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NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL REVIEW

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Editors

FRANK D. REEVE

PAUL A. F. WALTER

Associates

PERCY M. BALDWIN

GEORGE P. HAMMOND

FRANCE V. SCHOLES

THEODOSIUS MEYER, O.F.M.

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON

VOLUME XXIV
1949

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Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXIV

JANUARY, 1949

No. 1

O. P. McMAINS, CHAMPION OF A LOST CAUSE

By F. STANLEY*

OSCAR PATRICK McMAINS was like a match; his oratory and courage lit up for a while, and then all ended in smoke. But no story of the Maxwell Land Grant can be told without including him. His coming to New Mexico was an accident in the first place; once here, however, he was caught in the vortex of moving frontiers, railroads, outlaws, squatters, homesteaders, miners, and builders. Monuments have been erected to men who did less than he did.

Actually, the original petitioners for the tract which later became the Maxwell Land Grant acted as though they were about to start a grand scale reform school. In the first letter pertaining to the Grant, filed in Santa Fe on January 8, 1841, Guadalupe Miranda and Carlos Beaubien stressed the most elevating motives for their request.

Idleness, the mother of vice [their petition reads], is the cause of the increase of crimes which are daily being committed, notwithstanding the severity of the laws and their rigid execution; the towns are overrun with thieves and murderers. . . . We think it is a difficult task to reform the present generation, accustomed to idleness and hardened in vice. But the rising one, receiving new impressions, will easily be guided by the principles of purer morality. The welfare of the nation consists in the possession of lands which produce all the necessaries of life without requiring those of other nations, and it cannot be denied that New Mexico possesses this great advantage, and only requires industrious hands to make it a happy residence. This is the age of progress and the march of intellect, and they are so rapid that we may expect, at a day not far distant, that they will reach even us. Under the above conviction we both request your Excellency to be pleased to grant to us a tract of land for the purpose of

* Father Stanley Crocchiola, Raton, New Mexico.

improving it, without any injury to any third party, and raising sugar beets, which we believe will grow well and produce an abundant crop, and in time to establish manufactories of cotton and wool, and raising stock of every description. . . .

Thus was launched the enterprise which became the Maxwell Land Grant.

Miranda, however, felt rather less confidence in the project than Beaubien. Therefore, in 1858, he sent L. Pablo Miranda as his agent to sell his share to Lucien B. Maxwell, Beaubien's son-in-law, for \$2,475. The price included a sum to be paid to the Congress of the United States, and a sum to be paid to Charles Beaubien.¹ Maxwell eventually acquired all the property for what today would buy a fully furnished home of nine rooms.² Then he sold out (1870).

The recently formed Maxwell Land Grant and Railroad Company, which paid him \$1,350,000,³ in turn gave way to foreign interests. These sent their agents to northern New Mexico to protect their interests, especially when it was found out that the land was rich in gold, coal, copper, and other minerals, and in good farming land. At the same time, never bothering about deeds or abstracts, squatters put up their homes here and there, and raised their cattle.

Communities developed. One of the articles of incorporation in the Grant Company's organization called for "laying out towns and villages, and to erect houses, Manufactories, plant machinery and other buildings upon any property of the company."⁴ Cimarron, Maxwell's former home, was one of such towns; it was the county seat in the early days of the Anti-Grant agitation.⁵ Another settlement, likewise for a time the county seat, was Elizabethtown.

1. See *Transfers of Title in Transcript of Title of the Maxwell Land Grant* (Rand McNally Co., Chicago, 1881.)

2. In 1864, Frederick Muller and Teodora Muller Beaubien sold their share for \$500; Joseph Clouthier and Juana Clouthier sold out for \$3,500; and Vital and Eleanor Trujillo sold out for \$3,000. In 1867, J. G. Abreu and Petra Beaubien Abreu sold their share for \$3,500. Pablo Beaubien sold his share in 1870 for the same consideration. Aloys Scheurich and Teresina Scheurich Bent had sold theirs in 1866 for \$6,000; Alexander Hicklin and Estefana Hicklin Bent received the same amount. In all about two million acres were involved. (O. C., pp. 37 and 44.)

3. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

5. Colfax County.

To this section, between Elizabethtown and Cimarron, Rev. T. J. Tolby had dedicated his life as a circuit rider for the Methodist Church. He died in 1875—murdered. To the scene of the crime hurried Oscar Patrick McMains, a fellow-minister of the Gospel. He put aside the cloth to turn detective, and find the criminal. But two weeks later (October 1), the body of Cruz Vega was found hanging to a telegraph pole.⁶ The finger pointed to McMains, who was brought to trial for murder at Taos. The case, however, was dismissed by Judge Samuel Parks; under the evidence received the minister could not be properly convicted. This much did develop—that Cruz Vega, on being hanged, had protested to the masked men about him (one of whom actually was McMains) that he had had nothing to do with Tolby's death—that perhaps Manuel Cárdenas might know something about it. Perhaps it is significant that Cárdenas was shot to death on November 10, 1875.

This is what led McMains to the land grant question. While investigating the death of his confrère, he for the first time fully realized, among other facts, that there were two types of settlers: those who had bought their property from the Grant people, and those who had made themselves at home on the Grant. Always a crusader, and himself a squatter, he espoused the cause of the Anti-Granters.

He proposed to act. Feeling that the vicinity of Cimarron was too Pro-Grant, he settled near Raton. There he established a printing shop in order to issue a newspaper called *The Comet*, which he designated as the official paper of the Anti-Granters. Now he became a general aligning forces for action. And Colfax County was to see some action! Too busy on his ranch when he was not traveling to and from Washington, D. C., he passed the newspaper project to another Anti-Granters—though he still dictated its policy. His successor called it *The Raton Guard*. Here is an example of McMains's argument:

The survey of the Beaubien & Miranda, or the Maxwell Land Grant, a vast tract of country lying in New Mexico and Colorado

6. Cf. W. A. Keleher: *Maxwell Land Grant* (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1942), pp. 75-107.

which was patented about twenty years ago without adequate examination, and in spite of protests, letters, and papers from this country, showed that the survey erroneously included in the southwest corner Elizabethtown, and Elizabethtown Valley which is rich in minerals. This valley is V shaped, pointing north with a chain of mountains on each side. These papers showed that the boundary line there described in the Grant ran on the east side of the valley instead of the west as surveyed. It is true these protests were not formal because all the lawyers of the country were either employed or intimidated by the Land Grant office. It was customary to make at least, the basis of an investigation but the survey was approved and the patent issued without any time being given for the opposition or the settlers and miners in the valley to take legal steps. . . . Life in the Capital of this great country, with its many examples of successful villainy is very apt eventually to root out the belief providentially planted in men's breasts that the square thing is what pays.⁷

