain valley and Indian settlement of a different language," which they call the valley of "Cami" and which lies on the side of the south (that is, west)."<sup>21</sup> They reached the said valley and found it to contain "six villages of thirty, forty and as many as a hundred houses each, with many Indians dressed like the others and the houses of two and three stories, of stone." Here they were told of the valley of Asay, in which there were five large pueblos with much people and, "from the signs the Indians made, they understood that two of these pueblos were very large, and that in all of them more cotton was raised than anywhere else they had seen."<sup>22</sup>

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19. Compare Part I. Puaráy, as far as known, was not a large pueblo. At the time of the Indian uprising of 1680, according to Vetancurt, *Crónica de la Provincia del Santo Evangelio*, p. 312, it had 200 inhabitants; and among these were "labradores españoles."

20. *Ordenanzas*, p. 148: "Si vieron que la gente es doméstica y que con seguridad puede quedar algun religioso entrellos, y hobiere alguno que huelgue de quedar para los doctrinar y poner en buena pulicia, lo dejen."

"Los descubridores no se detengan en la tierra, ni esperen en su viage equellas bituallas se les acaben en ninguna manera ni por alguna capsas, sino que habiendo gastado la mitad de la provision con que hobieren salido, den la vuelta a dar razon de lo que hobieren hallado y descubierto y alcanzado a entender, asi de las gentes con quien hobieren tratado, como de otras comarcas de quien puedan haber noticia."

21. *Testimonio*, p. 86: "hasta llegar a un pueblo que se llama Puaráy, en el cual tuvieron noticia de cierto valle y poblacion de diferente lengua que llaman el Valle de Cami, que esta a la banda del Sur, de donde con esta nueva, salieron y llegaron a el dicho Valle." See note 23, below.

22. "a donde hallaron seis pueblos de a treinta, cuarenta y hasta cien casas, con muchos indios vestidos al modo de los demas, y las casas de dos y tres altos de piedra." Coronado in *Letter to the Viceroy* (August 3d, 1540) mentions the smallness

"Cami" from the direction in which it lay from the Rio Grande appears to have been the Zuñi cluster,<sup>23</sup> and Asay the Moquis. Asay or Osay is indeed the Tigua name for the Moquis, as I have been informed by Tigua Indians, if they told me the truth.<sup>24</sup>

While at "Cami," further progress to the west became arrested by a snowfall. So they returned to Puaráy where they heard of salines fourteen leagues off, which they also went to see. They found them "behind a mountain range, which they named Sierra Morena" and estimated the salt marshes to be "five leagues" long and: "adjoining these salines many other pueblos were seen and visited, which were like the others, and the natives figured three more, near the salines and said to be very large." Returning thence to Puaráy again, they took leave of the ecclesiastics. The latter remained there with the Indian servants,<sup>25</sup> among these one mestizo. Chamuscado and his men started for New Spain again. They desired to take with them some

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of the villages of the Zuñis. "y estando alli, les dieron nueva del Valle de Asay, y que en él habia cinco pueblos grandes de mucha gente, y segun las señas que los indios dieron, entendieron que los dos de los dichos pueblos eran muy grandes; y que en todos ellos se criaba mucha cantidad de algodon más que en otra parte ninguna de las que abian visto." (*Testimonio dado*, p. 86.)

23. "Cami" is identified with Zuñi in a document from the close of the 16th century. *Testimonio de la entrada que hizo al Nuevo Mexico Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado con ocho soldados y tres frailes, año de ochenta y uno*, (incorporated in *Memorial sobre el Descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico y sus acontecimientos*, in *Doc. de Indias*, vol. 16, p. 206.) "Descubrieron la provincia de Zuñi o Sumi, como le nombra Chamuscado con los seis postreros pueblos de su relacion"—"Cami" appears therefore a misprint or error in copying.

24. I heard the name also from a Zuñi Indian, as a Tigua word for Moqui.

25. *Testimonio*, p 87: "y de aqui se volvieron al dicho pueblo de Puaráy, donde avian dejado los religiosos y caballos, y demas cosas que tenian."—When the friars remained there cannot be defined. Whether it was already on the occasion of the trip to the west or only when they (the escort) went to the salines is not clear. It strikes me as more probable that the missionaries went to Zuñi also. The number of servants is given later, in the deposition relative to the murder of the monks. Bustamante says: "y quedaron en el dicho pueblo los religiosos con los indios de servicio que avian llevado, y entre ellos un mestizo." The "Sierra morena" is the Sierra del Manzano. Had they gone around the Sandia they would have seen, and mentioned, the Tanos. Besides, the salines lie due east of the Manzano range. Bustamante testifies: "y junto á estas salinas se vieron otros muchos pueblos y estuvieron en ellos, los cuales tenian la traza que los demás; y les dieron nuevas de otros tres pueblos

Tigua Indians, but none of them would go of their own free will and they made no attempt at compulsion. Returning to Santa Barbara, Chamuscado did not regard the journey as ended until he had personally given account of it to the Viceroy at Mexico. So he, Pedro Bustamante, and Hernando Gallegos went on, but, thirty leagues south of Santa Barbara, Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado died "of disease."<sup>26</sup>

The next witness, Hernando Gallegos, makes an almost identical deposition, the variations being of no importance. The third, Hernando Barrado, is very brief on the subject of the journey, but he adds information about occurrences at Puaráy that happened after Chamuscado had left. Of these I will have to treat further on.<sup>27</sup>

The "Brief and truthful report" was written seventeen months after the first depositions were taken and is signed

que bigurficaban los naturales; están cerea de las dichas salinas y ser muy grandes." The discovery, not of the salines but of the Tigua and Piro settlements near them, is therefore due to Chamuscado. Oñate, in 1598, mentions the villages of the salines but the list thereof which is given in the "*Obediencia y vasallaje a Su Magestad por los Indios del Pueblo de San Juan Baptista*, September 9th, 1598, (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 16, p. 113) names 18 villages besides "los tres pueblos grandes de Xumanos o rrayados."—In 1630, Benavides, *Memorial*, p 23, says that there were 14 or 15 pueblos: "çomiènça la nacion Tompira por su primer pueblo de Chillilí . . ."; with six convents. The number of the parishes is probably not overstated, since I know of six ruined villages with old churches, around the salines: Chillilí, Tajique, Cuaráy, Abó, Tenabó, and Tabirá on the Medano. Besides, I know of the existence of at least six pueblo ruins, on the so-called "Medano" and near Abó. More are said to exist in the same region and from the statements quoted, from the years 1581, 1598 and 1630, respectively, it would seem that most of these had been occupied as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. The statement of Benavides indicates three linguistic stocks represented around the salines: Teguas or Tanos, Tiguas, and Piros or "Tompiros." The Jumanos do not seem to have lived in pueblo style.

26. The return journey was made on the same route they took in coming: (*Testimonio*, p. 87) "y del dicho pueblo se vinieron por la misma derrota que avian llevado." In regard to the death of Chamuscado, Bustamante states: "y que el caudillo que traian, llamado Francisco Chamuscado, murió, treinta leguas de Santa Barbola, viniendo para aca, con este declarante y Hernan Gallegos su compañero a dar noticia de lo que avian visto."

27. It seems that Gallegos kept a book, according to the prescriptions of the royal Ordinances, but whether that journal still exists, I do not know. He affirms, *Testimonio*, p 95: "y que este declarante tiene hecho un libro, escrito de su mano, donde hace relacion de todo este viaje que ha hecho; el cual tiene entregado a Su Excelencia que todo lo en el, contenido, es verdad; porque lo fue escribiendo como lo iba viendo y pasando por ello.—" If this "book" were found it might be of considerable importance. It exists, perhaps, still at Seville.

only by two of the eyewitnesses, Bustamante and Barrado. It is not as full as the testimony in the first two interrogatories, but contains details lacking in them. These details concern principally the Pueblos first met on the Rio Grande, the Piros. It also gives a not uninteresting account of how information was secured about the sedentary Indians, while yet south of their ranges, and from roaming tribes. The report contains indications on dates not alluded to by the witnesses in their testimonies. After stating that the departure from Santa Barbara took place on June 5th,<sup>28</sup> (1582) it is told that for thirty-one days they traveled among Indians that were "naked," that is, very poorly clad; "Chichimecs" or wild people, roving, and who had only roots and "tunas" to eat. Thence,<sup>29</sup> for nineteen days not a human soul was seen,<sup>30</sup> at the end of which time they at last met an Indian on the eve of the day of "Our Lady of August" (15th).<sup>31</sup> They inquired (by signs) of that Indian where there might be maize, and he gave them to understand "that at a journey from there, we should find maize in quantity, and it was through showing him two or three grains, and he made signs that (the people) wore a dress of the color of our shirts, and that they had houses, and all this (he gave to understand) by means of signs and tracings in the soil."<sup>32</sup>

28. The "*Relacion breve y verdadera* (p. 150) was copied from the original October 26th, 1583.

29. *Ibidem*, p. 146. The term "Chichimecatl" is used for roving and also for warlike, people. The nomads were always the most dangerous enemies for sedentary aborigines, because of the kind of warfare they waged; a war of ambush and surprise, against which the villagers had difficulty to guard. A successful warrior, was, therefore, in Mexico, often qualified as a "Chichimecatl." On the possible origin of the word many speculations have been published.

30. *Ibidem*, p. 147: "y caminamos diez y nueve dias sin poder ver ninguna gente ni cosa viva."

31. *Ibidem*. "y al fin déllos, fue Nuestro Señor servido, de nos deparar un Indio desnudo, vispera de Nuestra Señora de Agosto."

32. *Ibidem*. "que por sanas, le preguntamos, donde habia mayz, y el nos rrespondio, que una jornada de alli, hallariamos mays en cantidad, y esto fue por dos o tres granos que le enseñamos; y que habia mucho, y nos señaló, que andavan bestidos de la color de nuestras camisas, y que tenian casas, y todo esto por señas y señales que hacia en la tierra."

They found that what that Indian had signified to them was true (except the distance, which Indians mostly under-rate) for, after the Indian had guided them for three days, "on the twenty-first day of the month of August, we discovered a village that contained forty-five houses of two and three stories, and we also discovered big fields of maize, beans and squashes."<sup>33</sup> They entered the village, prepared for resistance in case an attack were made upon them, and the three friars, with crosses in their hands and on their necks, in the middle; but the village had been abandoned. The fright of the Indians is attributed to the fact of the horses being armored. This is possible as when the southern Piros were visited by a party of Coronado's men, the armor of their horses may have been used up by exposure, wear and tear, for nearly two years; repair or replacing having been impossible.

Advancing half a league, they saw five villages on a level where they pitched their camp and where, two days later, a chief came to see them with three Indians. Very friendly relations were soon established and maintained thereafter.<sup>34</sup> It is further narrated that they proceeded up the river for fifty leagues and counted sixty-one villages which they saw and claim to have visited. The aggregate population of these is estimated at 130,000 souls.<sup>35</sup> No other

33. *Ibidem*. "porque a veinte e un dias del mes de Agosto, descubrimos un pueblo que tenia quarenta y cinco casas de dos y tres altos; y asi mismo descubrimos, grandes simenteras de maiz, frisoles y calabaza."

34. *Ibidem*. "y asi entramos en el dicho pueblo, todos nosotros, bien aderezados, apuesto de guerra para si fuese menester aunque della no llevabamos proposito, sino con paz y amor, . . . y en medio de nosotros llevamos tres religiosos con tres cruces en las manos y al cuello; y asi entramos en el dicho pueblo, y no hallamos persona alguna, porque no nos osaron aguardar por no saber que cosa fuesemos por nos haver ir en los caballos armados; y visto esto, nos salimos luego del dicho pueblo y caminamos entre milpas, cerca de media legua; y luego hallamos y descubrimos otros cinco pueblos, y en un raso, asentamos nuestro real. . . . y acabo de dos dias, vino un cacique con tres Indios a reconocer que gente heramos, y por señas nos saludamos los unos a los otros, y se llegaron a nosotros, y les dimos hierro y cascabels y naipes y otros juguetes, y asi los hicimos amigos. . . ."

35. *Idem*, p 148: "caminamos cincuenta leguas el rio arriba donde en él y á los lados, como á una jornada, descubrimos y bimos y paseamos sessenta y un pueblos, . . . muy en buen lugar, . . . y las casas, juntas, con sus plazas y calles, todo por

details of any importance are mentioned and, on the whole, the "Brief report" is rather too brief in comparison of the verbal depositions of the same parties who signed it.

There is, generally speaking, a remarkable agreement between these descriptions and the picture of the pueblos gathered from the chroniclers of Coronado's explorations. This expedition came from the west and, reaching the Rio Grande, then, in excursions by smaller parties, deflected to the south.<sup>36</sup> It is therefore a case of a "rule that works both ways." Ascending along the Rio Grande, the party of Chamuscado met successively the Piros, the Tiguas, and the Queres. Reflecting to the east, they found Pecos and afterwards the plains with the buffaloes. Going west from Puaráy, they saw Zuñi, Coronado's "Cíbola," and heard of the Moquis. They did neither see Ácoma nor, probably, hear of it. After returning to the Rio Grande again, Chamuscado saw the salt marshes and not only discovered but visited the Tigua and Piro pueblos about the salines of the Manzano, which Coronado's forces had not seen and not even heard of; as little as Chamuscado paid attention to the Tanos. Neither did he go north of the Pecos. He avoided as much as possible routes of difficult travel and on which he might have been exposed to dangerous aggression; a very natural precaution, considering the small number of his men and the special object of his enterprise; of safely leading the missionaries into their proposed field of labor and leaving them there, at the same time ascertaining as much

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muy buen orden; tienen gallinas de la tierra, que crían; paració nos á todos, que nos los sesenta y un pueblos que vimos y estuvimos, habria mas de ciento treinta mil ánimas, toda gente vestida:" I note that Hernán Gallegos, the one who kept the journal of the expedition, is not one of the signers of this "*Relación*." In the *Testimonio de la entrada que hizo al Nuevo Mexico Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, etc.*, p. 204, it is stated: "que desde donde salieron que fue el Valle de Sant Gregorio, termino de las minas de Sancta Barbara, hasta ver las vacas, caminaron como cuarenta leguas." "Que en estas cuarenta leguas, hay sesenta pueblos, con seis mil ciento e cuarenta e ocho casas, de dos hasta siete altos, . . ." This statement cannot have been taken from any of the depositions, nor from the "*Relacion*." I suspect, as it is in an official document, that it was taken from the journal kept by Gallegos.

36. Compare Part I.

about the country and people as could be done, without exposing his party to being lost with the information it had gathered, which also would have jeopardized the lives of the friars. Chamuscado was manifestly a cautious as well as a sagacious and energetic leader and it is to be regretted that more is not known concerning him. He strictly obeyed the Ordinances of 1573 and his success shows how wisely the latter had been framed.

In regard to the Pueblo Indians and their customs nothing really new is developed by these explorations except the existence of the pueblos of the salines. But it is noteworthy how peaceably Chamuscado seems to have been received by and in the pueblos in general; with what apparent ease and security he could go to them everywhere, and travel without impediment considerable distances even through settled countries.

It has been shown that, although forty years had elapsed since Coronado carried on war with the Tiguas, details even of that warfare were distinctly remembered by those Indians. And yet the Tigua tribe received Chamuscado with demonstrations of amity! It seemed as if they harbored no resentment against the whites. They certainly understood that their last visitors were countrymen of the first. The Pueblos are not a meek nor a weak people. Even the roving tribes of the plains treated Coronado in a friendly manner, and they did not molest the party of Chamuscado. It may be that the presence of the Franciscans made a strong impression upon the Tiguas, creating misgivings of a religious nature. The Indians may have felt no apprehension at the sight of a few armed men only, who, as they soon understood, did not intend to remain; or, again, remembering the successive appearance of the Spaniards, first in small numbers (Alvarado and Lopez de Cardenas) followed later by more formidable bodies, they may have concluded to expect and wait, to see whether there was a stronger force yet coming. Many are the explanations that

can be imagined. In the absence of any knowledge of Indian traditions, beyond that gathered later on by Espejo and which does not touch the question, it is well to note the conduct of the Pueblos and chiefly of the Tiguas without venturing explanatory and perhaps very misleading suggestions. It is a common error to substitute opinion for fact.

The three friars remained at Puaráy with one Concho Indian baptized Geronimo, two others called respectively Francisco and Andrés, a mestizo, and some Indian boys. The witness mentioned as Hernando Barrado has preserved the names and also the following information, "that, being the deponent in the convent of the said village (of Santa Barbola), about three months ago (previous to October 20th, 1582) he saw, in that pueblo, the said Francisco, one of the Indians who had remained with the said ecclesiastics, and that, surprised by it, he spoke to him and asked how he came to be there, and had returned from the new country in which he left him."<sup>37</sup> The Indian then told him that the Indians of that land of Puaráy had killed Father Francisco López the Guardian, and that he saw him burned, and that when he brought the news to Father Agustín his companion, they became alarmed and, without waiting to see what might succeed, he and the other Indians, Andrés and Gerónimo, left for the country of the Concho by a circuitous route, nearly by the same road by which they had come, and when leaving, they heard great shouting and much noise in the pueblo, from which they believed that they had killed the other ecclesiastics and the Indian boys that remained, being unable to come with them, "and that one of his companions, called Andrés, had been killed by certain Indians in some settlements which they met between the Concho nation and the Tatarabueyes, so that only the Indian Geró-

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37. *Testimonio dado*, p 96: "podrá haber tres meses, poco mas o menos, que vio en el, al dicho Francisco, uno de los indios que se habian quedado, con los dichos religiosos, y maravillándose dello, le hablo y pregunto, como estaba alli y se habia vuelto de la tierra nueva donde le habia dejado."



nimo, whom this deponent had raised, escaped." Gerónimo he afterwards met when on the road to the mines of Zacatecas and he told him the same story the Indian called Francisco had related.<sup>38</sup>

The tragic death of the missionaries is beyond all doubt, although the above is the only narrative known, as yet, due to eyewitnesses of the event. When, in 1598, Juan de Oñate effected the permanent occupation of New Mexico, his forces passed through Puaráy, camping there for several days. The missionaries accompanying were lodged by the Tiguas in one of the buildings of the village which had just been whitewashed inside. It had been done so recently that the whitewash was not yet dry and came off in places. There appeared beneath the superficial coating an Indian daub clearly representing three Franciscan monks that were being killed with clubs, stones, and by blows. In these figures, which the Indians proposed to conceal from the Spaniards by a heavy whitewash, the friars murdered in the

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38. *Testimonio*, p 97: "el cual le dijo, que los indios de aquella tierra de Puaráy, habian muerto a Fray Francisco Lopez, Guardian, y lo habia visto enterrar; y dando la nueva dello a Fray Agustin su compañero, se alborotaron, y sin aguardar a ver otro suceso, el y los otros dos indios, Andres y Geronimo se vinieron a salir por la tierra de concho, haciendo sus rodeos casi por el mismo camino que habian ido, y que cuando salieron, oyeron muchas voces y alborotos en el pueblo por donde creian que habian muerto a los demas religiosos e indios muchachos, que se quedaron, que no pudieron venir con ellos; y que el uno de sus compañeros, llamado Andres, lo habian muerto ciertos Indios que toparon entre los de la nacion a coneho los Tatarabueyos." The "Tatarabueyos" were the Jumanos, so that the Indians by whom Andrés was killed were, either the "Pazaguates" or the "Tobosos." The latter were, afterwards, always mentioned as particularly hostile. As to the burial of Father López, there is subsequent information. In the manuscript of Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones de todas las cosas, &ca* (National Archives of Mexico, 1626, Par. II) it is stated: "El cuerpo del Santo Fr. Juan Lopez estuvo oculto mas de 33 años, al cavo de los quales un Yndio del Pueblo de Puaray, testigo de vista de su muerte y sepultura, lo descubrió al P. Fr. Estevan de Perea, siendo comarcaro de aquellas provincias, y gran ministro entre aquellos naturales, al qual cuerpo, o por mejor decir huesos se llevaron con toda veneracion y respeto los religiosos revestidos. Y a pie hasta colocarlos en la Yglesia do Çandia, una buena legua, &ca." The procession took place in February. Vetancurt, *Cronica*, p. 312, says that in the church of "Zandia" the skull of Father Rodriguez was preserved as a relic: "señalado con el golpe de la macana." While I do not doubt the finding of the remains of one of the martyrs and its solemn translation to Sandia, I do not venture to assert to whom of the two ecclesiastics they belonged, although I incline to the belief that they were those of Father López as Zárate Salmerón affirms.

year 1582 were recognized by their brethren. So states Gaspar Pérez de Villagrán, one of the principal officers of Oñate and a reliable witness.<sup>39</sup> Besides, the results of the explorations of Antonio de Espejo in the year following proved that the missionaries were murdered by the Tiguas in New Mexico.<sup>40</sup>

I purposely refrain from stating that Puaráy was the place where *all three* met with death. On this point there is a discrepancy between the statements of the eyewitnesses of the murders, and other sources. The Indians who were at Puaráy at the time mention *more than one* missionary remaining there after the slaughter of Fray Francisco López. They speak of "the ecclesiastics," not of Father Rodriguez alone.<sup>41</sup> Other sources of a reliable character inform us differently. Antonio de Espejo asserts, first—that at

39. *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, Canto XV, fol. 137.