Later (November 1882) he bought back the paper, this time establishing a partnership with Adams. Re-naming the paper *The Raton Comet*, he again took up the pen. In his first issue he wrote:

. . . Greetings to our friends; defiance to our foes. Here is the *Comet* again with the same old motto: Open War Against Secret Fraud. The Fraud is a towering, majestic two million acres known as the Maxwell Land Grant. It has fed on fraud; fraud will kill it. Its demise, however, can be hastened by a newspaper as well as legal treatment. . . .⁸

Meantime he gave a little attention to his ranch south of town, between Dillon and Raton. He sought the best of stock for it and had as his brand the letters M A X. He had been collecting from the Anti-Granters for trips to Washington to induce the Land Office there to reverse its decision that the Grant people possessed title beyond doubt. Commented the editor of the *Guard* before McMains repurchased it: "McMains has purchased a fine brood mare from Frank VanHaren last Monday at seventy-five dollars cash. If the 'Agitator' keeps on buying horses the next Land Grant sale at his ranch will be large."⁹

7. *The Raton Guard*, Nov. 25, 1881.

8. *The Raton Comet*, July 14, 1882.

9. *The Raton Guard*, June 16, 1882. The editor here refers to an incident which took place in March, 1882. Five men rode in while McMains was attending Court Sessions at Cimarron, and took all his stock as rent for the Maxwell Land Grant

But most of his time went to organizing the movement. Everywhere there was an amalgamation of forces. Every stranger was approached. McMains gained more and more popularity among Anti-Land Granters. From as far away as Nebraska S. D. Stout wrote :

The Maxwell Land Grant is a huge swindle. I have seen this Ring [the name given a politics and land faction in Santa Fe, Springer, Taos, Raton, and other places at the time] remove the court to Taos and then send the sheriff a regiment of Negroes [soldiers stationed at Fort Union] to arrest the best citizens of Colfax County.¹⁰

So powerful was McMains' influence that the editor of *The Raton Guard* found himself writing (March 26, 1882) :

The Maxwell Land Grant from the day of its fraudulent existence has been noted for taking every little, mean, dirty advantage that it has in its power. And as the last, low fling at the settlers, just on the eve of the trial of the case in the United States Court of Colorado, and just a few days before the bill in equity could be filed, they served their ejection notices on the settlers in the northern end of the town [the northern end of Raton at the time was known as Boggstown; it was upon Boggs and the settlers near him that the notices were served] and upon O. P. McMains at his place near town. So long as the bill of equity has not been actually filed and official notice of suit thus actually given, this obnoxious company still has in its power to molest the settlers. The case will come up in Cimarron next week, but if at that time the bill has been filed, or an order received from the attorney-general Brewster to stay proceedings as he ordered the suit, we think the court will continue the cases. McMains not being at home when the officers of the law arrived he was not dispossessed, but they levied on his hay and his goods and they say they will put him out when he returns. The settlers need feel no alarm for the days of the Maxwell Land Grant are numbered.

because McMains was a squatter. In April he made a speech in Cimarron which was so vitriolic that the Grant people decided to oust him once and for all. They advertised that, on April 19, 1882, all of McMains' effects would be auctioned off as a payment of the property he called his but for which he had no deed. Two hundred of his followers collected at the auction with Winchester. The sale was started by Sheriff Wallace and Deputy Bowman. Began Wallace: "Who will bid on the mare next to the fence?" Silence. Only hostile looks and gleaming Winchester. The Sheriff, seeing he could do nothing, then produced a form and read the reasons why McMains had to be ejected, commenting further that he was only doing his duty. The spokesman for the Anti-Granters told him to get going. Next time they wouldn't be so kind. They would march on Cimarron, the county seat, and kill every Pro-Granter there. The ranch was saved.—*Cf. The Raton Guard*, April 21, 1882.

10. *The Raton Guard*, March 21, 1882.

Feeling became more tense and more bitter. Tavern brawls ended as partisan fights. Everyone was either pro or con; there was no middle ground. George F. Canis, publisher of the Raton paper, *The New Mexico Press and News*, had espoused the Land Grant's side, so that to McMains he became the official spokesman of the opposition. Other papers throughout the Territory took up the cry either for or against. Raton became a terribly bad place to live in, according to their lights, where

life and property is considered of no importance by the bloodthirsty inhabitants of this burg. This impression has gone abroad through the disjointed, garbled, maliciously false statements found in several newspapers. . . . George F. Canis, editor of the *New Mexico Press and News* is blamed mostly. He published a supplement of seven columns to his paper on October 30, 1882, wherein he charged Rev. O. P. McMains with murder. . . . Mr. McMains has had to suffer martyrdom on more occasions than one, by this exposure of corruption and fraud by which the people of Colfax County were threatened to be engulfed. . . .

When Parson Tolby, several years ago, was waylaid and shot in the back while performing his duties, Mr. McMains nobly came to the rescue and was instrumental in tracing the murderer of his brother minister. This was an act on his part that placed him at the mercy of the terrible bad element that infested this country at the time. When McMains went to Canis asking for proof of his statements Canis said he didn't have them whereupon McMains addressed a large gathering telling them the facts that led to the killing of Parson Tolby, and of the arrest of Cruz Vegas, as the murderer. When he finished, Canis got up and addressed the crowd and apologised for his writing and promised to write a retraction. Everyone knows that Canis did not do this of his own self but with instructions he dare not disobey. He was used as a catspaw to pull some one else's chestnuts out of the fire. Instead of injuring McMains it is on the whole the very best thing that could be thought of to elect him as a representative of the people of this county to the legislature at Santa Fe.¹¹

Canis was shortly afterwards appointed postmaster at Deming. The Anti-Granters' cries followed him; his effigy was burnt by the settlers there,¹² as McMains promptly informed the people of Raton.

The Great Agitator, as he was now known, then had

11. *The Raton Comet*, November 4, 1882.