"Y haziendo jornada en vn buen pueblo,  
 "Que Puarai llamauan sus vezinos,  
 "En el a todos bien nos recibieron,  
 "Y en vnos corredores jaluegados,  
 "Con vn blanco jaluegue recien puesto,  
 "Barridos y regados con limpieça,  
 "Lleuaron a los Padres, y alli juntos,  
 "Fueron muy buen seruidos, y otro dia,  
 "Por auerse el jaluegue ya secado,  
 "Dios que a su santa Iglesia siempre muestra,  
 "Los Santos que por ella padezieron,  
 "Hizo se trasluziesse la pintura,  
 "Mudo Predicador, aqui encubrieron,  
 "Con el blanco barniz, porque no viessen,  
 "La fuerça del martirio que passaron,  
 "Aquellos Santos Padres Religiosos,  
 "Fray Agustin, Fray Juan, y Fray Francisco,  
 "Cuios illustres cuerpos retratados,  
 "Los baruaros tenian tan al vivo,  
 "Que porque vuestra gente no los viesse,  
 "Quisieronlos borrar con aquel blanco,  
 "Cuiã pureza grande luego quiso,  
 "Mostrar con euidencia manifiesta,  
 "Que a puro azote, palo, y piedra fueron,  
 "Los tres Santos varones consumidos."

40. Zárate Salmerón, *Relaciones* (MSS: -par. 8) varies in his account of the death of Father Agustín, but only in the designation of the Tigua village where he was murdered.

41. *Testimonio*, p 97.

Puaráy: "we found the Indians of this province had killed Fray Francisco López and Fray Agustín Ruiz; three youngsters, and a mestizo."<sup>42</sup> Further on he narrates that among the Indians he calls "Maguas" and who (as will be hereafter shown) were the Tanos, "we found they had killed one of the ecclesiastics who came with Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, called Fray Jhoan de Santa Maria . . . whom they killed, before the said Francisco Chamuscado returned to peaceful lands and we made them friendly, not saying anything to them about these murders."<sup>43</sup>

The statement of Espejo bears every mark of truth. It shows that Father Santa Maria had separated from his companions before Chamuscado reached Santa Barbara, and that the Tanos murdered him, though after Chamuscado had left the Pueblo country. While the fact that the Indian witnesses do not mention the fate of that monk (probably the youngest of the three) separately is not surprising of what they *actually saw*, it is a matter of surprise that they do not allude to the *separation* of the young monk from his companions, a fact which they very probably witnessed also. Still, the testimony of Espejo is positive and I cannot refuse to believe that it is correct. Unlike the case of Fray Juan de la Cruz, the testimony is contemporaneous, and the facts were gathered from the Tanos themselves, although probably, in an indirect way. Espejo's narrative has probably been the basis for what, with greater detail, ecclesiastic sources have told of the event and which has greater weight than what the same sources state in the question of Father de la Cruz.<sup>44</sup>

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42. *Relación del Viage*, Doc. de Indias, p. 112: "que es edonde hallamos haber muerto los indios de esta provincia a Fray Francisco Lopez y a Fray Agustín Ruiz."

43. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 114: "y hallamos que aqui habian muerto uno de los religiosos que entraron con Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado, que se llamaba Fray Jhoan de Santa Maria . . . el cual mataron, antes que el dicho Francisco Sanchez Chamuscado saliese a la tierra de paz, y los trujimos de paz, sin tratarles nada destas muertes;"

44. Whereas ecclesiastic sources are certainly of great value, but the silence of eyewitnesses in the case of Father de la Cruz, outweighs (unless further information be obtained from a time nearer to the event than 1587 or, not unlikely, 1583

Unable to go further back in ecclesiastic literature on the subject than the year 1587, I merely allude to Gonzaga as mentioning Father Santa Maria under date of June the ninth.<sup>45</sup> The source from which even Gonzaga might, possibly, have derived his knowledge is, however, Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta.

Mendieta affirms: "Seeing the copious crop that God had placed in their hands and that the Indian infidels showed no disposition to resist the Preaching of the Gospel, and finding themselves alone, they (the three friars) deliberated on the manner in which they might obtain more laborers, by sending word to their superiors. To this end, Fray Juan de Santa Maria offered to go . . . Fr. Juan had a natural inclination for Astrology (Astronomy) and was therefore called, by everybody, the Astrologer. Relying upon his knowledge of the stars, he took a road distinct from the one on which they had come, in order to return. Hardly had he gone three days, when the heathenish Indians killed him in a cruel manner . . . lying down along the path, to rest, the Indians threw a very large block of stone upon his head, that suffocated him" (literally, "that took his life, so that he could not breathe")<sup>46</sup>

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when Mendieta sent to the General of the Franciscan order his material), the statements of writers who wrote 31 or 45 years after the event and none of whom ever were in New Mexico. Hence I leave the matter open, hoping for more material in the future.

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45. *De Origine Seraphicæ Religionis*. (see Vetancurt, *Menologio Franciscano*, p. 185.)

46. *Historia ecclesiastica Indiana*, p 763: "Vista la copiosa mies que el Señor les ponía en las manos, y que en los Indios infieles no hallaban dificultad para resistir a la predicacion evangelica, como se veian solos trataban del modo que tendrian para dar noticia a sus prelados de la gran necesidad que habia de enviar mas obreros. A esto se efrecio Fr. Juan de Santa Maria, mozo dispuesto para todo trabajo, y aparejado en la voluntad. . . Era Fr. Juan naturalmente inclinado y aficionado a saber cosas de astrologia, a cuya causa, comunmente era llamado de todos el Astrologo. Fundado en este conocimiento que tenia de las estrellas, tomo otro camino para volver, diverso del que habian llevado, para ver lo que por alli hallaria de nuevo. Apenas habia andado tres jornadas, cuando lo mataron los indios infieles con un genaro de muerte muy cruel. Y fue, que acostandose a dormir de cansado junto al camino, le echaron una muy grande galga encima de la cabeza, que le quito la vida sin poder respirar."

Torquemada copies almost literally.<sup>47</sup> In 1626 Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, who resided in New Mexico, writes: "and he sallied to the rear of the Sierra of Puarai (now Sierra de Sandia), in order to cross (the country) by the salines, and thence to cut across to the pass of the Rio del Norte . . . but his good intentions he could not realize, for on the third day after he had taken leave of his brethren and companions, while resting beneath a tree, the Tigua Indians of San Pablo, as the village is now called, killed him and burnt his body."<sup>48</sup> Zárate's commentator from the year 1729, the Jesuit Amando Niel, changes the name of the village to San Pedro.<sup>49</sup> Father Niel is a quite unreliable guide in matters concerning New Mexico still, in the present instance, his statement concerning the pueblo near which Father Santa Maria was murdered merits attention. In the rear of the Sandia chain lived the Tanos. The settlements of the Tiguas, apart from the Rio Grande, were about on the edge of the salines, and the best known of them and most northerly was Tajique. I have been unable to find any ancient pueblo in all the clusters around the salines, with the advocacy of Saint Paul. But there stood, at the eastern base of the Sandia mountains and at a distance of about three journeys from the Rio Grande, the village of "Paaco," with a church that once had been dedicated to Saint Peter.<sup>50</sup> I have therefore regarded it as possible that the murder of Fray Juan de Santa Maria took place in that vicinity and by

47. *Monarchia indiana*, vol. II, p 626. Also Vetancurt, *Menologio*, p 185.

48. *Relaciones de todas las Cosas* (MSS. par. 8): "Ofreciose a esta Jornada el P. Fr. Juan de Santa Maria, el qual era grande Astrologo, y demarcando la tierra, hallo por su cuenta como habia camino mas breve, y derecho, y assi salio por detras de la Sierra de Puaráy, para atravesar por los salinas, y de alli cortar derecho al paso del Rio del Norte, 100 leguas mas aca del Nuevo Mexico; mas no llego a colmo su buen intento. Por que al tercero día que se despidio de sus compañeros hermanos, llegando a sestear debajo de un arbol, los Yndios Tiguas del pueblo que ahora se llama S. Pablo lo mataron, y quemaron sus huesos."

49. *Apuntamientos que sobre el terreno hizo el padre Juan Amando Niel de la Compañia de Jesús*, 1729 (MSS: National Archives of Mexico.)

50. See, on the Pueblo ruins east of the Sandia chain, my *Final Report*, pp. 106 to 124.

Tanos, not by Tigua, Indians. At all events, I must regard the attempted return of that priest to New Spain in the course of 1582, and his tragic death in the country of the Tanos (and probably by their hands), as at least highly probable, if not positively certain.

The ecclesiastic sources are more detailed on the death of Father López and of Father Rodríguez. Mendieta narrates: "Fr. Francisco López and Fr. Agustín Rodríguez remained in the pueblo where they had taken up their abode, endeavoring to learn the language of the Indians in order to become able to preach with greater clearness the law of God, while they had, yet, to teach it only by signs and tokens. While occupied in this good work, it happened that there came one day, to the village where they were, enemies of those who gave them hospitality—with the intention of killing them (possibly because they had taken the ecclesiastics into their company and were supporting them.) Father Francisco went out to chide them for the evil they were doing and to persuade them to drop their discords and contentions, . . . The barbarians then turned upon him, and not listening to anything, killed him with arrows . . . Fr. Agustín remained among those infidels with the five Mexican Indians, Christians, whom he had taken with him in order to have their assistance in the teaching and doctrine of the idolaters. Being alone, and unable to stand the sins and abominations publicly performed, he would reprimand them, sometimes gently; sometimes with Christian freedom, regardless of the death suffered by his companions, he would become bitter and threaten with the punishment of God and the eternal torment of hell. Unable to stand this, they did away with him in a few days, and afterwards, with the Christian Indians (also) that nobody might remain to tell the tale."<sup>51</sup> The text of Mendieta is almost literally followed

51. *Historia ecclesiastica*, p. 764: ". . . Entendiendo ellos en esta buena obra, sucedio que vinieron un dia a aquel pueblo donde estaban, ciertos Indios de la comarca enemigos de los de su hospedaje, con mano armada para los matar (por ventura

by other ecclesiastic writers. Torquemada, however, adds: that when Father López met the strange Indians outside of the village he asked them why they came. To this they gave no reply, but looking at each other, said among themselves: "Who is this crier who thus comes out to shout at us what we do not care to hear?" How this could become known is not easy to find out, but it would be truly Indian. Torquemada also asserts that those who killed Father López were of the same "district" as Puaráy, hence Tiguas.<sup>52</sup> The sources whence these details were obtained not being given; I remain in doubt about them.

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porque habian acogido a los religiosos en su compania y los sustentaban.) Salio Fr. Francisco a reprenderlos de lo mal que hacian a persuadirles que se dejasen de discordias y rencores, y tuviesen paz con sus vecinos, pues todos eran unos." He adds that they killed him by arrowshots: "lo flecharon y dieron con el muerto en tierra." If such was the manner of his death then, it is not likely that the skull exhibited at Sandia was the skull of Father López, as Zárate Salmerón states. More of it in a subsequent note.

52. *Monarchia*, vol. II, p. 627: "Mirabanse vnos a otros, y decian: Quien es este Pregonero, que asi nos sale a pregonar lo que no queremos oír? Y bolviendo contra el su ira, no le aguardaron mas raçones, y lo flecharon a vna, todos, y dieron con el muerto en tierra." The talk attributed by Torquemada to these Indians from another village, sounds very natural, for Indians, and I must also call attention to the allusion of hostilities among the Tiguas themselves. But there is another version of the killing of Father López, though of later date, that deserves considerable attention. It is that given by Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón in 1626. *Relaciones de todas las Cosas &ca.* (Par. 8.) He states that, after selecting Puaráy as the place where the missionaries were to reside, all three of them visited the Tanos village of Galisteo and that from there Fray Juan de Santa Maria started on his fatal journey: "entraron a los Yndios Tanos del pueblo de Galisteo los tres religiosos. . ." After the departure of Father Santa Maria, the two other friars returned to Puaráy. "estando el pio Fr. Francisco López rezando, apartado del pueblo poco mas de un tiro de Arcabuz, le mato un indio de dos macanazos que le dio en las Sienes, como se ven las señales en su calavera, y los Yndios de aquel pueblo lo confiesan, por que todavia hay muchos Yndios testigos de su muerte, y ellos descubrieron donde el cuerpo estaba enterrado." Father Zárate appears to have obtained these data from *Indian eyewitnesses* of the murder. He says nothing of hostile natives of another Tigva village. His affirmations have the same importance as ocular testimony. He continues: "El Pe. Fr. Agustin Ruiz lo amotajo, y enterro a nuestro modo dentro del pueblo." We may doubt if the Indians would have permitted such a burial "inside the village." It is further stated: "El capitan del pueblo dio muestras de sentimiento por el muerte del Religioso y por que no sucediese lo mismo con el Religioso Lego que quedaba, se lo llevo consigo al pueblo que se llama Santiago, legua y media el Río arriba . . . . en descuidandose hicieron lo mismo, y mataronle tambien, y echaron su cuerpo en el Río que iba crecida." I have not incorporated this important statement in the text, but call special attention to it. It lacks confirmation, as far as I know at present, but may yet prove true.

If the statement of Fray Zárate Salmerón that the body of Santa Maria was burnt is true, if the informants of Espejo told the truth, it is quite significant. It may and probably would indicate that they considered the priest as a *sorcerer*. It will be remembered, however, that Mota Padilla describes a regular cremation and among the Tiguas.<sup>53</sup> If it was an unusual ceremony and meant that the body of the monk was disposed of like that of an evil shaman, the fact is interesting for the relations between the priests and the aborigines. The priest is looked upon as a "charmer" of some kind, and respected as a direct intermediary between man and "the powers above."<sup>54</sup>

The pueblos, in particular the Rio Grande Tiguas, had for a second time gotten rid of their white guests; of the escort by their voluntary removal, of the priests and their attendants through slaughter. While on the occasion of Coronado's evacuation of New Mexico they probably felt secure from any disturbance of the kind in the future, the sudden reappearance of the Spaniards and the priests opened their eyes to the fact that they were, though distant, neighbors, and might reach their country at their pleasure. It may be, therefore, that aside from other reasons unknown the killing of the missionaries may have been, in part, the result of a hope that forcible removal of beings whom they looked upon as "medicine-men of the whites" would deprive the latter of charms under the protection of which they were able to visit the pueblos again. But if the pueblos entertained such a hope, they were soon to be disappointed.

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53. *Historia de Nueva Galicia*, p 160.

54. It must be remembered that the Tanos had not, so far, had any intercourse with ecclesiastics and besides, that many of the actions of the father may have looked quite suspicious to them, particularly his scanning of the skies, by day as well as by night. It must not be overlooked that he was "astrologer," hence given to star-gazing, which the Indians might have interpreted as sorcery or magic. I could relate more than one experience of the sort, chiefly among the Aymara Indians of Bolivia, where our perfectly harmless and often casual, scanning of the heavens, were interpreted as suspicious performances.



Already, before the news of the murder of the missionaries reached Mexico, a certain uneasiness was felt in regard to their safety. The viceroy himself communicated with Rodrigo del Rio de Losa, lieutenant captain-general of New Galicia, about sending a party "to find out about the friars and to investigate all the country."<sup>55</sup> The reply of that officer was affirmative and accompanied by detailed propositions.<sup>56</sup> Before that reply reached Mexico the news of the slaughter of the friars came in and hesitation was impossible. It is, however, noteworthy that the thought (which would have been only natural) to avenge the murders did not predominate.<sup>57</sup>

Rodrigo de Losa still admits a doubt in regard to the fate of the missionaries and therefore suggests that an expedition be sent of about three hundred men, well armed, and prepared to investigate, return, and report. An impression, however, existed among some, notwithstanding the tales that were beginning to circulate of large settlements of Indians in the newly visited countries, that its population was inconsiderable.<sup>58</sup> While these negotiations were going

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55. Conde de Coruña, *Carta al Rey*, p 96: "y habiendose hayado aqui, a esta sazón, Rodrigo del Rio de Losa, Teniente de Capitan General en la provincia de la Nueva Galicia, hombre platico y de mucha esperiencia de entradas, porque se hallo en la Florida con Don Tristán de Arellano y en la Nueva Vizcaya con Francisco de Ibarra, comunice con el lo que parecia menester, para enviar gente a saber de los Frayles y procurar tomar noticia de toda la tierra, en particular." In the meantime the news of the death of the friars had reached the viceroy.

56. Rodrigo de Rio de Losa, *Parecer (Doc. de Indias*, 15, pp. 137 to 146.)

57. The expressed intention of the viceroy is, to secure the lives of the missionaries and afterwards, when information of their death had been received, to investigate the country. It is also the opinion of Rodrigo de Losa, *Parecer*, p 138: "porque siempre me parece se ha de procurar y estorbar, venir en rompimiento," still he adds: "aunque me parece sera forzoso hacer algun castigo en los que mataron a los rreliгиозos, especialmente en los movedores de este delito, para que sea fiero el castigo hecho en ellos, para que otros no se atrevan a hacer otro tanto; este castigo me parece sera forzoso hacelle," No punishment was, however, given to the Tiguas, although these Indians expected it, as will be seen.

58. *Paracer*, p 139: "Para este efeto que Vuestra Excelencia ha dicho, converná, vayan por lo menos, trescientos hombres de á caballo, bien aderezados y armados;" Francisco Diaz de Vargas, *Expediente sobre el Ofrecimiento que hace &c*, p. 144: "y sea Vuestra Excelencia servidor de advertir, que á mi entender, lo hasta agora descubierto, no debe ser mucha la gente que se ha visto, viven, ni en aquel parage entiendo la debe haber." He founds his belief on the outcome of Coronado's expedition principally.

on, a well-to-do colonist at Mexico intervened suddenly, to facilitate the designs of the authorities.

Antonio de Espejo was a native of the city of Cordova in Spain. He was wealthy, for the time.<sup>59</sup> It appears from his own statements that when it became known that the three missionaries had remained isolated among the Indians at Puaráy, and before the news of their tragic fate had been received, the superiors of the order of Saint Francis already were attempting to find somebody who would go to the assistance of the friars. A Franciscan from the convent at Durango, Fray Bernardino Beltrán, offered himself for the purpose and they desired to furnish him the proper escort.<sup>60</sup> Espejo was then in the province of New Biscay and so: "I offered to accompany the said cleric, spending a part of my means in bearing the expense, and taking along some soldiers, as well for my own protection, as for that of the ecclesiastics whom I was to bring back and defend, provided the royal authorities, in the name of His Majesty, would give or send me the proper license for it."<sup>61</sup> That license was obtained through the "Alcade mayor of the settlements called 'the four Ciénegas,' " in New Biscay, situated seventy leagues east of Santa Barbara, Father Bel-

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59. Espejo was then about fifty years old, as he states, and a native of Cordoba. *Relación del viage*, p. 102. That he was a man of means is shown by the fact that he bore nearly the entire expense of his expedition. (p. 103) "y de gastar parte de mi hacienda en hacerle la costa;" further on he adds: "a los cuales o a la mayor parte socorro con armas caballos, municiones y bastimentos y otras cosas necesarias para tan largo y nuevo viage."