12. March 11, 1883.

himself elected to the legislature the better to study the records in his effort to disqualify the claims of the Maxwell Land Grant people. Whenever a flicker of hope gleamed, he promptly sent the news to the newspaper in Raton. For instance: "The Maxwell Land Grant Fraud is doomed on unimpeachable record testimony. The patent has by high judicial authority already been decided to have been obtained by fraud in the survey and this fraud in the survey renders uncertain the boundaries of the Maxwell Land Grant as confirmed by Congressional decree. The Grant is entitled to just eleven square leagues."¹³

Up and down the length and breadth of the Southwest went McMains, agitating against the Grant: Bloosburg, Raton, Santa Fe, Deming, Folsom, Trinidad, Denver, Pueblo, Dallas, Fort Worth, Springer, Cimarron, Elizabethtown, Baldy, Fort Union, Watrous, Tiptonville. When he returned from Denver, a large crowd met him at the Santa Fe station in Raton and escorted him to the McPherson & McAuliffe Hall to hear from his lips once again the story of the cause to which he was dedicating his life.¹⁴

Up in Trinidad, *The Trinidad News* took up the cry:

Nobody acquainted with the Maxwell Land Grant pretends to believe that it even approaches the limits now claimed by the swindlers who call themselves the Maxwell Land Grant Company. All the facts go to show that the claims of the Grant Co. are preposterous and fraudulent. It is worth millions of dollars and these thieving rascals have no more right to it than the James Brothers. O. P. McMains, who is familiar with the whole history of the outrage from its incipiency, has followed them like a sleuth hound; he has been persecuted and imprisoned by the swindlers but never faltered in his work, meeting with little encouragement, poor in purse and armed only with the spears of truth and justice, he has battled with these money grants.¹⁵

However, some Anti-Grant leaders finally began to question McMains. When C. F. Martin, editor of *The Springer Stockman*, was asked if he was for or against McMains, he answered:

13. *The Raton Comet*, Nov. 10, 1882.

14. *The Raton Comet*, March 13, 1883.

15. March 21, 1884.

We are for the settlers only, first, last, and for all time. We are opposed to McMains because it is McMains. We do not like the man; we do not think he is keeping faith with the people, and consequently not the proper man to dictate the actions of so many intelligent and honorable people as there are in Colfax County. We oppose him, his personal record and mode of action; not the cause he pretends to champion. Secondly, we are decidedly anti-grant, and desire the people of Colfax County to understand that when the *Stockman* can be of service, to them or their cause, we want a reserved seat in the front row.¹⁶

This was the first note of opposition against McMains. Everywhere people had contributed money to keep McMains in Santa Fe and Washington, D. C. All they got were words, promises, prophecies—"O. P. McMains, who has just returned from Washington, says that the whole Grant will soon be public lands."¹⁷ People became tired and nervous. The agitation at Springer, in which Rogers, Curry, and Jack Williams lost their lives, became a Grant War. Soldiers, sent from Fort Marcy, Fort Union, and Springer, placed the Colfax County seat under martial law. Vigilantes were organized in Raton—most of them Anti-Granters. The acting governor of the Territory was tricked into recognizing a militia for Raton, and Masterson and his men, through with their fight for the railroad, were hired to do a little fighting. Tired of hatred, agitation, mobs, bloodshed, however, the Vigilantes escorted Masterson and his henchmen over the Colorado border with the admonition never to set foot into New Mexico again.

McMains was to be handled by different means. He was to be punished by ridicule. The very newspaper he had once founded was to turn against him. He lost out among his own followers. People would go out of an afternoon to hear him harangue against the Grant just as they would go to see their favorite actor or pet bear:

McMains has indeed pursued a strange course since he commenced this fight. He has been the agent of some of us settlers; he has drawn himself up to his full height, and declared that he was born and created for this special mission of unearthing and defeating the gigantic

16. *The Springer Stockman*, July 4, 1884.

17. *The Taos Herald*, July 15, 1885.

fraud of the Maxwell Land Grant; that for every great era of national reform there sprung up some gladiator to fight its causes in the arena. But, settlers, notwithstanding all the enthusiasm which has bubbled up from that devoted heart, he forgot all about the great mission for which he was created when he went to Frank R. Sherwin, upon the latter's arrival at Cimarron, and while struggling for the mastery of the great love he had for the downtrodden ignorant settler (in which battle he claims to have come off victorious), then and there offered to bury the hatchet and think no more of wars—to let this immense fraud, which he has raged so much against, to go unfought so far as he is concerned, if the Grant Company would give him title to the ranch and meadow for which the settlers are willing to fight on.¹⁸

Will those who blindly follow this fanatic, to the neglect of their own interests, and manly independence, never tumble on the fact that he pretends to be supporting himself at Washington with his own money.¹⁹

McMains to the Settler said, "Ho.
I tell you that the land must go.
Just put up your wealth
I'll go east for my health
And laugh at you, sabe, just so."²⁰

"Judge Hunt finds that there is nothing to McMains but wind, so he squeezes some of it out, and then leaves him entirely collapsed."²¹ "O. P. McMains left for Washington on Tuesday. He found the atmosphere here a little chilly; the wind blowing in the wrong way. Everything has gone wrong, and everybody is dishonest but McMains. He secretly had a little pamphlet published in Trinidad. He couldn't risk having it published at Raton."²² All this only a few months after the glowing columns that made him a hero! What a come down from this, printed only the year before:

The Rink was crowded almost to suffocation last Friday night, the event being the reception tendered the citizens of Raton to Governor Ross and the Honorable O. P. McMains. There were seats for six hundred, but many had to stand. The estimated attendance was about thirteen hundred. Land grabbing monopolies were brought into

18. *The Raton Range*, May 28, 1886.

19. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1886.

20. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1886.

21. *The Raton Range*, April 30, 1886.

Ibid., May 7, 1886.

22. *Ibid.*, May 27, 1886.

his speech by O. P. McMains who said "He has carried on the great fight against land thieves and corrupt officials almost unaided and alone."²³

For a while his influence, though on the wane, was still felt. "Col. Chas. T. Russell has been notified by the Territorial officials to hold fifty men in readiness to go to Colfax County next month when the district court convenes. Maxwell Land troubles are expected," said *The Socorro Chieftain*.²⁴ "The irrepressible agitator, O. P. McMains," *The Raton Range* said, "last year issued an incendiary public circular declaring that the only way that the settlers could get their rights was by raising a 'rumpus.' He finally produced the rumpus and says it was the Maxwell Land people."²⁵

Finally, however, he could not escape the fact that he availed nothing in Raton. He tried Texas. For a long time, he knew, Texas had claimed a boundary that included the land taken in by the Grant. In 1842, as a Republic, she even sent an expeditionary force to take over the disputed land by force of arms.²⁶ Even here he was baffled; Texas would not deny that the United States Land Claims Office made a mistake in conceding that the Maxwell Land Grant was within its rights in retaining every acre purchased of Lucien Maxwell. It was now an obsession. He sold the few effects he had at Raton and moved to Stonewall, Colorado. There, too, he was soon in hot water.