60. *Relación*, p. 102. After mentioning the three friars, as having remained at Puaráy alone, he states: "de lo cual recibí notable pena la orden de San Francisco; teniendo por cierto, que los Indios habían de matar a los dichos religiosos, y a los que con ellos quedaron, y con este temor procuraban y deseaban que hubiese quien entrase en la dicha tierra a sacarlos y favorecerlos. y para este efeto, se ofreció de hacer la jornada otro religioso de la misma orden, llamado Fray Bernardino Beltran, morador del convento de la Villa de Durango, cabecera de la Nueva Vizcaya, con licencia y permiso de su Superior."

61. *Ibidem*: "y como en aquella zason, yo me hallase en aquella Governacion y tuviese noticia del justo y piadoso deseo del dicho religioso y de toda la orden, . . . yo me ofrecí a acompañar al dicho religioso, y de gastar parte de mi hacienda en hacerle la costa."

trán having taken the necessary steps for it.<sup>62</sup> The proposal of Espejo therefore cut short the measures contemplated by the viceroy, relieving, at the same time, the royal exchequer from all outlay. Considering the distance and the requisite formalities, the matter was settled quite promptly, for, already, on the tenth of November of the year 1582 or ten days after the Count of Coruña had written to the king, Espejo set out from Santa Barbara with Father Beltrán and an escort of fourteen soldiers, most of whom Espejo had armed and equipped at his expense. He also took along servants and 115 horses and mules.<sup>63</sup> The viceroy appears not to have been informed, else he would have mentioned it in his already referred to letter to the monarch. Yet, when advised of what Espejo had undertaken, he made no opposition, passing over the affair in silence, as it seems.<sup>64</sup> It may be that owing to the character of the undertaking, promoted by the church and organized in a manner similar to that of Chamuscada and, principally, because it entailed no cost whatever for the crown, the Count of Coruña was satisfied to ratify later on the authorization dispatched by his subordinates, or that he regarded it as an affair which at the time when he wrote to the king had not yet taken a tangible shape. Certain it is that, acting upon the viceroy's letter, the king, under date of March 29th, 1583, directed, "that a decree should be issued to the viceroy of New Spain . . . to capitulate with a party appearing to him convenient . . . to make the journey according to the Ordinances concerning the matter, and without any cost to His Majesty's exchequer, and, the capitulation effected, before anything is done, it shall be remitted to the Council [of the Indies] in

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62. *Idem*, p 103: "y asi habiendo entendido el santo Zelo del dicho religioso y mi intento, el capitan Joan de Ontiveros, Alcalde mayor por su Magestad en los pueblos que llaman las cuatro Cienegas. . . a instancia del dicho Fray Bernardino, dio se mandamiento y comision, para que yo, con algunos soldados entrase la dicha tierra nueva.

63. *Ibidem*: "Y asi, en virtud de dicho mandamiento y comision, junte catorse soldados." He gives the names of all fourteen.

64. *Testimonio dado*, p 99.

order that, having taken cognizance of it, that Council might provide what may be most convenient."<sup>65</sup> Had Espejo been less expeditious and energetic, it might have taken years to consider and years to prepare. Fortunately Espejo had the church as principal promoter of the enterprise.

Two texts of the report made by Espejo after his return bear an official character, and both are of the same date; end of October, 1583. They appear to be duplicates.<sup>66</sup> Hackluyt published a Spanish version of the report (with an English translation) but, thirty years ago, I called attention to the defective character of that publication, and Woodbury Lowery later qualified it as little else than spurious.<sup>67</sup> This qualification I most emphatically support. Nobody can conscientiously quote it in a work of a serious nature. Following therefore the two texts that can be regarded as genuine, it must still be stated that both are tainted, occasionally with misprints of Indian names, but usually one of the copies corrects the other, so that both must constantly be present to the investigator. According to these texts the journey of Espejo presents the following picture.

The march from Santa Barbara to where the first New Mexican pueblos were met (as far as may be gathered from the not always positive statements) consumed fifty-two days. It will be noticed that this agrees fairly well with the number of days given by the companions of Chamuscado for the same trip (they followed, in general, the same

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65. *Ut Supra*, Carta al Rey, p. 100. On the cover is written the following: "Dese con los papeles a un relator.—Dese cedula dirigida al Virroy de Nueva España o a la persona que en su lugar tubiere el Cobierno, para que cerca del descubrimiento contenido en esta carta, y informacion y relaciones que con ella envia, capitule alla con la persona que para ello le paresca que conviene, conforme a las ordenanzas que sobre ello hablan, para que se haga la jornada, sin que en ella se gaste cosa alguna de la hacienda de Su Magestad; y hecha la capitulacion, antes que se haga cosa alguna de lo que por ella capitulare, le envie al Consejo para que vista se provea lo que mas convenga."

66. Both are printed in vol. 15 of the *Documentos ineditos de Indias*.

67. I first called attention to some of the numberless errors in Hackluyt in my *Historical Introduction to Studies among the sedentary Indians of New Mexico*. (see p. 16).

route). I merely mention here the Indian tribes encountered, having to refer to them again. First the Conchos, then the Pazaguates, then the Tobozos (the other copy has "jobosos"), the Jumanos ("Xumarias"), then tribes of which no name is given, part of which lived on the banks of the Rio Grande (then called "Rio del Norte"). Between the last stated clusters and the Jumanos lay a desert which it took fifteen days to cross, which is the same where Chamuscado spent twenty days passing through it.<sup>68</sup> There is a certain agreement between the two sources which can hardly be due to connivance, and speaks in favor of the reliability of both, as well as of the data furnished more than forty years previous by chroniclers and eyewitnesses of Coronado's march.

Reserving the matter of customs of the Pueblos for later consideration, I shall pass the happenings of Espejo's tour rapidly in review. But, be it said here, Espejo was an *Andalusian*. Andalusians have brilliant qualities, among which an extraordinarily vivid imagination is not the least. This is said not in disparagement but as explanatory of some statements in his report.

From what has been developed previously it results that the first cluster of villages found by Espejo on the lower New Mexican Rio Grande pertained to the group of the Piros. It is somewhat curious that that *tribal name* is not mentioned in any known document from the sixteenth century. Espejo saw ten of their villages along the banks, in two days, as well as other ones apart from the river, at a certain distance. After spending four days in marching through the Piros' country, Espejo feels able to guess at a total population of "more than 12,000 souls."<sup>69</sup>

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68. Both Bustamante and Gallegos testify that the desert was "veinte jornadas." *Testimonio*, pp. 83 and 90. *Relación breve*, p. 147, has "diez y nueva días." I do not quote from the text in regard to the rest of the country traversed, until the "desert" was reached; it is too well known, even through the defective version of Hackluyt.

69. The earliest mention of a name that might recall the word "Piros," and that is, perhaps, an error of the copyist, I find in Juan de Oñate, *Copia de Carta escrita al Virroy Conde de Monterrey*, March 2d, 1599. It is in Volume 16 of *Doc. de Indias*,

From these Indians they reached, half a league up the river, a group of sixteen settlements, the inhabitants of which were "Tiguas."<sup>70</sup> Arriving at a pueblo called by one document "Pualas," by the other "Puala," they found that Father Francisco and Father Rodriguez had been killed there by the Indians, and also that a tolerably exact tradition had been preserved of Coronado and the killing of nine of his men and forty horses, as already narrated in Part I.<sup>71</sup> The Indians gave them to understand that the white men had, in consequence of it, destroyed one village.<sup>72</sup> The natives signified that they apprehended the newcomers intended to chastise them for the murder of the missionaries, and therefore most of the people had removed to a mountain range two leagues away and could not be induced to come back.<sup>73</sup>

Such of the Tiguas as still loitered about their homes also gave the Spaniards to understand that there were more pueblos further east and near by; so, after some hesitation due to the attitude of the Tiguas, who seemed to be hostile, Espejo left his main body and the friar at Puaráy, and

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p. 306: "La provincia de los Piguís, que es la Provincia dellas, viniendo desá Nueva España." Espejo says (*Relación*, p. 109): "en dos días hayamos diez pueblos poblados, riveras de esto río, y de una y otra banda junto a él, de mas de otros pueblos que parecían desviados, en que pasando por ellos parecia haber mas de doce mil animas hombres y mugeres y niños."

70. *Idem*, p. 122: "y a media legua del distrito della, hallamos otra que se llama la provincia de los Tiguas, que son diez y seis pueblos." It may be remembered that most of the chroniclers of Coronado assign to "Tiguex" twelve villages, with the exception of Jaramillo, *Relación hecha* (p. 309) who says: "hay por él, en distancia, como veinte leguas, quince pueblos." The *Relación postrera de Sívola* (I copy from the MSS) states: "El que esto dice vió doze pueblos en cierto compás del río; otros vieron más, dicen, el río arriba." In 1630 Benavides, *Memorial* (p. 83) gives to the "Tioas" 15 to 16 pueblos.

71. *Relación*, p. 112. See also Part I.

72. *Ibidem*. "y que por este respeto habia assolado la gente de un pueblo desta provincia; y desto nos dieron razon los naturales destes pueblos, por señas que entendimos." The village which Coronado took and destroyed may therefore, not have been Puaráy.

73. *Idem*, p. 113: "esta gente, entendiendo que ibamos allí, por haber muerto a los frailes y a castigarlos; antes que llegasemos a la provincia, se fueron a una sierra que esta dos leguas del río, y procuramos de traerlos de paz, haciendo para ello muchas diligencias, y no quisieron venir."

went with only two companions in search of those easterly settlements.<sup>74</sup> He found them, in a country which he describes as follows: "Here they neither have nor obtain brooks with running water, or any springs they use . . . and this province confines with the cows that are called of Cibola (the text of Hackluyt has, "the province of Cibola"). He calls the inhabitants "Maguas."<sup>75</sup> The reference to the waterless conditions, the proximity to Puaráy in an easterly direction, and the near neighborhood of the buffaloes, hence of the plains, identify sufficiently the country of the Maguas and that tribe with the tribe and country of the *Tanos*. Espejo attributes to the *Tanos* a population of 40,000 souls, in eleven villages.

They also found out that in this district Fray Juan de Santa Maria had been murdered, as before related. Thence they returned to their camp among the Tiguas, and heard of another cluster, two days away, its people being called "Quires." The name speaks for the identity with the "Quirix" or "Quires" of Coronado's time, and the location confirms it further; "one journey up the river del Norte, six leagues from where we had encamped." The "Quires dwelt in five villages; and it seemed to us there were fifteen thousand souls."<sup>76</sup> The whites were informed of another Pueblo group two days distant to the west, which they also started to see. It proved to be the tribe of Cia (Espejo calls it "Siay") with "five pueblos, the largest of which [Cia] was very large. It is settled on a middle-sized river that comes from the north, emptying into the Rio del Norte re-

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74. *Idem*, p 114.

75. *Ibidem*. The short description is characteristic for the region: "aqui no alcanzan ni tienen arroyos que corren, y fuentes de que se sirvan." "y esta provincia confina con las vacas que llaman de Civola."

76. *Ibidem*.

77. *Idem*, p 115: "Llegado al real, tubimos, noticia de otra provincia que se llama los Quires, el rio del Norte arriba, una jornada, como seis leguas de alli donde teniamos el real." He says the distance separating the Tiguas from the Queres was one league and, "antes que llegasemos a ella, una legua, nos salieron o recibir mucha cantidad de Indios de paz." The distance between the two tribes was indeed greater than one league, as it is today.

ferred to. The inhabitants are credited with the liberal number of twenty thousand."<sup>78</sup> \*

"Having marched a day toward the northwest and about six leagues, we found another province called the Province of the Emages (Emaxes) where there are a large number of people, apparently thirty thousand. One of those settlements was so large that the friar and some of the soldiers feared to go there, owing to the description made of it by the Indians." This village may have been in the well-known Jemez Cañon, or on one of the gigantic mesas overlooking it.<sup>79</sup>

From the Jemez or "Emmes" they proceeded to Ácoma, three days' march, at five leagues each day. While acknowledging that that pueblo was alone and isolated, Espejo allows it 6,000 inhabitants.<sup>80</sup> The description of the remarkable rock agrees well with those from the time of Coronado. Espejo (very naturally) extolls the formidable situation of Ácoma, on the upper surface of a rock, inexpugnable according to the military resources of the time, and he adds: "this people have their fields two leagues from the said village, on a stream of moderate size, where they gather the water to irrigate, as they water crops, with many channels

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78. One of the texts has "Punames," which is correct. (p. 176). It also has "Sia" instead of "Siay" (p. 115),—otherwise both texts agree. The river is the Jemez: "rio mediano que viene del Norte y entra en el dicho rio del Norte referido; y junto a una sierra en esta provincia, a lo que parecia, hay cantidad de gente, mas de veinte mil animas."

79. The *Relación del Viage* (p. 116) has "Emexes"; the *Carta* (p. 179) "Emeges." It is easy to recognize in both words, the Queres word for "Jemez" which is "Haemish," the "x" to be pronounced as "sh". See Part I. About these Espejo says: "Habiendo andado una jornada hacia el Norueste, como seis leguas, hallamos una provincia con siete pueblos que se llama la provincia de los Emeges, donde hay gran cantidad de gente, que al parecer, seran como treinta mil animas; en uno de estos pueblos, porque los naturales significaban era muy grande y estaba en la serrania, el padre Fray Bernardino Beltran y algunos de los soldados, les parecia que era poca fuerza le qua llavabamos para tan gran pueblo; y asi no lo vimos, por no dividirnos en dos partes."

80. *Relación*, p. 116: "Salimos de la provincia dicha, hacia el Poniente, tres jornadas, como quinze leguas, y hallamos un pueblo que se llama Ácoma. donde nos parecia habia mas de seis mil animas."



close to that stream.”<sup>81</sup> The whites understood there was much ore in the mountains of that neighborhood, but did not investigate: “the people there being numerous and warlike. The mountaineers come to the settlements to assist and are called, by the villagers, ‘Querechos.’ They have intercourse and commerce with those of the settlements.”<sup>82</sup>

It was fall when Espejo reached Ácoma, and the so-called “Summer Pueblo” was still occupied. Whether this was on the site of the actual “Acomita” or not cannot be decided, although some of the features alluded to (the little stream, the distance, and the marshy ground) might lead one to believe it.

For the first time the name “Ácoma,” as given in the Queres idiom of the inhabitants, is mentioned in documents. Espejo (or some one of his companions) must have had a good ear for Pueblo words, for more than one term is quite correctly rendered. Such is, for instance, the case with the tribe of Cia. He calls them “Punames” (the other text has “Pumames”) which is the Queres word for the west, in which direction from the Rio Grande Queres Cia is indeed located.<sup>83</sup> Here the Hackluyt text makes the singular blunder of substituting “Cuames.” “Cuame” happens to be also

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81. *Ibidem*: “el cual estaba sentado sobre una peña alta, que tiene mas de cinquenta estados en alto, y en la propia peña, tiene hecha una escalera por donde suben y baxan al pueblo, que es cosa muy fuerte, y tienen cisternas de agua, arriba,” (p. 117) “esta gente tiene sus sementeras, dos leguas del dicho pueblo, en un rio mediano, donde atajan el agua para regar como riegan las sementeras, con muchos repartimientos de agua junto a este rio, en una cienega; cerca de las dichas sementeras hallamos muchos rrosales de Castilla con rosas, y tambien hallamos cevollas de Castilla, que se crian en la tierra, sin sembrallas ni beneficiallas.”

82. *Ibidem*: “por ser la gente de alli mucha y belicosa; los serranos acuden a servir a los de las poblaciones, y llaman a estos, querechos; tratan y contratan con los de las poblaciones, llevandoles sal y caza, venados, conejos y liebres, y gamuzas aderezadas, y otros generos de cosas, a trueque de mantas, de algodón y otras cosas. . .” This is, so far, the first notice I have found, in early documents, of the Navajos! This powerful tribe, related to the Apaches, occupied the regions north and northwest of Ácoma, and it is noteworthy that the Queres of Ácoma called them by the same name as given to the Apaches of the plains at the time of Coronado.

83. *Idem*, p. 115 and 178. See Note 78. “Puname” is the West in the Queres language; at least, on the Rio Grande, where Espejo heard it.

a correct Queres term, but it means the south.<sup>84</sup> Happily for historic truth, those who have attempted to write on the pueblos have had no knowledge of the Queres language, so that the error that might result from that of Hackluyt's scribe has not been seriously propagated.

From Ácoma the explorers went, twenty-four leagues traveled in four days, to a cluster of six villages called, in one of the genuine texts, "*Zuñy, and by another name Cibola;*"<sup>85</sup> the other has "Amei."<sup>86</sup> "Where they learned that Francisco Vazquez Coronado and his captains had been, and that, from there, Don Pedro de Tobar, hearing of a great lagune where the natives said were many settlements and gold, and that they wore clothes, attempted to reach it,"<sup>87</sup> that lagoon was said to be "sixty journeys" from Zuñi. At one of the Zuñi villages they "found out that Francisco Vazquez Coronado had been there with some of his captains and in this province we found, close to the pueblos, crosses, and here we met three Christian Indians that had themselves called Andrés of Cuyuocan and Gaspar of Mexico [and] Anton of Guadalaxara, who said they had come with the said Governor Francisco Vazquez Coronado and, improving their practice in the Mexican language which they had almost forgotten, we learned that the said Francisco Vazquez Coronado and his captains had arrived there, and that from here Don Pedro de Tobar had gone inland. . ." This state-

84. "Cuame" is the South, "Tityame" the North, and "Haname" the East, in Queres. By designating the Cia group with the word "Puname," the Rio Grande Queres indeed pointed out the exact direction in which Cia lies from the main river whereas, by using Cuame, they would have pointed to the Tiguas, from which tribe Espejo reached the Queres.

85. *Carta*, p 180: "que son seis pueblos, que la provincia llaman Zuñi, y por otro nombre Cibola." The *Relación* (p. 117) has "Ame." Hackluyt committed the error of corrupting this text in the following manner: "y la llamaban los Españoles Cibola." (*The third and last Volume of the Voyage &ca.*, pp. 457 to 464).

86. The word "Amei" recalls the "Cami" of Chamuscado.

87. *Relación*, p 117: "donde supimos, haber estado Francisco Vazquez Coronado y algunos capitanes de los que llevó consigo; y en esta provincia, hallamos puestas junto á los pueblos, cruces, . . . (p. 118) y que habia entrado allí Don Pedro de Tobar, teniendo noticia de una laguna grande, de donde decian estos naturales hay muchas poblaciones; y nos dijeron habia en aquella tierra, oro, y que era gente vestida. . . . y que la gente del dicho Coronado habia ido dose jornadas adelante destat provincia, y que de allí se habian vuelto, por no haber hallado agua, y se les habia acabado el

ment is positive, since Espejo asserts to have conversed with the said three Mexican Indians.<sup>88</sup>

Espejo was tempted to go in search of the great lagoon, but Father Beltrán and some of the men demurred, declaring their intention to return to New Biscay. This took place at a pueblo Espejo calls "Aquico," which is the "Hauicu" of today; in ruins since about 1680. Espejo was left with only six men and some servants.<sup>89</sup> The population of the Zuñi cluster he estimates at more than 20,000.<sup>90</sup>

Nothing daunted by the secession of nearly half of his men and of the friar, Espejo, having been told of a group of five villages "four journeys of seven leagues each" distant and called "Mohoce," he started to visit these also.<sup>91</sup> "Mohoce" or, properly "Mootza," is the name given to the Hopi or Moqui by the Queres Indians of the Rio Grande. One hundred and fifty Indians from Zuñi and the three from Mexico accompanied him.<sup>92</sup> They reached a pueblo called "Aguato," which clearly is the "Aguátobi" of later Spanish sources, and the "Awatchi" of American writers; although it may not stand on the same site, exactly, as at the time of

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agua que llavaban." The information given to Espejo by the Zuñis concerning the two excursions which Coronado had made to the west was quite correct. The first was commanded by Tobar and resulted in the visit to the Moquis, the other by Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and went as far as the great Cañon of the Colorado river. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, Part I, cap. XI, pp. 428 to 430. The latter suffered from lack of water: "y como andubiesen otras quatro jornadas las guias dixeran que no era posible pasar adelante porque no auia agua en tres ni en quatro jornadas. . . ."

88. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 118: "hallamos puestas junto a los pueblos, cruces, y aqui allamos tres Indios cristianos, que se dijeron llamar Andres de Cuyuocan y Gaspar de Mexico Anton de Guadalaxara, que dijeron haber entrado con el dicho Gobernador Francisco Vazquez Coronado, y reformandoles en la lengua Mexicana que ya casi la tenian olvidada, destos supimos que habia llegado alli el dicho Gobernador Francisco Vazquez Coronado y sus capitanes."

89. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 118: "dixeron que se querian volver a la Nueva Vizcaya, a donde habiamos salido, porque habian hayado, que Francisco Vazquez Coronado, no habia hallado oro ni plata, y se habia vuelto."

90. *Idem*, p. 117: "en la cual hay mucha cantidad de Indios, que parecia habia mas de veinte mil indios."

91. *Idem*, p. 119.

92. *Ibidem*: "fuimos a la dicha provincia de Mohoce, y llevamos ciento e cinquenta Indios de la provincia de donde salimos; e los dichos tres Indios, Mexicanos."

Espejo.<sup>93</sup> As everywhere else (at Puaráy excepted), the whites were treated in the most hospitable manner. Having heard (or rather, having understood through signs, though not clearly) about a big river very far off, the banks of which were densely populated, and seeing no possibility of going so far, Espejo turned back to the Zuñis.<sup>94</sup> It must be stated that there is a confusion in the statement of Espejo about the number of men who left and of those who remained with him. Six are said to have deserted him at Hauiku (besides the monk).<sup>95</sup> At the Hopi villages he despatched five back to Zuñi and proceeded with four "directly to the west forty-five leagues,"<sup>96</sup> to look for some mines (ore deposits) which he found to be very rich and contained much silver. While he gives the names of six soldiers remaining with Father Beltrán at Hauicú, he enumerates nine going with him to Moqui. At the starting of his expedition he gives the names of fourteen soldiers, in conformity with the number he indicates; at Hauicú the names of six, and of nine who accompanied him.<sup>97</sup> In general, Espejo is not very scrupulous with numbers except when indicating the leagues daily traveled. The population of the Hopi villages is given, for instance, at 50,000.<sup>98</sup>

On returning to Hauikú, he found Father Beltrán still there with the men. The Zuñis had treated them well.<sup>99</sup>

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93. *Ibidem*, p. 122.

94. *Ibidem*. Espejo still made a trip to the west "cuarenta y cinco leguas," in search of ore. The Moquis gave him to understand: "por señas, que detras de aquellas serranias, que no pudimos entender bien, que tanto ostaria de allí, corria un rio muy grande, que segun las señas que daban, era de ancho, de mas de ocho leguas, y que corria hacia la mar del Norte;" Without, of course, venturing to speculate upon the question, what river may have been meant or (taking into consideration the great extent attributed to it) whether it was perhaps an allusion to the great Salt Lake, I point out the fact that the Moquis appear to have had some knowledge of the regions north of their own range. How they obtained it is, of course, not stated.

95. *Idem*, p. 118. Besides, there was a woman, the wife of one of the soldiers.

96. *Idem*, p. 120.

97. Pp. 118 and 119.

98. P. 119.

99. P. 122: "a todos los cuales, los indios de aquella provincia, habian dado lo que para su sustento habian menester."

The year of 1583 had already commenced. So the friar left with his people, and Espejo with "eight companions" soon followed as far as the Queres, whence he intended to proceed farther north, along the Rio Grande.<sup>100</sup> He crossed the river to the east and after "two journeys of six leagues each" met five pueblos belonging to the "Ubates," to which he assigns the generous number of 20,000 souls.<sup>101</sup> The Ubates were the northern Tano and perhaps some of the villages of the southern Tehuas, as the distance indicated might lead one to infer.<sup>102</sup> The country around Santa Fe and possibly as far north as Tesuque and Cuyamunge may be included, as the Spaniards could not discriminate between the Tano dialect of the Tewa language and the Tewa proper. This surmise may find some support in the other statement of Espejo: "hearing that, a day's journey from the said province, there was another, we went thither, and there were three very large villages that appeared to us to contain more than forty thousand inhabitants. It is called the province of the Tamos. There they would not give us anything to eat or admit us;"<sup>103</sup> therefore, and "because some

100. *Ibidem*: "yo con ocho soldados, volvi con determinacion de ir corriendo el rio del Norte arriba, por donde habiamos entrado;" this indicates that he returned by the same route he went "y despues de haber andado diez jornadas, como sesenta leguas, a la provincia de los Quieres."

101. *Ibidem*: "alli caminamos hacia Oriente, dos jornadas de a seis leguas, donde hallamos una provincia de Indios que se llama Ubates, con cinco pueblos. . . . la gente destes pueblos es cantidad, y nos parecia habria como veinte mil animas."

102. East of the Rio Grande Queres were the Tanos, from east of San Felipe to east of Cochitl. It is doubtful if Espejo crossed the river as far north as the latter village, for he would have met Tanos villages (at least two of them, "Tzenata" or the "Bajada," and "Tziguma" or the "Cienega") much nearer than two days' travel. The Tanos are the only Pueblo stock whose location corresponds to Espejo's description. From the place where Santa Fe now stands Cuya-mung-ge and Tezuque could easily be reached.

103. P. 123: "Teniendo noticia que a una jornada de la dicha provincia, habia otra, fuimos a ella, que con tres pueblos muy grandes que nos parecia tendrian mas de cuarenta mil animas, que se llama la provincia de los Tamos; aqui no nos quisieron dar de comer ni admitirnos." It is likely that "Tamos" is a misunderstanding for "Tanos." Of the three pueblos alluded to, only one, that of "Tshiquite" or Pecos" is distinctly identified; as the name given to it, "Cicuique," indicates. Whether the other two were of the few that are claimed by the Pecos as having been settlements of their people, or whether they were Tanos villages included through defective understanding, I do not attempt to decide. It seems certain, however, that at Coronado's

of my companions were sick, and the people numerous," he determined to turn back to New Biscay, taking with him as a guide an Indian from the last named tribe.<sup>104</sup> Half a league from one of the pueblos which he calls Ciquique they struck a stream which they named "Rio de las Vacas" because they met "a great number" of buffaloes along its course.<sup>105</sup>

The mention of Ciquique points to Pecos without a doubt. It is interesting to note that that word which, as I have stated before, (in Part I) is the name for Pecos in the language of its tribe, was given to Espejo on the tribal range proper, which range, however, he ascribes to the "Tamos." The latter were manifestly the "Tanos," for the Pecos at that time occupied only one large village, the one called "Tshiquite" or "Tshiquique"—see Part I. It is not impossible that the Spaniards, coming from the Tano region and hearing that name from its inhabitants (the Tanos were, at my time, by no means reticent about their own tribal name), applied it to the Pecos village also, as that pueblo was the last one visited by them.<sup>106</sup>

It was now the beginning of the month of July, 1583, and the homeward march was executed as swiftly as feasible. They manifestly followed the Pecos river, and, at the

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time the Pecos Indians occupied but one village. See, on the Pecos region, my *Final Report* (II, Part III.) From the Pecos I obtained the names of three ruined pueblos in their former range: "Tshiquite" or the undoubtedly historic one, "Kuang-uala" near the railroad station of Rowe, and "Se-yu-pa" at "Fulton." As well as the ruin called by the same Indians "Pom-o Jo-ua" at San Antonio, they are claimed by the Pecos, but I could not ascertain if they had been occupied in the sixteenth century.

104. P. 123.

105. "y media legua de un pueblo de la dicha provincia, llamado Ciquique, hallamos un rio al cual nombramos de las Vacas; respeto que caminando por el, seis jornadas, como treinta leguas, hallamos gran cantidad de vacas de aquella tierra." Hence he followed the Pecos down its course, but did not notice any villages below the large one of Pecos proper. This may be significant.

106. My information about the real name of Pecos was obtained at Jemez, but from one of the survivors of the Pecos tribe, an aged man who had, when already of age, dwelt at the old pueblo. The confirmation of the information as well by the chroniclers of Coronado as now by Espejo, is not without its value.

end of a stretch of 120 leagues, met three Jumanos Indians that were hunting. From these they ascertained that they were twelve days' march from the Concho river (forty leagues). Crossing over to that stream they met, about "the many brooks and swamps there, a greater number of Jumanos who fed them with fishes of many kind."<sup>107</sup> Their journey finally ended at Santa Barbara, where Father Beltrán had turned up "many days previous" with his escort and where Espejo himself arrived September 20th, 1583.<sup>108</sup>

From this sketch of the parts and places which Antonio de Espejo visited, it appears that the distribution and location of the Pueblos was the same in 1582 and 1583 as it had been in 1540 and 1542, and also in 1581. It fully confirms the identification of the Pueblo stocks as accepted some time ago, and shows that on these points Espejo was reliable and his statements are trustworthy. As already indicated, however, he is not so reliable on numbers. His estimates of the population of pueblos are enormous exaggerations. The resources of the country (in view of the primitive means for land-tilling to which the sedentary mode of life of the inhabitants was confined) would, alone, preclude the possibility of such a large population. The appearance and size of the ruins disprove it. Espejo was, on that subject, a resolute opponent of the truth. It may be that his exaggera-

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107. *Ibidem*: "y porque algunos de mis compañeros estaban enfermos, y que la gente era mucha, y no nos podíamos sustentar, determinamos de ir saliendo; y á principio de Julio de ochenta y tres años, tomamos un indio de este dicho pueblo para guia por otro camino del que habíamos llevado cuando fuimos entrando . . . y caminando por dicho rio, ciento y veinte leguas hacia la parte del Oriente, al cabo de las cuales hallamos tres Indios que andaban á caza; heran de nacion jumana, de las cuales, por lengua de los intérpretes que traíamos, supimos que estábamos doze jornadas del rio de Conchas . . . y atravesamos al dicho rio de Conchas, con muchos aguages de arroyos y cienegas que por allí habia, adonde hallamos muchos Indios cumanos de nacion, y nos trayan mucho pescado de muchas maneras." It is clear that the river "de las Vacas" was the Pecos as its proximity to the old Pecos pueblo proves, hence they followed that stream to near the Rio Grande, thence crossing over to the Jumanos they had already met in coming. The *Relación* has "cumanos," the *Carta* "Jumanos."

108. P. 126: "Habiendo llegado al Valle de San Bartolome, ques de la dicha jurisdiccion [of Santa Barbara], a veinte de Setiembre de dicho año [of 1583]." About Father Beltran, see p. 124.

tions were partly intentional, for in a document written by him (of the year 1584) he states that he had twenty parties whom he induced to join him in an enterprise for colonizing the country; hence a commercial and industrial enterprise, for which he had to work up an enthusiasm, which the results of Coronado's expedition had failed to excite.<sup>109</sup> But there may also be another explanation. An Indian pueblo always seems larger, at first sight, than it really is. Besides, as often as the whites came to a pueblo, not only its inhabitants but neighbors (for the coming of a strange people became known always beforehand) gathered, out of curiosity as well as from mistrust, and in case several villages lay within a short distance of each other the same people that had flocked to the first congregated to others to see the foreigners again and, possibly also, to be on hand in case of a conflict. This is suggested as a merely possible explanation. But in the case of Ácoma, which was completely isolated and a long distance from any other village, this explanation would not hold out, so that the suspicion lies near that Espejo, partly from exuberance of temperament, partly from calculation, exaggerated greatly the numbers of the people.<sup>110</sup>

It is strange, however, that while Espejo is so decidedly *unreliable* in regard to the numbers of the population he is not only detailed, but also *quite reliable*, in matters of *customs*. He was a rapid but certainly very close observer, or else he must have profited not only by his personal observations but by those of his companions. There is no indication that he obeyed the Ordinances of 1573 by keeping a

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109. *Expediente y relacion del viaje que hizo Antonio de Espejo con catorce soldados &c.* (*Doc. de Indias*, vol. 15, p. 161.) "Esta jornada no se puede dar á persona que por sí solo tenga caudal para la hacer; y ansi le conviene ayudarse de otro; y este favor es posible, ninguno le tiene tan bien como yo; pues en este negocio, somos más de veinte compañeros, que algunos de ellos tienen á seis mil pesos de renta, y treinta y cuarenta mil pesos de hacienda." Espejo appears to have had almost modern ideas of "promoting."

110. I have already suggested this explanation elsewhere. At all events it could account but partly for Espejo's "enhancements" of the truth.



Journal. His report seems to fill that vacancy, and to have been accepted as a satisfactory substitute for the Diary officially asked for. Espejo remained longer in New Mexico than Chamuscado, considerably longer, but not so long as Coronado; but the information he conveys on the Pueblos is almost as detailed as that preserved by the chroniclers of Coronado collectively (as far as we know them), and it agrees remarkably well with it. It can be said that the picture presented by the sources on the three expeditions that took place between the years of 1540 and 1584 of Pueblo life and customs is in very close agreement, as far as the locations of the tribes also.

It is not necessary to dwell on the repeated assertions of Espejo that the dwellings of the Pueblo Indians were many storied. The picture furnished by him of the *Piros*, of the cluster first met, may be regarded as typical of the rest of the New Mexican sedentary Indians.<sup>111</sup> I shall dwell upon it, not only for that reason, but also because it is the only *somewhat complete* picture of that tribe which, as is well known, is no longer on New Mexican soil.

First, it must be noted that the (of course greatly exaggerated) numbers of the *Piros* still are significant, in that, with the exception of the single village of Ácoma, they appear as the least populous Pueblo cluster. I have no means of determining whether this has any sure foundations or whether it is the result of too hasty and therefore fragmentary observation.<sup>112</sup> I shall not dwell, either, on the enumeration of the food materials, vegetable as well as animal. The same nutritive plants, cultivated, appear in connection with every tribe. Cotton is not mentioned among all the pueblos as growing there, although mantles of that material are always alluded to as an article of dress. It may not be amiss

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111. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 110: "tienen casas de dos y tres, y cuatro altos, y con muchos aposentos en cada casa." (p. 112) "dieronnos aqui noticia de otra provincia que esta en el propio rio arriba por la propia orden."

112. *Ibidem*: "en que pasando por ellos parecia haber mas de doce mil animas hombres y mugeres y niños."

to observe that the Indians among which the growing of cotton is *not* mentioned are: the Queres, Tanos, Jemez, Ácoma, Zuñi, and the Moquis, whereas cotton fabrics were, it seemed, found in all of them. The number of such fabrics is always greatly exaggerated; if we compare it with the more sober descriptions of Castañeda, Jaramillo and others.<sup>113</sup> After describing the reception made to him by the Piros, Espejo tells, "they gave us a quantity of fowl of the land, and maize, beans and cakes [tortillas] and another kind of bread they make with more care than the Mexican people, they grind on big stones crushing the grains raw; five or six women grind in one mill and of that flour they make many kinds of bread. . . There are many rooms in one house and in many of their houses they have their ovens for winter-time, and in the squares, in each one of them, they have two Estufas, that are underground houses, very well protected and with seats to sit upon. At the door of each Estufa they have a ladder to go down and great quantities of firewood of the community, so that strangers may gather there."<sup>114</sup> For the first time "ovens" or chimneys in the houses are alluded to. A comparison of the manner of grinding maize as described by Castañeda and Mota Padilla with the above is not useless.<sup>115</sup>

In regard to the costumes of the Piros, Espejo is more explicit than Castañeda and Mota Padilla, although in ac-

113. So he states that the Moquis brought to him "mas de cuatro mil mantas de algodon pintadas y blancas, y paños de manos con sus borlas á los cabos" (p. 183).

114. *Ibidem*: "muelen en piedras muy crecidas y muelen mayz crudo, cinco o seis mugeras juntas, en un molino, y desta harina, hacen muchas diferencias de pan; . . . . y en muchas casas dellas, tienen sus estufas para en tiempo de invierno; y en las plazas de los pueblos, en cada una dellas, tienen dos estufas, que son unas casas hechas debajo de la tierra, muy abrigadas y cerradas de poyos dentro dellas para sentarse; y asi mesmo, tienen á la puerta de cada estufa, una escalera para abajar, y gran cantidad de leña de comunidad para que alli se recojan los forasteros." I suspect that it would be more proper to translate the term "estufa" as used in connection with the interior of the dwellings by "hearths." I have no knowledge of chimneys having been found in any ruined pueblo. In regard to the subterraneous Estufa we learn here, for the first time, that strangers (of course men only) were quartered in them.

115. Compare: *Cibola*, p. 452; *Historia de la Nueva Galicia*, p. 159.

cord with both as far as their descriptions reach: "in this province some of the natives dress in cotton and cow-skins and in tanned deer-hides. The mantles they wear after the fashion of the Mexicans except that [follows a description of the breechclout], and some wear shirts and the women skirts of cotton, many of them embroidered with colored threads, and over it a mantle like that of the Mexican Indians, tied by a handkerchief like unto an embroidered napkin, which they tie to the waist by the fringes. The skirts serve as shirts on the skin, all men and women wear shoes and boots, the soles are of cowhide and the upper of tanned deerskin. The women keep the hair well combed and arrange it in folds, one on each side, with the hair curiously placed [wound] around it, without anything on the head. Each village has its caciques [chiefs;] according to the [number of] people in the pueblo, so the chiefs, and these in turn have their criers that are like constables, and carry out in the villages what the chiefs ordain. When the Spaniards asked the chiefs for anything these call the criers, who proclaim it through the village in loud voices, and forthwith the things are brought quickly. The painting of the houses and whatever they use for dancing, their music and the rest, they have like the Mexicans. They drink *pinole*, which is toasted maize diluted in water, and no intoxicating beverage is known to them. In every one of these pueblos they have a house whither they carry food to the demon, and they have idols of stone, small ones, which they worship. Just as the Spaniards have crosses on the highways so they have, from one village to the other in the middle of the path, little heaps like shrines, made of stones, where they place painted sticks and feathers saying: here the demon comes to be powerful and speak to them. They have fields of maize, beans, squashes, and piciete in great quantity, with irrigation and without, good water channels which they work as the Mexicans do. In every field they have an arbor on four pillars whither they carry the eating

at noon and where they rest, because commonly they are in the fields from morning till night as in Spain; in this province there are many pine forests and many salines; on each side of the river, for a distance of a league and a half on both banks, there is good sandy soil, proper for raising maize. Their weapons are bows and arrows, clubs and shields. The arrows are of hard wood, tipped with flint, that easily go through a coat of mail. The shields are like targets, made of cowhide; the clubs are of wood, half an ell long, are very big at one end. With these they defend themselves when inside of their houses. We did not understand they had war with any province; they are quiet and keep their bounds. Here we ascertained from them there was another province farther up the same river and after the same order."<sup>116</sup>

As stated above, this description is by far the most detailed yet known of the most southerly group of the Rio Grande pueblos; in fact, it is the only one and therefore of much importance. The closing remark that the pueblo group higher up was "of the same order" indicates that the picture presented of the customs of the Piros is to be considered as typical, in a general way, of the Tiguas, who were their immediate northern neighbors. And from the chroniclers and eyewitnesses of anterior [expeditions we have seen that the], customs of all the Pueblos were alike in the main, so that the descriptions of the Piros by Espejo applies to all the Rio Grande groups, local variations, hereafter to be mentioned, excepted. Espejo adds considerable to the information obtained from his predecessors. We learn through him, for instance, that pepper ("chile") was raised in New Mexico, at least in the southern Rio Grande district. We find the first (superficial) mention of dances and, what no other witness had stated and some even have denied

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116. Owing to the length of this quotation I refrain from giving the original text. It will be found in Espejo on pp. 110, 111 and 112, *Relación del Viage*; and pp. 173, 174 and 175 of *Carta (Doc. de Indias, vol. 15.)*

(although it is true today),<sup>117</sup> the existence and cult of stone fetiches. The summer "ranchos" in the fields are described for the first time, and the small shrines outside of the villages which today still exist in a few places and are secretly in use. The description of offensive and defensive weapons is the fullest known from the sixteenth century. The other details only corroborate what had previously been noticed by explorers and thus tend to establish the reliability of Espejo's general picture as well as our confidence in anterior reports on the subject. There is, of course and for the reasons I have indicated, a tendency to exuberance.