"O. P. McMains and S. D. Bell and Anderson Duling were arrested in Trinidad yesterday," *The Raton Range* reported, "as the result of a riot at Stonewall last August, on charges of manslaughter growing out of the death of Squire Russell, a deputy-sheriff, amongst others who were sent to Stonewall to bring peace. They were anti-grant rioters and were let out on bail of five hundred dollars each, which they paid."²⁷ "McMains is at last reaping some of the fruit for

23. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1885.

24. August 5, 1888.

25. August 14, 1888.

26. For a good account of this expedition, see Kendall's *Santa Fe Expedition* (N. Y.: Harpers, 1844).

27. Feb. 22, 1889.

himself which he has prepared for others. On Wednesday, he was lying in the Trinidad jail with ten indictments over him, calling for \$19,000 in bond. Eight separate indictments were found against him for assault with intent to murder John Sells, Ed Brown, John Hannon, William C. Hunn, John Pembroke.”²⁸

One newspaper mourned his ruin—*The Clayton Enterprise*: “*The Raton Range*, and a few other papers of like ilk, seem to rejoice in the fact that the alien land-grabbers put poor McMains in jail for defending the settlers in their rights. We don’t see any occasion for rejoicing over the defeat of McMains and the defeat of justice by a set of unscrupulous men and a big pocket book. But what is the use of talking, such is only the illustration of human nature and of the way people are built. So long as there are some people who believe that might makes right and that the big fish are made to eat the little fish just so long will Darwin’s theory of human evolution hold good. They are built that way and can’t help it.”²⁹

After this the records are silent. Whether McMains, because of his poverty, languished in prison, or whether he returned to Stonewall a disillusioned, broken old man, has not been told. He just drops from sight. He probably died in the 90’s. No one who has been questioned, no courthouse files, no newspapers have yielded the information. However he may have lived or died, may the poor fellow rest in peace.

28. *The Raton Range*, March 28, 1889.

29. *The Clayton Enterprise*, April 25, 1891.

PURITAN AND APACHE: A DIARY

Edited by FRANK D. REEVE

(concluded)

Our gallant and imaginative Colonel, was this morning highly excited, upon observing on a distant hill some moving objects which he insisted were Indians. It was indeed a cheering sound and for a few moments, raised our monotonous thoughts, to to a fearfully dizzy height, at least until the more rational, and keener sighted of our party, could pronounce our Indian friends to be a few straggling antelope. So our thoughts were compelled again to return to the calmness of the still waters; and our imaginations to fancy foes, in the ten thousand palmetto stalks, waving far and near. We marched to-day about 14 miles in the direction of the Burro [Burro] Mountains, and camped for the night in a beautiful cañon, enclosed by two spurs from them—

We approached this lovely spot by a narrow winding pass, and near the entrance of it found several Indian lodges, with the very recent remains of one wigwam. They had not been deserted more than a week, at the very longest time, and their very sight, together with the thought that we were now approaching the homes of our dusky foe, was, (to me,) quite novel, and not unpleasantly exciting. Steen and myself pitched our beds in a thick shaded copse enclosed on all sides by fragrant thorny bushes, all in blossom and more resembling a planted garden of flowers than a wild uncultivated region which had never before seen the hated 'pale face'.

Our camp was called by the guides "The Senegal" [Cienega, a marsh] which translated is Lake. It was one of the most delightful spots, that I had seen in New Mexico.

May the 12th 1857

Opened upon us with the agreeable information that we were to lay in camp, news that could by no means be unpleasant, to one naturally as indolent, and particularly, as sleepy as I happened to be on the day in question:—and immediately

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upon the receipt of it I determined to return to the habitation of Mr. Morphia [morphine] himself, (not Morpheus) where I sojourned until 8½ A.M. when like Peter³⁰ I arose, but unlike him, did eat of some manner of four footed beast, and I think that I was not quite so much troubled with it as he was— Passed the day in lolling about, strolling around the vicinity of our camp, sleeping, reading, etc. not forgetting to jot down a few lines, in this self same journal of mine— Recollect nothing worthy of note, unless indeed the getting very drunk, of Lieut. Edson, by which he created a great deal of disturbance, can be called so.

May 15th—³¹

Marched at 7 A.M. in the direction of the highest point of the Burroe Mountains, which our column had been ordered by Col. Bonneville to scout; Lieut Jackson was detailed yesterday to start at 7 A.M. this morning, with his detachment, and that of Lieut. Cooke, numbering together about 80 men. They were to march to the west of these mountains, passing as near the summits as possible, while the remaining portion of the column passed to the Eastward of them.— *We*, also, by our assumed direction, were gradually approaching the highest points of the Mountains, passing in our course over a continuous succession of wave like summits or ridges, which seemed from their formation, to have been rolled, while in a liquid state, like the waves of the ocean, high, one above the other, by some mighty power, constantly increasing, until the energy of the colossal force had exhausted itself with a last gigantic effort, and they had remained from that hour, congealed and transfixed forever in their dizzy heights, eternal monuments of the vast creative will of Jehovah! But are these more than mere curls of vapour, which rose from the great cauldron of creation, when its mighty elements were seperated? For the planets and stars are but the lamps, which have flown from the potters wheel, of the Great Worker:— the shred coils which in the working

30. And I heard a voice saying unto me, Arise, Peter; slay and eat. Acts 11:7.

31. At this point Lazelle has probably misarranged his *Journal*. The reader is invited to skip to page 17, under date of May 13, and then read in order the entries under May 14 and 15.

sprang from His mighty lathe;—the sparks which darted from His awful anvil, when the Solar System lay incandescent thereon! But Even *this*, shows the *greatness* of His work, and have been rolled into forms of Symetry and order, as well as all other bodies which we can discover in the Universe, which have been called into existence as multitudes of worlds;— or into masses of light and splendour, by the vast whirl which the original creative energy imparted to the luminous element of which they were formed.