It should not be lost sight of, also, that Espejo mentions the Piros as being at peace towards the outside. Absolute reliance cannot be placed on this statement, owing to the short time of his stay among that tribe; still it cannot be overlooked that from the narratives of Espejo's predeces-

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117. It may be remembered (Part I) that Castañeda, for instance, declares that no idols were noticed among the Pueblos. This *might* be due to the fact that the Indians concealed such ceremonial objects on the coming of the strangers. But why, then, allow Espejo to see them? As to the shrines, these could not be concealed and I saw several of them that were in use 30 years ago. The Tehua Indians acknowledged their existence to me, calling them "Tapu." In the year 1681, one year after the general (and temporarily successful) Pueblo insurrection, Don Antonio de Otermín, governor of New Mexico, while on an inroad to the pueblos from Paso del Norte, and having established his camp on the Rio Grande in sight of the three (Tigua) villages of "Alameda, Puaráy, y Zandía," October 18th, 1681, took depositions from various Indians concerning the past uprising and what the Indians were doing since, while independent. One of the witnesses states: (*Interrogatorios y Declaraciones de varios Indios* National Archives of Mexico, MSS. "Historia" vol: 26. fol. 130) "y pusieron por sus Iglesias a los quatro vientos, y en medio de la plaza unos cercadillos de piedra amontonada, donde ivan a ofrecer arina, plumas, y la semilla del meague, del maiz, tabaco, y otras supersticiones, dando a entender a los niños, que aquello habian de hacer todos en adelante, . ." Two Queres Indians from San Felipe deposed (December 20th) "que pusieron en el pueblo, y sus alrededores montones de piedras, para que alli ofreciesen maiz quadrado, y otras semillas, y cigarros, diciendo que su Dios de ellos eran las piedras." At fol: 139 it is distinctly stated that the Indians regarded the rites as ancient: "Que con eso vivirian contentos, alegres a sus anchuras, viviendo en su antigüedad, y esto responden." It is proper to quote here Espejo, *Relación*, p 111: "tienen en cada una destes pueblos, una casa donde llevan de comer al demonio; y tienen ídolos de piedra, pequeños, donde idolatran; y como los españoles tienen cruces en los caminos, ellos tienen en medio de un pueblo á otro, en medio del camino, unos cuecillos, á manera de humilladero, hecho de piedras, donde ponen palos pintados y plumas, diciendo, va allí ha de poxar el domonio y á hablar con ellos." The revival of these customs in 1680 is not devoid of interest and fully confirms what Espejo relates about them.

sors as well as from his own we gather that the Rio Grande Piros had no immediate neighbors on the south and were separated from the nomads of the eastern plains by forbidding mountains,<sup>118</sup> while in the west the country was not favorable, either, to approach inhabitable regions lying some distance away. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Apaches roamed about the sources of the Gila river, and it is not impossible that they were there at Espejo's time.<sup>119</sup> Still, had they been as harassing for the southern Pueblos as they became subsequently, the Piros would have made an effort to inform Espejo of it, or traces of depredations might have been noticed by so careful an explorer as he proves to have been.<sup>120</sup> As to the Tiguas in the north of the Piro range, they were such close neighbors that relations with them were manifestly friendly. Only half a day's journey separated the outermost villages of both tribes. Had there been hostilities (other than the inevitable bickerings between otherwise friendly neighbors) both stocks would have shrunk from such close contact.

Espejo has nothing to say concerning the customs of the Tiguas beyond the fact of their identity, or at least their great similarity with those of the Piros. He had but little contact with the former tribe, those of Puaráy (and possibly most of the others also) having fled on the approach of his little band.

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118. The mountains on the east of the Rio Grande are in places without surfacial water. Opposite the most southerly villages of the Piros, towards the Jornada del Muerto, it was very difficult to travel eastward before introduction of the horse.

119. Benevides, *Memorial*, p. 52: "y comenzando por el principio della, quando vamos al nuevo Mexico, que es la provincia de los Apaches del Perillo, . . . Es nacion tan belicosa toda ella, que ha sido el crisol del esfuerso de los Españoles." This was in 1630. In 1598 Oñate traversed the "Jornada" from south to north without noticing a human being or any sign of Indians. On May 24th, three of his people strayed from the camp and were lost for several days. Finally they found their way to the Rio Grande. They did not report any traces of Indians. This was in the Jornada, near the Perrillo. *Discurso de las Jornadas que hizo el Campo de Su Magestad desde la Nueva España a la Provincia de la Nueva Mexico (Doc. de Indias, Vol. 16, p. 248.)*

120. Benavides, *Memorial*, p. 55, mentions the Apaches of Gila ("Xila").

About the "Magues" or "Tanos" he merely notices the great number of buffalo hides used for clothing, besides cotton mantles. This is explained by the remark; "that province confines with the cows called of Cibola,"<sup>121</sup> a passage badly distorted in the version of Hackluyt.

Of the Quires (Queres) he says: "their sustenance (mode of living) and dress are as in the province afore-described; they are idolaters." He there saw a magpie in a cage, and "sunflowers" of various colors. This passage is not clear. He uses the term "girasol" which means "sunflower."<sup>122</sup> However he adds: "like those of China, painted with the sun, moon, and stars." One of the versions has "tirasoles" that is, an open gallery, terrace, or flat roof. Among the "Punames" or at Cia, which he next visited, he saw houses "painted in colors after Mexican fashion," and although he repeats that the dress and customs were like the rest of the pueblos.<sup>124</sup> Among the Jemez he again noticed "idols."<sup>125</sup> At Ácoma, the people held a solemn dance, "coming out in finery and performing many tricks of slight of hand [he uses the term "games"], and some of them, ingen-

121. "esta provincia confina con los llanos de Cibola." Espejo, *Relación*, p. 114: "y esta provincia confina con las vacas que llaman de Civola, y andan vestidos de los cueros de dichas vacas, y de mantas de algodón y gamuzas, y gobiernanse como los de las provincias dichas de atras; tienen idolos en que adoran como los demas dichos referidos."

122. *Relación*, p. 115: "y hallamos tirasoles como de la China, pintados con el sol y la luna y las estrallas;" the *Carta*, p. 178, has "girasol" which is difficult to conciliate with the remainder of the text.

124. *Relación*, p. 178.

125. *Ibidem*: "tienen idolos" (See note 117). I have already referred to testimony later than Espejo's time which proves that the Pueblos used idols or rather fetiches. I will now add data from between the years 1582 and 1680 observing however, that I shall have to refer to the matter subsequently and with more testimony. Oñate, *Traslado de la Posesion que en nombre de Su Magestad tomo Don Juan de Oñate, de los Reynos y Provincias de la Nueva Mexico (Doc. de Indias, vol. 16, p. 96)* mentions the Indians of New Mexico as "gente ydolatra é ynfiel"—this was on April 30th, 1598. In his *Journal* Oñate states that in a village which he calls "Sant Joan Baptista," which lay south of Puaráy and on the Rio Grande, the Spaniards saw: "muchos idolos pintados, tantos, que en solas dos piezas, conte sesenta." (*Discurso de las Jornadas*, p. 253) At the first village of the Zuñis (p. 273) "ay cruces de dias atras, a quien los Indios tienen devocion, y ofrecen lo que a sus idolos."

ious, with live vipers [poisonous snakes] all well worth seeing."<sup>126</sup> Whether this was the snake dance, and that in the sixteenth century it was performed as such, does not appear clearly from the text. At any rate it confirms the free handling of the dangerous reptiles that, according to Mota Padilla, had already been noticed at Coronado's time.<sup>127</sup> Among the Zuñis and Hopi he again confirms that their customs are like those of the others. But of the Zuñi country he states that he saw there "much flax like that of Castilla, that appears to grow wild." He also mentions "mantles of

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Gaspar Perez de Villagrán, *Historia* (Canto XV, fol. 135) mentions, in a pueblo that may have been of the Pirois:

"En cuias casas luego reparamos,  
 "En vna gran suma que tenian,  
 "De soberuios demonios retratados.  
 "Feroces, y terribles por extremo,  
 "Que claro nos mostrauan ser sus dioses."

In 1615, Fray Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana* (Lib. V cap. XL, p. 681) states, from reports received at Mexico about the pueblos: "Luego de Mañana, van las Mugerres con Harina, y Plumaz, o unas Piedras toscas, que tienen levantadas, y les hechan vn poco de la Harina que llevan, y de aquellas Plumitas, porque las Guarden aquel Dia, para que no caigan en las escaleras, y tambien para que les den Mantas. . . . el Idolo es de Piedra, o de Barro,". Fray Estavan de Perea, *Verdadera Relación de la grandiosa Conversion que ha avido en el Nuevo Mexico* (Sevilla, 1632, fol. 570): "Todos los desta Colonia son muy observantes de la supersticiosa ydolatria. Tienen sus Templos con ydolos de piedra, y de madera muy pintados. . . Assi mismo tienen dioses en los montes, en los rios, en las miesses, y en las casas, como de los Egypcios se cuenta, porque dan a cada uno su particular proteccion." I am so explicit on these matters, because the denial of the existence of fetiches among the pueblos, by some of the chroniclers of Coronado, is strange. The quotations from authors posterior to Espejo confirm his statements fully.

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126. *Relación*, p. 117: "y hiciéronnos un mitote y bayle muy solemne, saliendo la gente muy galana, y habiendo muchos juegos de manos, algunos déllos, artificiosos, con vivoras vivias, que era cosa de ver lo uno y lo otro."

127. *Ibidem*. In 1629, Fray Estévan de Perea, *Verdadera Relación*, (fol. 570) mentions that live rattlesnakes were kept at Zuñi: "Aqui vieron una cosa notable, y fue, unos ceros de madera, y en ellos muchas Bivoras que bibrando las lenguas, dando sylvos, y saltos, estan amenazando como el bravo Toro en el coso; y queriendo saber el fin de tener encareladaz estas sierpes, les dixeron, que con su veneno atosigaban las flechas, con que eran inremediables las heridas que recibian sus contrarios." The maintaining of live snakes by the Pueblos is therefore stated in 1541, 1582 and 1629. The explanation given by Mota Padilla and by Father Perea is identical, which tends to show, that the former's statement was obtained from a source well informed concerning Pueblo customs.



cotton and other ones which appear to have been of linen."<sup>128</sup> His observations on quantities must always be taken with allowances. Thus he asserts that among the Hopi the Indians presented the Spaniards with "more than four thousand mantles of cotton, white and dyed, and handkerchiefs with fringes at the ends."<sup>129</sup>

Notwithstanding the weak points of Espejo's narrative, it is highly valuable, confirmatory of the knowledge collected by previous explorers on a great number of points, and it shows, among other things, that the geographical situation of the pueblos had not varied in the thirty-nine years that had elapsed between his exploration and that of Coronado. Thus, while the former mentions the "Maguas" as distinct from the "Ubates," it is clear that both names designate the same linguistic group; the former being the Tanos on the eastern and northern side of the Sandia range, the latter the Tanos between the Queres villages on the Rio Grande and the Sierra de Santa Fe. He repeats almost literally, of the latter, what he says of the country inhabited by the former: "they have no rivers and use springs and marshes."<sup>130</sup> Such is indeed the case between the main river, the Santa Fe range, and the most southerly Tewa villages, Tesuque, Cuyamungue and Pojuaque.<sup>131</sup> While Coronado and his men had not found any important traces of precious

128. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 118: "En esta provincia hallamos gran cantidad de lino de Castilla, que parece se cria en los campos sin sembrallo. (p. 119) y vistense de mantas de algodon de otras que parecen angeo."

129. *Idem*, p. 120: "mas de cuatro mil mantas de algodon pintadas y blancas, y paños de manos con sus borlas á los cabos."

130. *Relación*, p. 123: "no alcansan rios; sirvensen de fuentes; tienen muchos montes de pinales, cedros y sabinas." The mention of "sabinas" or junipers might indicate the timbered region of the southern Tehuas. An indirect proof, that the "Ubates" were the Tanos is furnished by Oñate, *Discurso de las Jornadas*, p. 258: "Al gran pueblo de los Peccos, y es el que Espejo llama la provincia de Tamos." Oñate had an interpreter with him, who spoke the Pecos (Jemez) idiom: "de donde hera natural Don Pedro Orez, que murio en Hanepantla; y asi Joan de Dios, donado, que del aprendio la lengua, ha sido interprete della."—Hence that information was obtained, not by signs, but by direct translation from the statements of the Indians.

131. From the northern verge of the Santa Fe plateau the southern villages of the Tehuas are easily reached. It might have been unsafe for Espejo to attempt penetrating farther north, among the larger Tehua settlements.

ores, Espejo noticed them in abundance, bringing with him many specimens. What, however, proved of greater direct importance for the time was that he took to Mexico two Pueblo Indians; a boy from Pecos and a woman of the Hopi. The former, at least, proved useful when New Mexico was definitely occupied by the Spaniards.<sup>132</sup>

It is not superfluous here to cast a glance at the Indian tribes met by Espejo south of New Mexico, as he alludes to them in his narrative. A few of these afterwards became directly connected with the fate of the Rio Grande pueblos.

Neither the Conchos nor the Pazaguates can be considered. They were, and remained, too distant from New Mexico. But the "Jumanos" were afterwards met on the eastern plains, not far from the salines of the Manzano and, from what had been said in Part I it is not impossible, they had located in that vicinity already before Coronado's advent.<sup>133</sup> Of the two texts of Espejo that alone are worthy of consultation, one calls them "Xumarías," the other by the name of "Jumanos," which since has remained in use. The Jumanos were met after ten days' travel (thirty-four

132. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 126: "truxe metales para ensayar y ver la ley que tienen, e un Indio de la provincia de los Tamos, y una india de la provincia Mochoe, porque si en servicio de Su Magestad, se hubiere de volver a hacer el descubrimiento y poblazon de aquellas provincias, den alguna lumbre dellas y del camino por donde se ha de ir, y para ello aprendan la lengua mejicana y otras lenguas."

133. Castañeda, *Cíbola*, p. 444: "en esta jornada a la yda se hundio [should be "huyo"] una India labrada a el capitan juan de Saldibar y fue las barrancas abajo huyendo que reconocio la tierra." This occurred in the vicinity of the Salines, hence of the plateau that still bears the name of "Mesa Jumana." Fifteen years after Espejo the Jumanos were met near the Salines, in three settlements. Oñate, *Discurso*, p. 266: "A seis de Octubre, martes, partio el señor Gobernador y nuestro Padre Comissario, a las salinas de los Pecos, que son de muchas leguas e infinita sal, muy linda y blanca; y a los pueblos de los Xumanes o rayados, que son tres; uno muy grande." That the Jumanos lived (that is, a branch of them) near the Salines, is further indicated in the *Obediencia y vasallaje a su Magestad por los Indios del Pueblo de Cueloce* (*Doc de Indias*, vol. 16, p. 123). "Cueloce" is designated as the village "que llaman de los rayados" and the Indians who gave their pledge of homage were the chiefs of Cueloce, Xenopue, Patasce and Abó. The mention of Abó indicates that the Jumanos were at least in the region about the Salines, since "Abó" lies twenty miles, about, south of the "Manzano." In his letter to the Viceroy Conde de Monterey, dated March 20, 1599, it is stated by Oñate, *Carta*, p. 306: "fui en persona a la provincia de Abo, y a la de los Xumanes, y a las grandes y famosas salines desta tierra."

leagues) and between the river Concho and a stream emptying into the Concho from the north. Espejo claims to have counted five villages inhabited by ten thousands souls. He describes the villages as of good appearance, the houses having flat roofs and not tall. The people were *tattooed* in their faces.<sup>134</sup> Although the river that joined the Concho is described as only half as large as the latter, there are indications to the effect that it was the Rio Grande, on the banks of which other Jumanos were found, some of these living in houses with flat roofs, others in huts.<sup>135</sup> The Jumanos raised maize, squashes, beans; they had much meat and fish, and used bows and arrows. They were friendly toward the strangers except at the outset, when during the night they killed and wounded ten horses and fled to the mountains.<sup>136</sup> Espejo mentions a word which he stated is in the Jumano language and signifies "God," which he gives as "Apalito."<sup>137</sup> As already stated, he returned by the same way he came, *after leaving the Pecos river*, and met the Jumanos, three of their number, on the Pecos, whither they had gone hunting. One of the texts consulted has "Cumanos," on this occasion.<sup>138</sup>

The "Tobozos" were met by Espejo before he entered into contact with the Jumanos but those Indians, like the Conchos and Pazaguates, were not in touch with New Mexico at any time afterwards, nor at the time of Espejo.<sup>139</sup>

Leaving the Jumanos and traveling constantly to the north along the course of the river which, in all likelihood, was the Rio Grande,<sup>140</sup> Espejo passed successively through

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134. Espejo, *Relación*, p. 105: "esta rayada en los rostros."

135. *Ibidem*, p. 106.

136. *Ibidem*.

137. *Idem*, p. 107. Names of Jumano settlements are given in documents concerning Oñate, but whether those words are in the Jumano idiom or are names given to the Jumano villages by Pueblo Indians, cannot be determined as yet.

138. *Relación*, p. 123.

139. The Tobosos were very hostile during the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth centuries. They were, in this respect and in the region where the Tobosos roamed, precursors of the Apaches.

140. *Relación*, p. 107.

groups of roving Indians, among one of which, yet far below the pass of the river, they found a Concho Indian who gave them to understand that fifteen journeys to the west was a great lagoon, on the banks of which were many settlements and houses of many stories; also that Indians of the Concho tribe were settled there.<sup>141</sup> If this is not a misunderstanding, and if the Concho Indian indicated the direction correctly, it would seem to point to the region of "Casas Grandes," with exception of the great lagoon, of which there is no trace, unless the Laguna de Guzmán and Laguna de San Martín near the present boundary of the United States be meant. The Southern Pimas in Central Sonora still had tall houses in the seventeenth century,<sup>142</sup> and the great lake of the Concho Indian might perhaps be a confused notice of the Pacific ocean. However that may be, if the Indian informant did not mistake the direction, it is not likely that he intended to convey information concerning the Rio Grande pueblos in this manner; if he had anything true to impart.

North of the tribe among which that Concho was encountered extended an uninhabited region which it took fifteen days to traverse<sup>143</sup> and at the end of which an incon-

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141. P. 108: "y entre ellos hayamos un Indio de nacion, concho, el cual nos dió a entender, señalando hacia el Poniente, que quinze jornadas desde alli, habia una laguna muy grande adonde habia grand cantidad de poblaciones y cases con muchos altos, y que habia Indios de la nacion concha, poblados alli." In 1727, the Brigadier Don Pedro de Rivera found at Casas Grandes five of six families of Concho Indians as the only inhabitants of what was formerly the Mission of Casas Grandes. Rivera, *Diario y Derrotero de lo visto y caminado &c.* 1736, p. 47.

142. P. Andrés de Ribas, *Historia de los Triumphos de nuestra Santa Fe*, 1645 (p. 360, lib. VI, cap. II,) describes the house of the "Nebomes" or Pimas of Sonora, as follows: "sus casas eran mejores, y mas de asiento que las de otras Naciones; por que eran de paredes de grandes adobes, que hazian de barro, y cubiertas de açoteas, y terrados. Algunas dellas edificauan mucho mayores, y con troneras a modo de fuertes, a proposito para si acomatiessen cnemigos, recogerse a ellas la gente del pueblo, y valerse de su flecheria." A similar description is given of the pueblos of the "Nures" who lived "mas la sierra adentro" than the southern Pimas: (lib. VI. cap. 8, p. 371.) The Spaniards had to use smoke for the capture of one of the big houses (p. 372.)

143. *Relación*, p. 109: "Caminando el propio rio arriba, fuimos por el . . . sin hallar ninguna gente, quinze jornadas por donde habia mezquिताles y tunales y montañas de pinales &c" . . .

siderable group of aborigines was found, who dwelt in huts of straw, had much salt and tanned deerskins. These Indians guided the Spaniards for two days, through the pass of the north (which Espejo described very correctly), to the settlements of the Piros.<sup>144</sup> Fifteen years after Espejo's exploration, Oñate was greeted, near where now are El Paso and Juarez, by the "Mansos,"<sup>145</sup> a tribe that still lives in much reduced numbers at Juarez and was met by the Brigadier General Don Pedro de Rivera on the Rio Grande in the year 1724; but that officer observes that they had formerly had their principal rancheria higher up the river at a distance of 21 leagues from El Paso.<sup>146</sup> Since the Mansos were first known they have not appeared as numerous still they were somewhat unruly during the times following the year 1680. Another tribe, called Sumas, is frequently mentioned in connection with them. Both tribes appear to have been at least "half sedentary," but their mode of living was not of the Pueblo style. They will be referred to afterwards.

As was natural, Espejo paid much attention to mineral resources of the regions he explored. While Coronado and his people returned sorely disappointed on this score, Espejo found signs of metallic wealth in abundance. He claims to be delighted with the country, painting it in quite favorable colors. He resumes his description of New Mexico as follows: "All the people [there] are of good size and more manly than the Mexicans, and we understood there was no sickness among them. The women are whiter than the Mexican women, and [they are] people of good understand-

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144. *Ibidem*: "y nos llevaron dos jornadas de alli a las poblaciones; siempre fuimos siguiendo el dicho rio del Norte; y desde que entramos en el, siempre fuimos siguiendole el rio arriba, llevando una sierra de la una parte del rio y otra de la otra, las cuales estan sin arboledas en todo el camino, hasta que llegamos cerca de las poblaciones que llaman del Nuevo Mexico, aunque por las riveras del rio hay gran cantidad de alamedas, y por partes, cuatro leguas en ancho de los dichos alamos blancos."

145. *Discurso de las Jornadas*, p. 243. Oñate met them on May 3d, 1598, and they called out to him "Manxos, manxos, micos, micos," whence the name "Manso" became applied to them. In 1630 Benavides, *Memorial* (p. 8) mentions them also as "Gorretas." Much more ample mention will have to be made of the Mansos later.

146. Rivera, *Diario y Derrotero*, p. 25.

ing and manners. The villages are well built, regulated, and it can be expected that they will easily acquire polity. In the greatest part of these provinces there is much game, animals and birds; rabbits and hares, deer and cows of that land, ducks, geese, cranes, pheasants and other birds; there are also good forests of all kinds of trees, salines and rivers with many kinds of fishes, and, through most of the country, carts and wagons can travel. There are good pastures for cattle, and lands for settlement, gardens and fields (tillable by irrigation and without) and many rich mines. . . ."<sup>147</sup> It cannot be said that this picture is much exaggerated, all these features are found and were, in New Mexico locally; but the manner of presenting them as *general* all over the country shows that Espejo was an artful "promoter."

His plans, which he may have prepared even before his journey, became clear in the year after his return, as will be shown in the following section.\* It will also appear that, while these designs were not realized, from the interference

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147. *Relación*, p. 125; *Carta*, p. 188.

\*It is regrettable that Bandelier was not permitted to carry this study to the conclusion which he had contemplated. And even in Parts I, II and III, which have now been published, the typewritten copy which has been used revealed many defects, but it has been checked with the authorities as quoted by Bandelier and the text has been made as accurate as possible.

Without offering here any extended comment on this study, it may be well to call attention to two differences in interpretation of the sources from that which is given by later students.

Bandelier locates Puaráy near the present Bernalillo but west of the Rio Grande; whereas Hammond, apparently following Mecham (*The Rodriguez Expedition*, pp. 8, 46, 47) identifies Puaráy with Sandia, east of the Rio Grande, while Hackett (*The Location of the Tigua Pueblos of Alameda, Puaráy and Sandia, 1680-1681, in Old Santa Fe*, II, 381 ff.) also places them both on the east side but a league apart.

Again, Bandelier would seem to indicate old Santo Domingo as "Castildavid," whereas Hammond (*op. cit.*, pp. 48-49) identifies it with San Juan. In fact the interpretation of the sources by Hammond and others takes the Rodriguez expedition as far north as Taos, while in

of inevitable causes, his expedition gave to New Mexico a certain standing in historical literature, and had important ultimate consequences for the Pueblo Indians.

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Bandelier's understanding this expedition did not even get into the Tewa country (north of the present Santa Fe),—much less get as far as the northern Tewa group.

By his critical study of the sources Bandelier has pointed out numerous minor details which students of the southwest may find of historical and ethnological value.—*L. B. B.*

# THE SUPPLY SERVICE OF THE NEW MEXICAN MISSIONS IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

## PART III, 1663-1680

*By* FRANCE V. SCHOLLES

THE negotiations which culminated in the adoption of a new system of administration for the supply trains deserve detailed discussion. The famous contract of 1631, which had placed entire control in the hands of the friars and which seems to have been well suited to the needs of the New Mexican missions, came to an end. Although many elements in the older system were carried over into the new, changes were made which were fundamental in character, of which the most significant was the substitution of a layman as actual administrator of the supply trains in place of the procurator-general of the custodia. This change seems to have had an evil effect on the efficiency of the service, for whereas Bishop Manso and Fray Ramírez had had no personal interest in making the supply trains a profitable venture, the new administrator sought to make them a source of gain for himself. This was especially significant, for the later years of the decade of the 1660's and the first few years of the 1670's were years of famine in New Mexico. Failure to maintain the supply service at the older level of efficiency must have contributed both to the decline of the missions and to the general weakness of the entire provincial administration which characterized the decade preceding the Pueblo Revolt in 1680.

It will be recalled that in 1660-1661 the Superiors of the Franciscans in New Spain tried to force the removal of Fray Juan Ramírez as administrator of the service. It was alleged that it was inconsistent with the obligations of the Order for a friar to assume actual administration of and control over the large sums of money granted by the Crown



for the missions. Such inconsistencies do not appear to have been noted during Bishop Manso's term as administrator, but apparent irregularities in the account of Fray Ramírez for the triennium 1657-1660 had precipitated discussion of the issue. The Franciscans had proposed: (1) that the actual administration of the wagons be turned over to a layman by means of contract or auction; or (2) that the wagons be sold, and that, whenever necessary, wagons could be rented for the transportation of supplies, in this manner saving the cost of maintenance during the year and a half that usually intervened between the return of the caravan from New Mexico and its next departure; (3) that henceforth the cost could be lowered by reducing the number of wagons by making one wagon serve the needs of three friars instead of two; (4) that money granted by the Crown for supplies should be turned over to the Syndic of the Order (a layman) who would have actual control over expenditures, under the guidance and direction of the procurator-general of the custodia.<sup>1</sup>

The Treasury Officials had refused to accept these proposals for the triennium 1660-1663, although it had been agreed that after the return of the caravans the wagons would be put up at auction and a new system of administration devised.<sup>2</sup> So when the caravan returned in 1663, discussion of these problems was renewed. Early in June, 1663, the provincial called the viceroy's attention to the 1661 negotiations and petitioned for action.<sup>3</sup> After consultation with the fiscal and the asesor general, the viceroy ordered that the treasury officials should examine Fray Ramírez' accounts as a preliminary to any scheme for reorganization of the service.<sup>4</sup> During the summer of 1663 Ramírez pre-

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1. See documents cited in Part II, note 39; also *Peticion*, June 5 (?), 1663, in *Informe*, A. G. I. 58-4-9 and in *Bib. Nac.*, Mexico, *M. H. N. M. Leg. 1*, Doc. 18.

2. *Junta General de Hacienda*, May 24, 1661. *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

3. *Peticion*, June 5 (?), 1663. *Ibid.*

4. *Decreto*, July 6, 1663. *Ibid.*; also in *Bib. Nac.*, México. *M. H. N. M.*, Leg. 1, doc. 18.

sented his accounts, and except for disagreement on certain lesser points, the accounting was entirely satisfactory to the Treasury. The action of the treasury officials in refusing to accept the recommendations of the Franciscans in 1661 seemed to have been justified.

Nevertheless, the Franciscans continued to press the point. Moreover, Don Juan Manso, ex-governor of New Mexico, expecting a change in the system of administration, had made a formal bid for the wagons and a contract for the transportation of supplies. The viceroy was obliged, therefore, to make a decision.<sup>5</sup> He called for advice from the fiscal and the asesor general, both of who praised Ramírez' administration of the service. The fiscal stated that the accounting was proceeding satisfactorily, although certain matters were still unsettled and that it would not be wise to proceed hastily with any plans for the future. Moreover, he said that Don Diego de Peñalosa, Governor of New Mexico, had asked leave to come to Mexico to make proposals regarding the government of the province and regarding the mission supply service, and that, if any action were taken at once, any benefit to be gained from Peñalosa's advice would be lost. The fiscal recommended, therefore, that no action should be taken until after Peñalosa's arrival and that Ramírez should remain in "free use and administration of the wagons." The opinion of the asesor general is also significant. The asesor general stated that only "urgent utility" could be a good reason for altering a system "approved by such wide experience." The original contract, he pointed out, had been made at the request of the Order, and inasmuch as the service was established for the benefit of the missions, it had been appropriate that the Order should have had control over it. Not only was this to the advantage of the Order, but it had resulted in definite saving for the Treasury: The service had been efficiently and punctually managed by Bishop Manso, and the administration of

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5. Memorial, Oct. 22, 1663. *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

Fray Ramírez had maintained the same high standard of efficiency. In fact, the accounts of Ramírez indicated that his administration had been so advantageous that "it may be said that his Majesty has need" of his services, and that for the good of the Treasury he should be retained. The asesor general also made the point that the original contract had provided that the contract should remain in force in future until "his Majesty or the Viceroy" should see fit to change it. This left the matter completely in the hands of the civil administration of New Spain, and the asesor general recommended a continuance of the old system and that Ramírez remain in charge.<sup>6</sup>

Accepting the recommendations of these advisers, the viceroy, by decree of October 26, 1663, refused to alter the system as desired by the Order, and Ramírez was retained as administrator of the service.<sup>7</sup>

The documents contain very little information for the period between October, 1663, and July, 1664. Fray Ramírez continued to liquidate the accounts for the preceding six years and to prepare for the 1663-1666 caravan. In November, 1663, the attorney of the Holy Office presented a formal accusation against Ramírez, and the trial, which was not closed until after a year had passed, was begun. The documents contain no reference to the influence which the trial may have had on Ramírez' position as head of the supply service, but it must have been a source of great embarrassment and no doubt contributed to the change in the viceroy's decision regarding the service.

Meantime the Superiors of the Franciscans continued their opposition to Ramírez, and on July 6, 1664, the Commissary-General of the Franciscans of New Spain and the Provincial of the Province of Santo Evangelio appointed a new procurator-general of the custodia of New Mexico in the person of Fray Fernando Ricardo.<sup>8</sup> The terms of the

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6. For the documents, see Bib. Nac., México, *M. H. N. M.*, Leg. 1, docs. 18, 20.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Patentes, July 6, 1664. *Informe*, A. G. I. 58-4-9.

appointment are interesting in that they indicate the consistency with which the Franciscans continued to urge the point of view adopted in 1661. The appointments specifically stated that Fray Ricardo was not to have charge of the wagons. His duty was to administer the royal alms, to provide wine, oil, and other supplies, to see that they were transported to New Mexico—without in any manner having any share in the business of the wagon train itself, for the obligations of the Order denied to a friar dominion over things temporal. The actual cash to be granted by the Treasury was to be received by the Syndic of the Order, a layman, and expended by him as Fray Ricardo should indicate. Fray Ricardo was also charged that, in case of the death of any of the New Mexican friars for whom alms may be received, all sums received for such purpose must be returned to the Treasury, and that the accounting for the same could not be permitted to run over from one triennium to another.

A day or so following his appointment of Fray Ricardo, Zapata, the Commissary-General of the Franciscans who had been the leader in the opposition to Fray Ramírez, addressed a petition to the viceroy in which he asked the viceroy to admit Fray Ricardo as the new procurator-general, and in which he also proposed terms for the reorganization of the supply service.<sup>9</sup> After reviewing the history of the service, Zapata, in the name of his Order, made a formal renunciation of the administration of the wagons. For the future he offered to accept a reduction in the number of wagons by assigning one wagon for three friars instead of two as had been the custom in the past. Assuming that provision would be made for the normal quota of sixty-six friars, this would mean a reduction in the number of wagons from thirty-three to twenty-two, and a saving of more than twelve thousand pesos for each caravan.<sup>10</sup> Zapata

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9. Petición, July 7 (8?), 1664. *Ibid.*

10. The cost per wagon had been 1,123 pesos, 4 tomines, for each three year period. The saving would be 12,358 pesos, 4 reales.

promised that Fray Ricardo would act only in the manner required by his patent of appointment, and that all sums granted for friars who died would be returned to the Treasury. The petition closed with an appeal for immediate action, inasmuch as it was necessary that the next caravan should leave Mexico City in October, 1664.

The petition and related *autos* were considered in a Junta de Hacienda on July 19, and although no formal action was taken regarding Zapata's offer to reduce the number of wagons, it was decided to revert to the action of the Junta, May 24, 1661, in which the viceroy had decided to put the wagons up for auction on their return in 1663. Inasmuch as ex-Governor Manso had made a bid for the wagons in the preceding October (1663), the Junta voted to inquire whether Manso would re-affirm his bid or make a new one.<sup>11</sup> This action of the Junta, reversing the action of the viceroy in decree of October 26, 1663, preceding, in which Ramírez was maintained as administrator of the supply service, clearly indicates that some new and important consideration had been exerting an influence on the policies of the treasury officials. There is nothing to indicate that the final accounting with Ramírez was not satisfactory,<sup>12</sup> nor is there any evidence to indicate dissatisfaction regarding the preparations for the 1663-1666 caravan. Although the documents do not give us any information of a positive character to prove the point, it would appear that the only factor that could have caused the viceroy and his associates to reverse their decision was the fact that Ramírez was in the midst of his trial by the Holy Office, that there was no immediate prospect of the trial coming to an end, and that, anyway the civil government could hardly maintain in an office of trust a priest accused of violating the teachings of the Church and the obligations of his office.

11. Junta, July 19, 1664. *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

12. On the contrary, one of the Royal Officials, in a certification, March, 1666, stated that Ramírez had returned more than ten thousand pesos, an act unprecedented in the history of the service. See *Bib. Nac., México, M. H. N. M., Leg. 1, doc. 24.*

Ramírez gave up his post on August 31, 1664. Zapata had won his point at last, although the Order was soon to regret the change. It was a personal victory for Zapata, but costly for the Order as a whole.

In accordance with the decree of the Junta, the wagons were posted for sale in the real almoneda on July 29, and Manso was cited to renew his former bid or make a new one. Manso renewed his bid in most of its essential points, although certain modifications were made. During August and September the treasury officials went through the formality of auctioning off the wagons, but Manso's bid was the only one received. There was considerable discussion and criticism of certain parts of Manso's renewal bid, but by the end of September the final details of the contract had been worked out.

The terms of the contract with Manso were as follows:<sup>13</sup>

1. Number of Wagons and Cost of Same.
  - a. The number of wagons was reduced by an agreement to provide one wagon for three friars instead of one for two, as had been customary. In his original bid Manso had proposed the usual number (on the basis of one for every two friars), but when Fray Zapata renewed his proposal of one for every three (see above), Manso, in his modified renewal bid, made a similar proposal. It was provided, however, that the maximum load for each wagon could not exceed 160 *arrobas*, or about 4,000 pounds.
  - b. Manso agreed to provide, at his own cost, the necessary cooks and servants for the use of the friars during journey.
  - c. It was agreed that Manso should receive 800 pesos per wagon for each triennium. This was a reduction of 323 pesos, 4 tomines per wagon, as compared with costs under the contract of 1631.
  - d. At the end of the nine year term Manso was to turn over to the Treasury all the mules, wagons, harness, etc.

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13. For Manso's original bid, the modified renewal offer, discussion of the latter by the treasury officials, and the final arrangements, as summed up in the text of this article, see *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

These terms represented a very great saving for the Treasury of New Spain. The number of wagons provided for Ramírez' second caravan had been twenty-five (for the service of the fifty friars for which provision had been made), and an additional wagon for the military escort. The total cost had been 29,211 pesos. For the 1663-1666 caravan, the first under Manso's administration, provision was also made for fifty friars, but at the rate of one wagon to every three friars—total of seventeen wagons. Two more were provided for the new governor and one for Manso's use—making twenty in all. At 800 pesos each, the cost was 16,000 pesos, as compared with the more than 29,000 pesos for the preceding caravan.

2. Escort.

Whereas it had been customary for the Crown to provide a military escort of fourteen soldiers and a chieftain for each caravan, at a cost of 4,400 pesos, Manso proposed to dispense with a regular escort and to provide one at his own cost whenever necessary. An additional saving of 4,400 pesos.

3. Term of the Contract.

The contract was to run for nine years, or for three round trips to and from New Mexico.

4. Bond.

Manso was obliged to give bond for 20,000 pesos for prompt fulfillment of the contract, and for delivery of the supplies to the friars in New Mexico.

5. Jurisdiction.

Manso was granted considerable power and authority over the civil members of the caravans, subject to appeal to the tribunals in Mexico City.

These terms, although based on the older contract, represented notable changes. The most important was the abdication of authority over the wagons by the friars. Henceforth, during the term of Manso's contract, the procurator-general of the custodia was to have power only to oversee the selection and purchase of supplies. All authority over the wagons and the transport of the supplies was placed in the hands of the contractor, a layman. This change had been made at the instance of the Franciscans themselves, and blame for any difficulties created by the new system of

administration rested with them. The contract represented a clear saving for the Treasury of New Spain, but the documents indicate that the treasury officials, although desirous of reducing costs, did not place that consideration first. The good of the service was paramount. The Treasury approved the change only after long agitation and discussion, and the evils in the new system can not be attributed to the policy of the Treasury.

Don Juan Manso, the *asentista*, was the brother of Bishop Manso. He had made several trips to New Mexico in Bishop Manso's service, and had been appointed governor of the province as the predecessor to Mendizábal and Peñalosa. At the end of his term as governor Manso had entered the service of the Inquisition as *alguacil* and had been charged with the arrest of Mendizábal and his associates. On his return to Mexico City in 1663 he had bid for the administration of the wagons and the transport of the mission supplies. During the negotiations for the contract one of the viceregal officials had raised questions concerning his integrity and had pointed out to the viceroy that Manso had not, at that time, satisfied the officers' charges with taking his residencia. Sidelights on Manso's personal character are furnished by the papers of the Inquisition, for although Manso was *alguacil* of the Holy Office, he did not escape the inquiring activities of Fray Alonso de Posada, the commissary of the Inquisition in New Mexico. Numerous persons gave information which was detrimental to Manso's reputation, the most serious charge being adultery.<sup>14</sup>

The first caravan that was despatched under Manso's administration left Mexico City in the autumn of 1664. From the beginning the friars were dissatisfied with the service. By the time the caravan reached New Mexico in the summer of 1665, the dissatisfaction was so general that

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14. For deposition before Fray Posada, see numerous procesos in the Inquisition papers, Arch. Gen., México, Tomos 507, 593, 594, etc. These points will be discussed in detail in the author's forthcoming study of the Inquisition and the Conflict between Church and State in New Mexico in the 17th century.



the *definitorio*, or governing council of the friars of the custodia, sent a general complaint to New Spain when the caravan returned in the autumn.<sup>15</sup>

The burden of the complaint had to do with the fact that Manso had used the caravan for his own profit and had made the transportation of the mission supplies secondary to his own gain. The caravan had consisted of two sections during part of the journey. The first contained sixteen wagons, loaded far above the limit of 160 *arrobos*, which were used for the transportation of the mission supplies. The second section, also containing sixteen wagons, was used for the transportation of passengers and commercial freight, and left Mexico City several days after the first section. Meeting at San Juan del Rio, the two sections went on to Zacatecas, where the caravan was delayed by the delivery of freight and the loading of iron for the mines of Parral. Another delay was incurred in waiting for Manso, who had not accompanied the wagons when they left Mexico City. At Parral the freight was delivered, and more taken on for delivery in New Mexico. Sixteen days were consumed in unloading and loading the wagons. Then about ninety leagues beyond Parral, the caravan was reloaded in order to free ten wagons to be sent to a salt field and loaded with salt for the Parral mines. Finally, with twenty-two wagons, the caravan arrived at the Rio Grande in May, 1665, in time for the spring floods. It was not until August that the caravan reached the Pueblo of San Felipe, and then with only fourteen wagons for the account of the friars.