These rolling mountainous ridges, contain embosemed between them, the most lovely valleys, through the middle of which, in almost all cases, may be found a limpid stream of the purest water, which dashes and sports along, and seems to invite one, in its childish playfulness, to come and pass an hour with it, in harmless gambols, undisturbed by follies of a corrupt world

These valleys are filled with the most luxuriant growth of pines, live oaks, ceders, and an undergrowth of very beautiful wild rose bushes, which have put forth their hands and try to detain the passerby at every step; and tempting him with the delicious fragrance of their nectar cups, and mingling their delightful odors with those of the thousand and one varieties of flowers, which fill the cool air with their welcome perfume;— seem to beg one to consider if this is not one of the most fitting spots for reflection, and calm communion with Nature, in all her loveliest limits—

But I imagine that my reason, has vacated my brain to my fancy, and that, perhaps I have been writing, *not* as I now *think*, but as I *felt*, when I passed over this spot to-day—such wild and pleasant retreats are they.

The mountain tops and sides are covered with timber, and we marched through, around, over, and amongst it until after about ten miles of wandering we camped in a very pretty spot. I was “Officer of the Day” to-day, and in visiting the various pickets of sentinels at night, as it was quite dark, I got lost and straying far away from camp spent nearly half the sleeping hours of the night in finding my way back. The pickets had, by the direction of the Commanding Officer, been placed nearly half a mile distant from

the body of the encampment, to prevent to[o] near an approach of Indians, who might attempt to steal our animals, and it was in passing around the camp to visit them, that I mistook my course and passed these few hours in strolling speculations—so pleasantly.

May the 14th

Started at 7 A M—Day like yesterday—cool and pleasant. Our course was still North West in the direction of a pass in the mountains called the “Cañon of Magnas Colorado,”³² this being the name of one of the principle and most notorious chiefs of the whole Apache nation.

These mountains are favourite resorts of of Indians being filled with remains of their habitations, and every where betraying evidences of their recent presence;—but this cañon is particularly, one of their most frequented haunts—

After traveling several hours through a country, in appearance very like that of yesterday, we came upon the trail left by the wagons in their route to the “Gila River Dépôt.”³³ We had pursued this but a short distance when we came in sight of some of them returning to Fort Thorn for more provisions for our Indian dépôt. They proved to be those of Mr. McGoffin and presently I saw “*Sam*,” Monsie[u]r Capalards, and “*Valdez*,”³⁴ “who are well known to those who know them.” By the time we had come up with them their wagons were encamped in a nice shady place, and it was so pleasant that the Doctor and myself determined to

32. The Mimbreno chief was “called Mangas Colorado (Red Sleeves), from a fashion he had adopted of wearing his arms painted with the blood of his victims.” Mrs. F. E. Victor, “On the Mexican Border,” *Overland Monthly*, VI, 464 (May, 1871). See also John C. Cremony, “Some Savages,” *Ibid.*, XIII, 202 (March, 1872); Cozzens, *The Marvellous Country*, p. 118f.

33. This was the main supply base for the expedition. It was located on the east bank of the Gila river about fifteen miles from the Mogollon mountains, in a valley about forty miles long and twenty-five miles wide. The Mogollon mountains were to the north, the San Vicente to the east, the Burro and Almoque to the south, and the Patos and San Francisco to the west. Bonneville to James Collins, Santa Fe, September 22, 1857. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, November 30, 1857. 35 cong., 1 sess., sen. ex. doc. 11, p. 583 (919).

34. “Gabriel Valdez, brother James’ brother-in-law arrived this morning with brothers J’s, & W’s wagons.” *Down the Santa Fe Trail and Into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin 1846-1847*. Edited by Stella M. Drumm, p. 146 (Yale University Press, 1926).

I am unable to identify the Capalards.

remain with them an hour or so, letting the troops pass on without us— We were very hospitably entertained by them, the Doctor representing the drinking portion of the "Staff," while I confined myself to the eating and smoking part of the entertainment. Now as "*Pills*" had to drink *with* three, and *against* them, the result was that the moment for starting, found him "excessively tight," and very garrulous. And the finale was, that as we had remained so long that we were unable even by the most rapid riding to overtake the column.—At least so we thought, never dreaming in our hurry and anxiety, that the command had left the wagon trail, for one leading in another direction, far behind us— Nor was it until alarm took the place of other feelings, that we were led to examine our position, and the wagon trail which we had been so long following. On doing this we discovered that all of the tracks "*headed*" in the opposite direction from that in which we were traveling, and we then found to our dismay, that we had lost "The trail"—

It was agreeable to think that we were separated from the column,—totally ignorant of the country, and at the least ten or twelve miles from any but Indians in the heart of their country. We immediately rode back until we came to a point of the road where the tracks were so confused and indistinct that it was impossible for us to tell which way was the right one.

The doctor swore that he would go no farther:—that this must have been the road taken by the troops; that it led somewhere etc etc—I persuaded him to wait for me to go back alone a mile or so to examine farther. After riding some distance, and making a very careful inspection of the path, I came upon a trail which I was convinced had been very recently made. This was followed for a long distance, but as it led away over the mountains, to the South of our proper direction, I was compelled to give it up as one belonging to our red brothers, and finally returned and reported my ill luck. We now went to work in deep earnest to, find ourselves, each taking a side of the route to look for side trails, and after traveling several miles, we discerned faint marks of horse shoes on the hard flinty soil, which upon

tracing them a while opened or rather led to softer ground where were unmistakable signs of our column having passed over it. We followed it rapidly and towards night came in sight of our camp, where we finally arrived without further accident, except that we were *very* tired, a *little* discouraged, and *somewhat* hungry and unhappy—

Late to night there arrived an express from Lieut. Jackson, describing his position and requesting further orders. He was directed to march on "St Lucia Springs"³⁵ and join us there the next day. It was quite cold at night freezing water to the depth of one half of an inch—

We saw to night many signal fires on the mountains, of the Indians, warning each other of our position and approach, and it was curious to observe the ingenious methods which they have of exchanging signals, by varying the intensity, colour, and position of the light— Our column had traveled to day about twenty five miles—

May 13th

Found us at an early hour pursuing our winding way in the direction of the "St Lucia Springs." We were joined at about 11 A. M. by Lieuts Jackson and Cooke who reported that they had seen no Indians, but many very recent signs. This was as we expected and of course illustrated virtually the proverb, "Blessed are they who expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed."³⁶ (Of course, no one, I hope, will charge me with levity or want of proper respect, for the greatest of books, for I *mean* nothing—)

We saw nothing during our march to day of more than usual interest with the exception of the burning mountains and hills, which were on fire on every side of us. Upon arriving at the springs, we found the grass completely burned off for miles around us, and the hills and prairie in our vicinity still smoking. Not a living thing was in sight, either animal, or vegetable, with the exception of a few wolves and ravens,

35. Santa Lucia Springs was the site of a proposed Apache reservation as promoted by Michael Steck. Frank D. Reeve, "Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico 1858-1880," NMHR, XIII, 282 (April, 1938).