It had been the custom of Fray Ramírez and his predecessors to deliver the supplies to the several pueblos and conventos, but Manso merely unloaded them at San Felipe and left it to the individual friars to come from their respective missions, apportion the supplies, and haul them away to their conventos. When the friars complained, Manso in-

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15. For the text of the complaint, dated at Sandia, October 24, 1665, see *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9.

sisted that the contract merely required delivery in San Felipe.

The contract required that Manso must provide wagons for the return of all supplies sent to friars who had died during the preceding period and also for the transport of other ecclesiastical effects and ornaments and for the service of friars leaving the New Mexican mission field. The provision which Manso actually made was not sufficient. Most of the wagons were used to freight salt from the New Mexican salt fields to the Parral mines for Manso's account.

In view of these deficiencies in the service, the *definitorio* requested the cancellation of Manso's contract. The *definitorio* believed that the time had passed when a special supply caravan was necessary. The unoccupied area between Parral and New Mexico was constantly shrinking, and the need was not so great as it had been earlier in the century. The *definitorio* cited the example of the Jesuits in Sonora, who managed without a regular caravan service. Why could not the Franciscans of New Mexico do the same? Let the Treasury pay the alms and permit the friars to assume all responsibility for the transportation of supplies to New Mexico.

It was also recommended that henceforth the procurator-general should be a New Mexican friar with experience in the needs of the custodia.

Before this complaint concerning Manso's administration of the service reached Mexico and Spain, the problem had been presented to King and Council in Spain. On July 20, 1664, and again on January 11, 1665, the Bishop of Puebla had addressed the Crown concerning the New Mexican supply service and had expressed dissatisfaction with the trends of viceregal policy.<sup>16</sup> The Council found it impossible to take any intelligent action, due to the fact that it did not possess a copy of the original 1631 contract.<sup>17</sup> By

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16. A. G. I., 58-4-9.

17. This may seem surprising, but it is an indication of the fact that during the period 1609-1680 the home government was not in close contact with New Mexican

cédula of Oct. 12, 1665, the Crown ordered the viceroy to submit a full report, on the basis of which the Council could formulate recommendations.<sup>18</sup> In accordance with this order a full report was submitted, together with the complaint of the *definitorio*, on November 29, 1666. It is this report, cited in the notes as *Informe*, A. G. I., 58-4-9, that is the chief source for the history of the supply service up to 1666.

Meantime the policy of the Franciscans in New Spain had changed. Fray Zapata had been succeeded by a new Commissary-General, Fray Hernando de la Rúa, who was not animated by Zapata's old dislike of Fray Ramírez. It was clear that Manso was using the caravan as a means of his own personal profit and was subordinating the needs of the New Mexican missions to his own gain. As a result of these new conditions the Franciscans came to regret the decision made in 1664 and to urge a change which would once more place authority over the caravan in the hands of the Order.<sup>19</sup>

The viceregal report and correspondence from Fray Hernando de la Rúa were duly considered by the Council. On recommendation of the Council a cédula was despatched on June 30, 1668, ordering the viceroy to consult with the Audiencia and other royal officers of New Spain and to do whatever he might deem necessary with regard both for the New Mexican supply service and for lessening the expenses chargeable to the Treasury of New Spain. A thorough investigation of Manso's conduct and suitable punishment of any of his shortcomings were also ordered.<sup>20</sup>

The documents do not give us much information concerning the action of the viceregal government in carrying

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affairs. Only occasionally, when some event of importance, such as the Rosas episode, occurred, did the home government get a full report on New Mexican affairs.

18. Real Cédula, Oct. 12, 1665. Arch. Gen., México. *Reales Cédulas y Ordenes (Principales)*, Tomo 8, no. 74; also in A. G. I., 87-5-7, Libro F21, ff. 118v-119v.

19. See Bib. Nac., México, *M.H.N.M.*, Leg. 1, docs. 17, 25, 27.

20. Real Cédula, June 30, 1668. Arch. Gen., México. *Reales Cédulas y Ordenes (Principales)*, Tomo X, no. 69; also in A. G. I., 87-5-7. Libro F22, ff. 100-103.

out the mandates of the *cédula*. On Sept. 29, 1668, the viceroy ordered the *cédula* executed,<sup>21</sup> but there is an almost complete lack of information for the next two or three years. It seems that the Franciscans started some sort of litigation against Manso which finally resulted in a re-adjustment in 1671.<sup>22</sup> By decision of a Junta in March, confirmed by action of the viceroy in June, it seems that Manso was deprived of responsibility and authority for the transportation of the supplies, although final decision was not reached regarding the question whether the contract should be regarded as null and void at once, in advance of the expiration of the nine year term. Although this action apparently took the service out of Manso's hands, the Junta and viceroy refused to restore the former authority of the Order. The arguments that the friars, because of the obligations of the Order and the impossibility of placing the friars under bond, could not assume responsibility for the administration of the service were accepted. It was decided, therefore, to pay the friars of New Mexico an annual lump sum, 330 pesos for each priest and 230 pesos for each lay brother. With these sums the procurator-general of the custodia could purchase supplies and provide transportation for the same. Wagons could be rented or the procurator-general could make use of any commercial freight service which the occasion offered.<sup>23</sup> This arrangement was in line with the recommendations of the *definitorio* of the custodia in 1665. From the standpoint of the Treasury it represented a distinct saving in the item of expense for the transportation of the supplies. It was the first official action looking to the policy which characterized the greater part of the eighteenth century.

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21. *Ibid.*

22. For the period of the 1670's the chief source is a series of miscellaneous viceregal decrees, etc., in Arch. Gen., México, *Reales Cédulas y Ordenes (Duplicados)*, Tomo 31. Cited hereafter as A. G. M., R. C. O. D., Tomo 31.

23. A. G. M., R. C. O. D., Tomo 31.

Discussion concerning the validity of Manso's contract was apparently pending when, in the summer of 1673, the term of the contract elapsed and Manso's widow (Manso having died in the preceding period) asked for a final adjustment of accounts. Discussion of future policy continued throughout the autumn of 1673. Two bids were received for the wagons. One bid was made by the Franciscan Order, which now returned to its old point of view and sought to control the wagons as had been the practice prior to 1664. Its experience, 1664-1673, had been costly, and for the good of the service, the Order sought to return to the old ways. The second bid was made by Don Juan de Medrano (ex-governor of New Mexico). Medrano's bid was the more favorable, but the viceroy, the Duke of Veragua, decided to turn the wagons over to the friars, provided they would make a new bid offering better terms. This decision seems to have been a reversal of the policy formulated in 1671.<sup>24</sup>

But Veragua's decision, made in December, 1673, was rescinded a few weeks later by a new viceroy, Archbishop Payo de Rivera. The latter ordered a review of all the *autos* and decrees of the preceding three years, and on Jan. 17, 1674, they were thoroughly discussed in a Junta. The members of the Junta were about evenly divided concerning future policy. Some wished to sustain Veragua's decision; others voted to uphold the decision of 1671. The viceroy cast his vote in favor of the latter. He rested his decision in part on the formal renunciation of the wagons which the Order had made in 1664, and in part on the point of view that the Order could not assume authority over things temporal. The wagons were ordered sold, Manso's accounts adjusted, and any balance paid to his widow.<sup>25</sup> On Sept. 21, 1674, the King confirmed this decision.<sup>26</sup>

24. *Ibid.*

25. *Ibid.*

26. Bib. Nac., México, *M. H. N. M.*, Leg. 1, docs. 37, 38.

Thus the regular caravan service, specially organized for the purpose of transporting supplies to New Mexico and under contract with the friars or a layman, came to an end. But this was not the end of the supply service. The transportation of supplies continued, but in such form as the procurator-general wished to arrange.

With the royal alms paid in 1674 the procurator-general, Fray Francisco de Ayeta, purchased wagons and mules for the account of the Order and transported the usual supplies.<sup>27</sup> Fray Ayeta was one of four or five outstanding figures in the New Mexican church in the seventeenth century—ranking with Benavides, Perea, Bishop Manso, and Posada. His greatest services to the province were in connection with the aftermath of the Pueblo Revolt, the settlement at El Paso, and the attempted reconquest in 1681. He was appointed later to important offices in Franciscan administration in New Spain. He is also well known for his writings in defense of the privileges of the friars as against the claims of the bishops and the secular clergy.<sup>28</sup>

When Ayeta arrived in New Mexico in 1675 he found the province in desperate straits. For years the strength of the provincial government had been slowly, but surely, weakened and undermined. The Church and State quarrels of the 1660's had had an evil effect on the efficiency of the provincial administration and had given the Indians the unfortunate example of division of authority in high places. The Indians, both the Pueblo villages and the nomadic tribes, were inspired by a growing contempt for Spanish rule. Following on the heels of this controversy there had been several years of drouth and famine. Crops failed, the Indians were faced with starvation, and the Apaches, also suffering from a similar lack of food, launched forth on a policy of guerilla warfare more intense than ever before. To make matters worse, Manso's administration of the caravans materially lessened the efficiency of the supply

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27. A. G. M., *R. C. O. D.*, Tomo 31.

28. See Ayeta Book, *Crisol de la Verdad*.

service. The Pueblos grew more and more restless day by day. So long as the missions could make a strong appeal to the Indians by furnishing food in time of disaster, the Indians maintained a certain loyalty to the Church. But now, with food scarce, the missions could no longer make the same appeal. The influence of the old Indian priesthood increased and the danger of revolt became greater and more menacing than ever before. Meantime the Apache peril increased year by year. The efforts permanently to convert and pacify the Apache and Navajo tribes had failed, and throughout the century these nomadic groups had become an ever increasing danger to the settled Pueblos. The Apaches raided the Pueblo villages, burning and pillaging the dwellings, carrying off dozens of captives, and stealing hundreds of cattle and other livestock. In the late 1660's and the early 1670's these raids became still more frequent, for the growing weakness of the provincial government encouraged the practice of guerrilla warfare, and the general condition of drouth urged the Apaches to even greater boldness. Three sections of the Pueblo area suffered more than others: The Zuñi villages, the Tompiro or Saline villages, and the Piro towns on the lower Rio Grande.<sup>29</sup>

Thus the province was in a precarious state in the decade of the 1670's. On his arrival in New Mexico in 1675, Fray Ayeta found the provincial government and Spanish population discouraged. Grave fears for the future existed. It was decided, therefore, that Ayeta, on his return to Mexico City, should advise the viceroy concerning the situation and appeal for aid.

Ayeta's memorial to the viceroy, presented late in August or early in September, 1676, was a telling document.<sup>30</sup> It reviewed the affairs of the province, cited numer-

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29. The documents are full of references to Apache raids. Among the more significant documents in this respect are: *Servicios personales del Maestro de Campo Don Juan Dominguez de Mendoza*. . . Bib. Nac., Madrid. MSS. 19,253; Ayeta's Memorial, 1676, in A. G. M., *Historia*, Tomo 25, in R. G. M., *Prov. Int.*, Tomo 37, Exp. 5, and in A. G. I., 67-3-32.

30. See documents cited in Note 29.

ous instances of Apache raids and their disastrous consequences, and appealed for a special grant of aid. This appeal was not for the missions but for the strengthening of the military defense of the province without which the whole New Mexican experiment, and the missionary enterprise especially, would go down in ruin. Ayeta asked for fifty additional soldiers for the garrison, full equipment for the same, one thousand horses, and other supplementary equipment. For the transport of the soldiers the Order offered twenty-five wagons. After consultation with his advisers, the viceroy, convinced of the very urgent need of reinforcing New Mexico's defenses, granted the request and ordered the treasury officials to prepare for the despatch of the men and horses.<sup>31</sup>

The details of this episode belong rather to a study of general New Mexican conditions on the eve of the Pueblo Revolt than to a study of the mission supply service. The organization of the reinforcement went ahead rapidly, and in 1677 Ayeta conducted it to the province. About the same time Don Antonio de Otermín was appointed governor of the province and received full instructions for government of the same.<sup>32</sup>

Ayeta was back in Mexico City again the next year preparing for the next regular mission supply service. In 1680 he departed for New Mexico and in August arrived at the Rio Grande, where he was informed that a general revolt of the Pueblo villages had taken place. Without hesitation Ayeta put all the mission supplies at the disposal of Otermín and the Spanish colonists who had been able to escape from the central pueblo area to the northward. Throughout the winter of 1680-1681 Ayeta played a leading part in the resettlement at El Paso and in the plans for the attempted reconquest in 1681. The failure of reconquest made necessary a thoroughgoing readjustment of New Mexican administration and the establishment of new permanent settle-

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31. See documents cited in note 29.

32. A. G. M., R. C. O. D., Tomo 31.



ments in the El Paso area. These changes had an immediate effect on the status of mission supply. For this reason the author brings this study to a close at this point.

It is impossible to over-emphasize the services of the mission caravans in the history of New Mexico, 1609-1680. They were the most important bond of union between New Spain and the faraway frontier settlements in New Mexico. Throughout the seventeenth century New Mexico was little more than a mission province, and the successful expansion of the mission field was based on the steady, sure service of supply which the Crown provided. The caravans opened up a roadway to the north country and made it "hub-deep"—a roadway which, except for a few short intervals, has been kept open ever since. To the administrators of the caravans—Bishop Manso, Fray Ramírez, and Fray Ayeta—we owe homage and respect. Their names deserve a prominent place in that long roster of men who conquered the West.

#### APPENDIX B.

List of the friars who are at present (serving) in this Holy Custodia of the Conversion of St. Paul in these Provinces of New Mexico.

Padre Custodio Fray Juan de Paz.

Padre Fray García de San Francisco, Padre de la Custodia.<sup>1</sup>

Padre Fray Antonio de Ybargaray, Padre de la Custodia.

Padre Fray Francisco de Salazar, Padre de la Custodia.

Padre Fray Tomás de Albarado, Difnidor Actual.<sup>2</sup>

Padre Fray Nicholas de Echabaría, Difnidor Actual.

Padre Salvador de Guerra, Difnidor Actual.

Padre Fray Francisco Muñoz, Difnidor Actual.

Padre Fray Juan de la Chica.

Padre Fray Francisco de Acebedo.

Padre Fray Diego de Parraga.

Padre Fray Diego de Santander.

1. Padre de la Custodia—a sort of title given to friars who had been custodio or vice-custodio.

2. Difnidor actual—at present a member of the defnitorio, or governing council of the custodia.

Padre Fray Fernando de Monroy.  
 Padre Fray Joseph de Espeleta.  
 Padre Fray Benito de la Natividad.  
 Padre Fray Juan de Plasencia.  
 Padre Fray Nicolás de Freitas.  
 Padre Fray Nicolás de Henríquez.  
 Padre Fray Miguel de Quebara.  
 Padre Fray Joseph de Paredes.  
 Padre Fray Fernando de Velasco.  
 Padre Fray Juan Talaban.  
 Padre Fray Nicolas del Villar.  
 Padre Fray Andrés Durán.  
 Padre Felipe Rodríguez.  
 Padre Fray Gabriel de Torija.  
 Padre Fray Salvador de Antonio.  
 Padre Fray Pedro de Villegas.  
 Padre Fray Francisco Gómez de la Cadena.  
 Padre Fray Diego Henríquez.  
 Padre Fray Sebastian de Contreras.  
 Padre Fray Luís de Morales.  
 Padre Fray Juan de Alvarez.  
 Padre Fray Francisco de Sandoval.  
 Padre Fray Tomás de Torres.

*Lay Brothers*

Fray Blas de Herrera.  
 Fray Pedro Moreno.  
 Fray Rafael de Santa María.  
 Fray Juan de la Cruz.  
 Fray Joseph de Figueroa.  
 Fray Tomás Gallardo.  
 Fray Joseph de Arias.

The forty-two friars who are enumerated in this list (drawn up) on the occasion of the departure and return of the wagons to New Spain are at present and will remain in this Custodia of the Conversion of St. Paul of New Mexico. Year 1665. Dated the 19th of October of the said year.

FRAY JUAN DE PAZ,  
Custodia. (Rúbric).

Copied and translation from the original, which exists in the Museo Nacional, México, *Asuntos de Conventos y Colegios*, Tomo 165, folio 73.

F. V. S.

## NOTES AND REVIEWS

*Misiones de Nuevo Méjico: Documentos del Archivo general de Indias (Seville) publicados por primera vez v anotados.* Por el P. Otto Maas, O. F. M. (Madrid: Hijos de T. Minuesa de los Ríos. 1929. LVI and 272 pp. index)

The study which we now have in this more convenient book form was first given out by Father Maas serially in four issues of the *Archivo Ibero-Americano* (1923-24), a publication which is not generally accessible to students. The book, however, can be secured from Madrid and will be found very valuable because of the large amount of source material which is reproduced. Unfortunately, like so many European publications, a poor grade of paper has been used, and the binding is *en rustica* instead of cloth.

So far as the present writer was able to ascertain, and aside from some of the Muñoz volumes in the Real Academia Histórica (Madrid) which are copies made near the end of the 18th century from originals in Mexico, there are in the archives of Spain only eight volumes or legajos which consist wholly or in large part of source materials relating to New Mexico. One of these deals with the period of discovery, conquest and colonization, and is in the patronato section in Seville. In the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) are two bound manuscript volumes with the title "Historia de la Conquista, Pérdida y Restauración del Reino y Provincia de la Neuva México en la América Septentrional." This work, as Father Maas explains in his introduction, was written later than 1701 and was by Juan de Villagutierre y Sotomayor, who in that year was *relator* in the Council of the Indies. Father Maas gives none of this text, but to his introduction he has annexed (pp. X-LVI) the complete table of contents. The other five legajos are in the Archivo General de Indias (Seville), and by the new numbering are designated as "Guadalajara, 138-142." From the first two

of these Father Maas drew all the remaining documents in the book under review.

Part I (pp. 1-41) gives eight documents from A. G. I., Guadalajara 138, dealing with the state of the Jesuit missions in Sinaloa and the Franciscan missions in New Mexico, 1637-1641, and discussing the question of establishing bishoprics. Embodied in this material are *pareceres* by two former governors of New Mexico, Captain Francisco de la Mora (1632-35) and Captain Francisco Martínez de Baeza (1635-37). Of great interest also is the long statement by Fray Juan de Prada, general commissary of the Franciscan Order in New Spain.

Part II (pp. 42-119) is drawn from the same legajo, and the documents edited by Father Maas were selected because of the information they give as to the mission of New Mexico in the period from 1679 to 1686. Incidentally, under date of August 18, 1680, there are two references (pp. 75, 76) to the settlement of Bernalillo,—the earliest yet noted.

Part III (pp. 120-260) deals with "La Restauración de las Misiones" and presents documentary material of the years 1693 to 1696. These are from the second of the five legajos in "Guadalajara;" from the remaining three nothing has been used. The guiding principle throughout has been to give the material which throws light on the history of Franciscan missions in New Mexico during the 17th century; elision of parts of the text is indicated at many places, and in some places the character of omitted documents is summarized in a brief paragraph. There are many good notes and there is a brief helpful index.