36. "Blessed is he who expects nothing, for he shall never be disappointed." Alexander Pope's letter to Gay, October 6, 1727. Pope calls this the eighth beatitude. Roscoe's edition of Pope, X, 184, taken from John Bartlett, *Familiar Quotations*.

which had been disturbed in their feast from a carcass which lay near the water. The former sat upon a hill, barking and howling at us, but a very short distance off, while the latter sluggishly flapped their wings and slowly flew away as though gorged with their disgusting feast. Every where to the extent of vision was a scene of the bleakest desolation, as though the world had been burned and we had been doomed to view its barrenness— It was of course soon decided not to encamp here, and we resumed our march toward the Gila. After a few miles a sudden bend of the trail, brought us to a cañon, whose high and rocky sides had prevented the fire from reaching its valley, containing plenty of water and a grassy, sheltered position for our animals, and it was resolved to remain here—

About "twilight" I ascended a high hill, to get a better view of the burning mountains, and prairie, the fire of which was rapidly extending its destruction toward the river, and the "Depôt." It had unquestionably been lighted by the Indians, and seemed a part of their admirable tactics.

As soon as it became dark, I had spread before me one of the grandest sights of the Earth:—for a space of at least one hundred miles in diameter, and whose limit was burning mountains, was one gorgeous arena of leaping flames. And as the wind occasionally caught them and distortingly threw them into a thousand fanciful shapes, sportingly lifting the sparks and sheets of flame high in the air, it lighted up, most brilliantly, but with a heated and lurid glare, for miles around the sky and blackened earth. Sometimes subsiding—with the wind—its vehemence, it would die away gradually, and become fainter and fainter—dull and smoky and then evenly arrange itself in long lines, would gravely assume the character of the illuminated streets of a great city, and in the picture—or pantomime of Nature—you almost heard the busy hum, never ceasing—the mocking, monotonous indistinct sounds of its selfish, eager, moving thousands— Then rapidly flushing and running like lightning over vast portions of the almost naked prairie, it would greedily, swallow up its robe of grass, which would itself become violent and furious— Or dancing up

the sides of mountains of thousands of feet in height, and plunging down its ravines, it would scatter to far off regions the light growth of verdure which they had so many years been accumulating.

As I looked absorbed, upon this wild, and almost unearthly spectacle, I could hardly, but fancy myself a Nero, gazing upon the vast conflagration of the mighty empires wonderful capital, myself a part of its wide destruction.

In the moans of the wind, I imagined that I could hear, the dying groans of its thousands of victims, and the shrieks of the frantic in the fierce crackling of the burning space—

I remained, I hardly know how long enraptured and overwhelmed by the grand spectacle, but it was not until a late hour that I retired to muse and speculate—

May 16th

While taking breakfast this morning, we heard in a tree near us, a bird singing so much like a canary, that for a moment, I was quite surprised and startled— We commenced an immediate and careful search for our tiny fair visitor, Steen remarking that one of Mrs. Brice's birds had certainly escaped, and I thought so too, if it were possible. It proved to be a small "red bird" Which soon became frightened, leaving us to our thoughts and wishes for music— Started early, in the direction of the "Gila river Depôt," stopping but once during our march, and then for the purpose of extinguishing a fire, which was rapidly coursing its way toward the river, and down the cañon which we were traveling.

Col. Miles and myself, with a portion of the advanced guard, pushed on rapidly, and soon arrived in sight of the Depôt encampment. I must confess, that I was exceedingly disappointed, when I compared the picture which fancy had sketched in my imagination, with the one actually before me, of the river Gila, its depôt and the surrounding scenery — The river is a small, rapid stream, of clear cold water: from the appearance of its banks and their vicinity, it is subject to sudden and very rapid rises, overflowing its whole valley in places: The water, rushing down from its confine-

ment in the mountain heights, on the approach of warm weather, sweeps every thing before it. The force so suddenly acquired soon leaves it however, depositing in the valley and on the river's bank, a vast amount of detritus of both vegetable and mineral composition, but more particularly the former, and to such an extent as to have formed a soil of alluvium, of great depth, very rich and arable. It rises in the Mogillon [Mogollon] mountains from springs, which are distant, in a direct line about thirty miles: its course is however, very tortuous, flowing South, then North East, around the wide prairie bluff of about twenty miles in diameter, upon which the Depôt is situated,—then South and South East to its mouth. It is at this place, about twenty feet wide, and from two to five in depth. It[s] bottom is gravelly, composed principally of () gramuck, clay-slate, pyroxene, and quartz pebbles. But the quantity of silicious sands is not sufficient to promise a very rich harvest to the gold hunter: nor to warrant the circulation of rumours, as have been reported abroad of their richness. Sandstone is met with in great abundance always containing an unusual proportion of iron. Sulpheret of copper is also frequently met with, and this, together with the mica slate, which is here of a peculiar yellow tinge, as they lie in the clear water, or are otherwise exposed to light, under equally favourable circumstances, in disintegrated particles, sparkle brilliantly, and have undoubtedly led many ignorant persons, to suppose what they saw, to be gold:—but the simple application of a knife blade soon decides the question.

All of these sands are the result of its washings, as the rocks in this section of the country are igneous and conglomerate in their origin, or primitive in their structure. The valley of the river is very narrow and has but a scant growth of trees, principally of a rank spongy nature, as the cottonwood: but it is filled, to such a degree as to form almost an impenetrable thicket, with most a luxuriant growth of weeds, and shrubery, and fern like plants of such magnitude indeed as to forcibly remind one of the carboniferous formation, and its era— The whole vast range of country, which we have passed over, up to this point is, out of the river

bottoms, and their immediate basins, identical in character with that here, which borders the Gila valley. Indeed the whole of New Mexico, so far as I can judge from personal observation is one vast spread of barran waste, and desolation. Not in the Almighty's hand, but that of Man. With its wide, and wonderfully extended table lands, reaching, beyond the limits of vision, even from the most elevated points, bare and totally destitute of vegetation, in any form, with the solitary exception of its hundred varieties of cactus, and its monotonous and wearying stretch of "mesquite roots" and creasoat [creosote] plants; with its distorted and frequent ranges of mountains, broken up into rugged rocky, detached peaks, ridges, and "aroyas" [arroyos]; and its hard stoney, rock or sand soil, destitute of alluvial formations except in its river's narrow valleys; all indicate, but too plainly, that it has not yet undergone sufficient geological changes to render it a fit dwelling place, for the requirements of the civilized and enlightened portion of mankind, whose wants are as numerous as the sands of its deserts. Every, and each, geological, minerological, and vegetable production, which it at present contains, with but few exceptions, mark it, as but suitable for the savage's range, or the fitting place of residence for the dirty, wretched blanketed thieves, — that conglomeration of the vilest collection, of the most miserable, portion of all the lowest, most degraded, and ignorant races of mankind, who have here had the hardihood to assume the name of one of the nations of the earth, and call themselves a people—*Mexicans*.

And I am by no means alone in my views of its habitability, or suitability for it. The same opinion has been advanced by one whose antecedants in the scientific world, if not his present position, (Professor Heindrick)³⁷ would be sufficient proof of the correctness of the opinion.

The plan of Secretary Walker,³⁸ with regard to this

37. My colleague, Professor Lincoln La Paz, suggests that this person may have been Oswald J. Heinrich (1827-1886), a geologist who wrote on coal and salt mines in Virginia and Canada.

38. Maybe the Robert J. Walker who was Secretary of the Treasury in Polk's cabinet. He was an ardent expansionist, wanting a larger slice of Mexico after the War, and visualizing great economic possibilities in the area. However, Lazelle's comment is not clear and I do not have Walker's actual plan at hand to check the matter further.

country, was looked upon as extremely extravagant, if not chimerical, but those who so hastily opposed the suggestion, or proposition advanced by him, might be disposed to be more guarded in their opposition, were they eye witnesses of its worthlessness as a country—

The “Depôt” is as before mentioned, situated upon a very level plateau of the broad prairie bluff; is contiguous to water, wood, etc with excellent grazing in its immediate vicinity, which the Indians have not as yet succeeded in touching by their extensive incendiary acts, owing to the great vigilance of the officers of the camp who have several times been compelled to go out in large parties to extinguish the burning grass.

The encampment is well arranged, and contains the usual large and commodious storehouses, the hospital, workshops and quarters for troops which are generally established. We encamped within one and a half miles of it, and in the afternoon were visited by most of its officers, and beyond this I do not now particularly remember any startling events: so that I may not make a fool of myself by saying too much, (which would be much worse than had I not written at all,) I will open upon

May the 17th

“Struck our tents” at 8 A. M. to cross the river, to another spot, better situated, and possessing more advantages, and conveniences. I was directed to lay out and name the camp, which was done, and posterity will doubtless be grateful to me for its name—so original—“Union”— Visited the post this morning, and saw Colonel Bonneville, Maj Simonson and the other officers stationed there—

Received from there a package from home which I had before leaving Fort Bliss given particular directions should be kept until I returned, as it was for “Somebody” there— Some poor unfortunate however, deeming that he, or they, would do me a favour by forwarding it, received instead of thanks, anything *but* that, for their trouble, and kindness:— certainly the basest ingratitude on my part. “Twas ever

thus from childhood's earliest hour,"³⁹—And the pleasure of being happily disappointed, I have but very few times experienced.

But I believe that what Carlyle [Carlyle] says is terribly true, that, "The eye sees, always what it brings with it to see"⁴⁰ That I am fitfully moody I know, or in other words rosy with hope, then green with melancholy, and prone to attribute disappointment to ill luck rather than natural causes.

This morning, Lieut. Whipple, and Lieut. Steen, received instructions to be prepared to start at Sunset, on detached service, to be followed by Capt. Clairborne with fifty mounted men to-morrow morning. Their instructions state that they are to march to a certain cañon in the mountains, which is about twenty miles distant, and carefully guard it until joined by Capt. Clairborne in the morning, when both commands, under the orders of Capt. Clairborne, are to explore the cañon in search of a supposed Indian encampment, containing it is thought about forty Indians, parties from which (it is thought,) have committed nightly depredations upon the property at the Dépôt encampment.

Col. Bonneville has been informed by his guides that a severe battle will, most probably, be the inevitable result of sending this party out:—that the guides have seen the encampment;—that large numbers of Indians are constantly there etc. etc. All of which but few believe, the general character of our guides being too well known to warrant much faith in their statements.

However on the strength even of the supposition of

39. "Oh! ever thus, from childhood's hour,
I've seen my fondest hopes decay."

Thomas Moore, *The Fire-Worshippers*, I, line 279.

"'Twas ever thus from childhood's hour!
My fondest hopes would not decay:
I never loved a tree or flower
Which was the first to fade away!"

Charles Stuart Calverly, *Disaster*.

Both quotations are from *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* (Oxford, 1941).

40. I do not have the reference direct to Carlyle, but the *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* gives the following: "The eye sees in all things that which it brought with it the power to see," 1906 GWE Russell Soc., *Silh.* xivi.

its truth, and under the influence of its excitement, I got everything in readiness, and volunteered my services to Col. Miles, requesting him to allow *me* to accompany the party detailed for the service. In this I was very curtly (I thought) refused, and it was given as a reason that I could not be spared! I almost determined to see him in a very far off place, of quite high temperature, before I would offer myself again, unsolicited, or ordered: out of my proper line of duties as Adjutant of the column, either to write a line, or make a map. They have now gone, and I have only to regret, that I have not a little, foreknowledge of events— But its quite late, and perhaps that I have complained enough for one day, so I will wait until tomorrow—

May the 18th

It is just four weeks this morning, since I left Fort Bliss, with some of its associations, and scenes, never to be forgotten, and as clear to me as life itself.