In the first pages of his introduction, Father Maas has made several statements which are open to question. Tello and Mendieta, whom he cites, are really secondary sources, and if he had checked them with Villagutierre's history and the original sources found in the first legajo above mentioned (A. G. I., Patronato 22), or with the work of later writers based upon those sources, it is doubtful if Father Maas would have said that Fr. Juan de Olmedo was "the

first Franciscan who penetrated into the provinces of New Mexico," or that the first voyage of Fr. Marcos de Niza was occasioned by news brought back by Olmedo. Fr. Daniel did not get into "New Mexico," and there is serious question whether there was a "Fr. Juan de la Cruz" (see the April *Review*, pp. 175-185). Nor was New Mexico made a *custodia* in 1628; the change from a *comisaria* was made at least as early as 1617, and there were at least two *custodios*, Estéban de Perea (July *Review*, 288-298) and Fr. Miguel before Fr. Alonso de Benavides became the incumbent,—Fr. de Chavarría (January *Review*, 94).

Father Maas mentions various Indian uprisings of this 17th century, a great famine in 1670 and a terrible epidemic the following year, and the many invasions of the warlike Apache, but he does not refer to the recurrent disastrous strife of the missionaries with the civil authorities, nor to the activities in New Mexico of the Inquisition, nor to the always important service of the supply trains. During the 17th century there were no secular clergy in New Mexico, nor members of any other order; the only Religious were the Franciscan missionaries, and it is to be hoped that Father Maas, or some other member of that order, will take the materials which have been coming to light in recent years and write a really comprehensive history of the Franciscans in New Mexico. If it is a faithful account, it will doubtless have some dark pages but on the whole it will be a record of devoted endeavor and of noble achievement.

Meanwhile, by his editing of another volume of the sources, Father Maas has again placed students of "New Mexico" under obligations to him.—L. B. B.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL TRIP TO TOLUCA

(Reported in EL UNIVERSAL, Mexico, July 29th)

**T**OLUCA, July 27—At 3:30 P. M. of the 26th there arrived in this city an archaeological excursion with the object of studying the pueblo of Calixtlahuaca, in this jurisdiction, where certain ruins were recently discovered, which it is understood may be valuable archaeological prizes and which may elucidate certain obscure points as to the ancient civilization.

In charge of the excursion is Dr. E. Hewett, with his assistant, Mr. R. Fisher, the other members who form the party being Mrs. Hewett, Mrs. Grace Fisher, Misses Florence Dillon, Betty Holloman, Edith Conrad, Anita Ayala, Ann Kent, Susie Kent, Kay Harwood, Loren Hawley, Sophie P. Casey, Miss Emma R. Stevenson, correspondent of *Sunset*; Professor Watson, E. S. Kellogg, director of *Social Survey*; Messrs. Darlington, L. Bloom, F. Scholes, and Mr. Frank Tannebaum, author of "The Agrarian Revolution in Mexico."

Upon its arrival the party was received by the citizen governor of the state, Colonel Filiberto Gomez. They brought with them a letter to our governor from the governor of New Mexico, the latter's daughter, Miss Dillon, coming as his representative, and they were quartered in the residence of the governor, where a banquet was served, the speech of welcome being made by Sr. Juan M. Patino and response of appreciation being made on behalf of the party by Miss Dillon.

Upon being interviewed by one of our reporters, Miss Ayala showed herself to be deeply moved, and left to this daily the difficult task of expressing their appreciation of the courtesy with which the party had been received. The members of the party show themselves to be very much interested in the work which is being started at Calixtlahuaca.

Toluca, July 27.—A very important archaeological zone is being uncovered between the pueblos of Calixtlahuaca and Tecaxic, to the north of Toluca. This is nothing less than eleven temples (teocalis) of the old city of Calixtlahuaca, which, towards the close of its pagan existence, was tributary to the great Aztec Empire.

By investigations which have been made in this zone by Dr. Manuel Gamio and Sr. Jose Garcia Payon (the latter being director of the excavations), it is known that in Calixtlahuaca flourished the archaic culture before the days of Teotihuacan (on the ruins of which later rose the city of Mexico.—Editor). Very few evidences of the Aztec culture have been encountered, all of them being reduced to characteristic pottery sherds on which fine black lines are drawn over the base of natural clay color.

A limited number of sculptures, low-relief and utensils have been found in those important excavations, but they throw light upon the theory that in Calixtlahuaca the archaeological zone represents various aboriginal cultures from the Toltec down to the Aztec. All these valuable finds have been removed to Toluca, for the museum which is being organized.

At present one of the principal pyramids, which is situated on the north slope of Mount Tenismo, is being uncovered, and one of its ample steps, marvelously preserved, has been cleared. In parts even the very fine plastering which covered the walls of the teocali has been encountered, with drawings in bright colors of black, green, red, yellow and blue. All these fragments of the mural frescoes are being carefully gathered up to serve, as Sr. Garcia Payon says, for the making of interesting studies.

The pyramid now being uncovered communicates with another smaller one to the east, on which side exploration has been begun in the expectation of there finding the stairway to the larger teocali. Search will be made also for the remains of walls on the summit of the pyramid, although it is to be expected that these may be completely destroyed;

but if the contrary is the case, the value of the archaeological find will be immensely increased, since in Mexico only three temples have been discovered with part of their topmost buildings.

From the summit of the small mountain (which is nothing more than the pyramid which is being uncovered) the observer finds himself in the center of the buried sacred city of Calixtlahuaca. Ten hills of various dimensions indicate as many more temples, buried centuries ago and enclosing who knows how many historical riches.

And from the foot of the pyramid itself extend four terraced milpas in the form of very large parallelograms which it is easy to see constituted the wide terrace which the Indians constructed to give access to the teocali. And towards the east another milpa of the same geometrical form, with elevated borders, leads the archaeologists to believe that there was the game of pelota. But this will be ascertained towards the end of the year when the country folk of Calixtlahuaca have gathered their harvests.

It is an extremely interesting and beautiful landscape which is dominated from the summit of the pyramid. The view spreads over a vast expanse which presents all shades of green. Here and there are lakes surrounded by trees which in the distance appear to be dwarfs. To the east lie two or three little towns which have preserved the poetic aspect which the Indians before the conquest knew how to give them, made up of little isolated houses surrounded by their grounds. And in the background of this magnificent scenery rise the mountain ranges with their varied colorings.

Profiting by the beauty of the region as well as by the great importance of the archaeological zone of Calixtlahuaca, the local government proposes to construct a park which may serve for the recreation of tourists, who will be able to come by automobile over the highway to Toluca from Alomoloya de Juarez, which is being rapidly rebuilt.



And if the visitor, with a proper curiosity, wishes to go to the Catholic church in Calixtlahuaca, let him walk around it outside and he will see many stones on the faces of which are worked hieroglyphics, dates, etc., which were torn from the teocalis to serve for the foundation of the church, which was built in 1911. Likewise in all of the houses he will see that beautiful archaeological pieces are kept, many of them of inestimable value.

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## NECROLOGY

## JUDGE JOHN R. MCFIE

**D**EATH came to Judge John R. McFie, a member of the Historical Society of New Mexico and president of the Board of Regents of the Museum of New Mexico, on Saturday night, July 12, 1930, ending a career distinguished and honorable. He had served continuously as a member of the Board of Regents of the Museum of New Mexico and of the Managing Committee of the School of American Research ever since their founding in Santa Fe. He was the President of the Archaeological Society of New Mexico from its beginning and President of the Board of Regents of the Museum from its first year until his death. Flags over the Palace of the Governors and over the Art Museum, as well as over the Capitol, were at half mast to signify the loss that the State had sustained in the death of this eminent citizen.

Judge McFie was essentially a builder. Four great institutions claim him as one of their founders: The New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts, the Museum of New Mexico, the School of American Research and the Presbyterian Sanitorium at Albuquerque. Closest to his heart were the Museum and its affiliated School, to both of which he gave without remuneration most of his time during his declining years. Thousands of visitors will recall the kindly gentleman with glasses—he never seemed old—who acted as their guide, enthusiastically explaining

to them the exhibits and telling the story of New Mexico and of Santa Fe as only one who is intensely loyal and enamored of their charms could relate it. The late Colonel Ralph E. Twitchell, a contemporary and co-worker, although many years younger, in his "Leading Facts of New Mexican History," prints a biographical sketch together with an excellent portrait, from which the following salient facts are taken:

"Notable, conspicuous and honorable is the position that Judge John R. McFie has long occupied in public regard in New Mexico. His entire career reflects credit upon the state which has honored him, for at all times he has used his ability to further the public weal and promote its advancement along those lines which constitute the chief forces in the upbuilding of a great commonwealth. He has the unusual distinction of having served for five terms as associate justice of the supreme court and equally effective and valuable has been his work in behalf of the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts and his efforts during the Legislature of 1907 in behalf of the Archaeological Institute of America. There is much in his life history that should serve as a source of inspiration and encouragement to others showing what may be accomplished when laudable ambition is combined with natural ability and with a most comprehensive recognition of possibilities, duties and responsibilities.

"It was in Washington county, Illinois, on the ninth day of October, 1848, that Judge McFie was born, his parents being John and Elizabeth (Borland) McFie, who, leaving their native country, Scotland, in 1845, sailed for America and established their home in Illinois. The father, who had occupied a university chair in Scotland, devoted his attention to teaching for years, when a serious illness intervened, ending in his death in 1862.

"Judge McFie was the seventh in order of birth in a family of eight children, three sons and five daughters, and was quite young when the family home was established in

Randolph county, Illinois. He attended the public schools and received private instruction from his father, who was well qualified to direct the mental development of his son. With the outbreak of the Civil War, John R. McFie attempted to enlist. In fact, he enrolled his name as a member of every company that was organized in his home community but being a mere boy and his father in an invalid condition, parental consent was withheld from his joining the army. The father died, however, in 1862, and the following year, Judge McFie, having obtained his mother's consent, became one of the boys in blue of Company E, Thirtieth Illinois Volunteer Infantry, with which regiment he remained until the close of hostilities. As the regiment was on furlough at the time of his enlistment he was not mustered in until February, 1864, at Camp Butler, Illinois. He went with Sherman on the celebrated march from Atlanta to the sea, which proved the weakness of the southern Confederacy, showing that the troops had been drawn from the interior to protect the border. He participated in other notable movements that led up to the final victory which crowned the Union arms, and in June, 1865, hostilities having been brought to a close, he received an honorable discharge, being mustered out at Louisville, Kentucky, and participating in the grand review at Washington, the most famous military spectacle ever seen on the western hemisphere.

"After his return from the war Judge McFie secured a clerkship in a mercantile house at Coulterville, Illinois, where he lived with his mother. He remained in commercial circles for five years and worked his way upward until he became a partner in the business, but native talent stirred within him and was evinced in a desire to prepare for the bar, so that after a few years devoted to merchandising, he disposed of his interest in the business and took up the study of law in the office and under the direction of General J. Blackburn Jones of Sparta, Illinois. He was licensed to practice by the supreme court of the state in

1871 after successfully passing the required bar examination before Judge Silas L. Bryan, father of William Jennings Bryan. He then entered upon active practice in his native state and there followed his profession for thirteen years. No dreary novitiate awaited him. Almost immediately his ability won recognition and he advanced steadily to a prominent position in the ranks of the legal fraternity in his part of the state. He also became an important factor in political contests of his community, strongly endorsing the principles of the Republican party. He was elected to the thirty-first general assembly of Illinois as the representative of the district comprising Randolph, Perry and Monroe counties, and seconded the nomination of General John A. Logan for the United States Senate in the house of representatives. He was afterwards elected to the thirty-third legislative assembly, during which he supported Shelby M. Cullom for the senatorship.

“Remaining in the active practice of law in Illinois until 1884, Judge McFie then came to New Mexico, having been tendered the position of register of the United States Land Office at Las Cruces. He arrived in that city with his family in 1884, and occupied that position until December 17, 1885. In the following January he entered into partnership for law practice with Judge Simon B. Newcomb, now deceased, this relationship being maintained until March, 1889, when Judge McFie was appointed associate justice of the supreme court and judge of the third judicial district by President Harrison. He completed a four years' term, during which only two of his decisions were reversed by a higher tribunal. He then returned to his law practice but was again appointed associate justice by President McKinley in December, 1897, was reappointed in December, 1901, by President Roosevelt, by whom he afterward received a second appointment and then was again appointed by President Taft, so that he served as associate justice of the supreme court for nearly nineteen years and until admission of New Mexico into the Union. He had the distinction of

being the only justice to receive an appointment for a fifth term and of having remained upon the supreme bench for a longer period than any other within the history of New Mexico as a territory. Following his appointment by President McKinley he became presiding judge of the first district with headquarters at Santa Fe. His first term demonstrated his eminent qualifications for the post, and the bar of New Mexico, ever quick to criticise any judicial act showing the slightest tinge of bias or of prejudice, expressed the highest confidence in his integrity and marked sense of justice. Moreover, the court records indicate that not one of his opinions, written for the supreme court of the territory, was reversed by the supreme court of the United States, during the years that he was a member of that court."

Thus far Twitchell. Judge McFie became the storm center of a bitter political feud in New Mexico's capital. He emerged unscathed, although he stood staunchly by his friends who had become involved, for it was one of the characteristics of the man that he was loyal to his friends through thick and thin, no matter what the sacrifice entailed. He presided over many noted trials and at one time or other held court in practically every county seat of territorial days. His opinions scattered throughout many volumes of the New Mexico Supreme Court Reports prove him to have been a painstaking analyst and conscientious in forming his conclusions. After retiring from the bench, Judge McFie maintained law offices in Santa Fe and in Gallup, and for a time resided in Albuquerque. For many years he was commander of Carleton Post, G. A. R., and until recently was state commander. Judge McFie was an Odd Fellow and a Mason and had belonged to other lodges and societies. His greatest pride however, was in the Archaeological Society of New Mexico and the Santa Fe Society of the Archaeological Institute of America. When the matter of choosing a site for the School of American Research was broached he worked successfully for the selection of

Santa Fe. As a member of the Board of Regents of the Museum of New Mexico he never missed a meeting until laid low by his last illness, never accepting a penny for per diem or expenses, although he often traveled considerable distance to attend. In the Presbyterian church he was an elder, holding his membership in the First Presbyterian Church at Santa Fe. Quoting Twitchell again:

“Judge McFie has ever been most deeply interested in education and has done very effective work in promoting public advancement along that line in this state. The value of his service is inestimable. When the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts was established by the legislature, he was one of those who conducted the campaign for its location at Las Cruces, where he then resided. The effort was successful and the college was established there in 1890. Judge McFie was appointed one of the members of the first Board of Regents, was elected president of the Board and continued in that position for seven years, during which time the first buildings of the institution were erected by the Board and the main building, in honor of Judge McFie, was called McFie Hall. When it became known that a School of American Archaeology was to be established by the Archaeological Institute of America, the New Mexico Archaeological Society, of which Judge McFie was president (for 32 years) began an active campaign for the location of that school in Santa Fe. That campaign involved an effort to have the legislature of 1907 tender to the Archaeological Institute of America the Palace of the Governors, free of rent, for the use of this school. This offer was accepted and the school was founded in Santa Fe in 1907 in conjunction with the State Museum of New Mexico. Judge McFie was appointed a member of the first Board of Regents and upon its organization he was elected President of the Board and has been reelected every year since that time. He took great interest and pride in the institution, thoroughly knew every exhibit and for some years maintained his office in the building. He recognized the full value of the scientific

work carried on by the School and the Museum and has been, in every effort for improvement and advancement, a co-operant factor.

“Aside from his intense activity along the various lines indicated, Judge McFie is a prominent representative of both the Grand Army of the Republic and of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. In the latter he has served as a past grand of his lodge and served several terms as commander of the Department of New Mexico of the Grand Army of the Republic. He is equally faithful as a member of the Presbyterian church. The value of his effort and his loyalty is recognized in every field in which he has labored. He is a man of marked ability not only in the strength of his intellectual attainments, but also in the practical use of his powers, as manifest in the accomplishment of desired ends. Had he worked only along one line his labors would have been such as to entitle him to distinction, but many fields have been benefited by his well-defined plans and purposes. James Lane Allen has pictured an ideal manhood in the words: ‘First of all a man should be a man with all the grace, the strength and vigor of the body; second, he should be a man with all the grace and vigor of the intellect; and added to these, no matter what his creed, his superstition, his dogma or his religion, he should try to live the beautiful life of the spirit.’ Such an ideal it seems has permeated the career of Judge McFie. Not seeking honor but simply endeavoring to do his duty, honors have been multiplied to him and prosperity has followed his undertakings. His is the success that brings intellectual liberty, making him a citizen of the wider world of thought and knowledge. Out of the struggle with small opportunities he has come into a field of broad and active influence and usefulness and it is a dull mind that does not respond to the touch of his thought, to the play of his fancy, to the force of his logic, whether exerted in the maintenance of some legal truth, in the establishment and control of some educational institu-

tion, in the advancement of moral progress, or in holding inviolable the ties of home and of friendship."

Judge McFie's activities in the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research brought him in close contact and intimate friendship with his fellow workers, of whom Hon. Frank Springer, Dr. Charles F. Lummis, Judge William H. Pope, Dr. R. W. Corwin, Judge A. J. Abbott, Miss Alice Fletcher, Judge N. B. Laughlin, Dr. Kelsey, Wesley Bradfield, Donald Beauregard, and others have preceded him to the grave.

Judge McFie is survived by his widow, nee Mary Steele, whom he married on his 28th birthday, October 9, 1876. Two sons live in the Philippines, one, Ralph, having been governor of Davao, the other, John R. McFie, Jr., being an attorney in Manila. Three daughters also survive: Mrs. Lansing Bloom, Mrs. Lawrence B. Lackey and Miss Amelia M. McFie.

The funeral of Judge McFie took place on Tuesday afternoon, July 22. Services were held in the First Presbyterian church with the pastor, Rev. David Reiter, in the pulpit, and Rev. Hugh A. Cooper and Rev. J. B. Cavitt of Albuquerque, and Rev. W. D. Waller of St. John's Methodist Church, also officiating. Mr. Cooper pronounced the eulogy, dwelling especially on the services of Judge McFie as a founder and member of the board of directors of the Presbyterian Sanitorium at Albuquerque. At the grave in the National Cemetery, the Masonic ritual preceded the sounding of reveille and a cornet solo, a favorite hymn, by Mrs. Charles Doll. The active pall bearers were: Captain W. C. Reid, Judge Reed Holloman, R. R. Larkin, F. L. Wood, Paul A. F. Walter, Charles E. Doll, Ellis Bauer and Henry Dendahl. The honorary pall bearers were Governor R. C. Dillon, Chief Justice Frank W. Parker, Judge C. J. Roberts, R. Hunter Clarkson, Max Nordhaus, Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, T. W. Hanna, Colonel E. C. Abbott, T. F. Dunkel, John Hall and Harry Schneider, the last three named being members of the Grand Army of the Republic.



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## ERRATA

Vol. IV, p. 332, line 21, insert note reference "72."

p. 333, line 5, insert note reference "73."

The reference Nos. 72 and 73, as printed should read 74 and 75, their text being found in Vol. V, foot of p. 38.

Vol. V, p. 27, from sub-title *delete* Gen.

p. 32, lines 2-3 belong on page 33, following line 2.

p. 95, line 5, *read* it costs.

p. 112, in signatures to the contract, *read* Don Juan Gonzales de Peñafiel, Don Gabriel de Moscoso, Fray Tomás Manso.

p. 141, line 34, *read* exterminated.

p. 211, line 3, *read* Anna Paschall Hannum.

p. 220, line 1, *read* Blessing.

pp. 242-243, *read* (note 5) Chiametla; (note 9) Castañeda; (note 10) P. Andrés Péres de Ribas.

p. 257, note 64, line 3, *delete* ultimamente, teniendo su

p. 276, transfer line 14 to follow line 26.

p. 291, line 24, *read* jurisdiction.



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