I have neither seen an Indian, nor heard of one having been seen, by any one, else, since starting: with the exception of one whom our valiant commander,—Col Bonneville—thinks that he saw, from the window of his ambulance, while he was coming out here from Fort Thorn.—However as this old gentleman is known to be very crafty, and wanting in what the Mexicans style “bravo,” it is suspected that the chieftain said this as an alarm, to place others on their guard against similar surprises—

Capt. Clairborne left us at an early hour this morning, for the mountains. And I left my bed soon after, for a cooler place: for one is compelled to be an early riser, here, the sun is so very hot in the morning—

Col Loring's advanced guard of the “Northern Column” consisting of a company of Spies and guides, composed of rangers, woodsmen, and Navajo Indians,⁴¹ arrived last night, and report that Col. Loring's Column is one days march from the Depôt, having marched across the country

41. The Navaho Indians in the northern column were recruited from a band of peaceful Navahos who had long lived near Mt. Taylor, west of Albuquerque. They were sometimes referred to as the Christian Indians, and as Sandoval's band. The Navaho chiefs farther west refused to campaign against the Apache.

from Santa Fé and the posts in its vicinity, where the troops were collected, in about twenty days.

His column has shared the same fate as our own, having seen no Indians, and with the exception of the severe sickness of Lieut Tracy,⁴² have met with nothing unpleasant—

Our friend Col. Bonneville is, greatly disgusted, and labouring under considerable excitement:—says that he does not care a damn, whether the Indians burn down the Depôt or not! And I am sorry to say, that he is far from being alone in his opinions, so long as he has command. I think that possibly he might be able to borrow a little of the feeling, which he is so free in expressing; so universal is the dislike for him.

None of us expect to see Indians unless *they* wish to be seen. And *all* are of the opinion, (with few exceptions) that they have abandoned this section of the country, for mountains far to the west, and South of us; and that some tribes have gone over the boundary to seek a shelter in Mexico.

Except, of course, a few lightfooted, thieving bucks, who still roam about the mountains in parties of two or three. Col. Miles freely declares, that he expects soon to be ordered to take, as he says—“the back track,” home, and his *wishes*, are evidently, no less intense, that [than?] his opinion I must freely admit, that for one, I should be glad to see him gone, as he has proved himself an incubas, instead of an aid, and recreant to the first duties of an officer. It is not my desire, to march over a hot dusty country for *grandeur*, even if I occupy a favourable position, while so doing:—as I might do, if *he* continues in command—

But to what point we proceed, or whither our direction, “Quien Sabe” [who knows]—for the *present*, we remain in camp. Not that, how long we are gone, is a matter of the utmost indifference to me; but it is the feeling which all have, so dissatisfied are we with, the want of energy, care, and activity, in executing, and the utter deficiency in preparing, and planning, a campaign of so much importance.—

42. There is no Tracy listed in Heitman who can be described without doubt as this officer.

As is shown in the most glaring colors and with increasing distinctness daily.—

However, notwithstanding this, we are in fine spirits and always ready, at the service of 'good Mr. Indian.'

May 19th

At an early hour this morning I visited "*Fort Floyd*" as "Old Bonne's," (Col. Bonneville's) stronghold is designated, for the purpose of submitting, the '*report*' of our Column's operations, during the last twenty days; and also for the purpose of obtaining provisions for it: for I am now the acting Commissary and Quartermaster, during the absence of Lieut Steen the one appointed first.

I saw at the depôt for the first time in my life,—where they were not on exhibition,—a *real, live, wild* Indian;—a "Navajoe." I walked about him, examined, and inspected him, with as much curiosity as a country boy would an elephant, 'which he has only "hearn tell of," but never before seen—

He was one of a party of fifty friendly "Navajoes," who are under the control of Lieut. Bonneau⁴³ and attached to the command, or Column of Col. Loring. I long to see them all together.

Passed a portion of the day, in copying and arranging "reports" of various kinds; and among them, a complimentary one, of Col. Mile's, in which, "*every body*" is distinguished for doing nothing—

Read and slept, the remainder of the day, and now propose to do the latter again.

May the 20th

Visited the camp at the Depôt this morning with the report of Col. Miles, which was by me submitted in due form to that great captain, Bonneville, whose name this *great* Expedition, will by its deeds, undoubtedly hand down to an admiring and grateful posterity. I met at the quarters of this distinguished warrior, Col. Loring and his staff. Found

43. Richard Vanderhorst Bonneau, born in South Carolina, graduate of the United States Military Academy; Bvt. 2nd Lt., 3rd Infantry, July 1, 1852. 2nd Lt., March 3, 1855. He held the rank of Major in the Confederate Army and died January 28, 1899.

them pleasant and agreeable gentlemen. The morning was passed, by me principally, in listening to the egotistical monopoly of conversation, by Bonneville, and refusing to accept of his repeated and pressing invitations, to drink; and I afterwards felt infinitely more grateful, to Heaven for having granted me the courage to refuse, than I could have had for spending a life time with princes— (Thank God for N——'s influence!)⁴⁴ "May the Lord preserve our memories green"!! shall always be my prayer.

I had this morning an opportunity of observing, and examining the parties of "Navajoe" and "Pueblo," Indians, who together with the company of "Guides and Spies," are with the Column of Col. Loring.

The latter, are the most desperately degraded, and rough looking, abandoned set of men, that I have ever seen together; and are, apparantly perfectly suited for the vilest work. They are, generally speaking, the most hardy Mexicans, and the lowest desperado Americans, that New Mexico can produce. And their real object in serving in this campaign is, unquestionably, plunder.⁴⁵

The Indians are, generally,—and I include those of both nations, small in their persons, diminutive in stature, with slender, and almost attenuated limbs. Their features are of the most repulsive nature: they have low foreheads, narrow and retreating, heavily marked brows, and small sharp, quick eyes; their noses are flat or much depressed, with wide nostrils like the negro; they have yawning sepulchral [sepulchral] mouths, with hideous projecting jaws

They are very long armed, narrow chested and bow legged, with unusually small feet.

Their intellectual developements are of the lowest and most limited, and perhaps of the *meanest*, character possible; as they are constantly exhibiting the most cowardly ferocity, and lowest cunning at every favourable opportunity. They are extremely filthy in their persons, and dress; the latter consisting of rags,—perhaps cast off soldier's

44. Maybe the girl he left behind in El Paso. See note 1 and 58.

45. Civilian expeditions against Indians for plunder and captives was a not uncommon practice in the mid-nineteenth century in New Mexico.

clothing—with possibly a dirty garment or so, of buckskin: or a blanket, of some coarse material, and breech clout serves to cover their nakedness.

They are armed, mostly, with bows and Spears, but their appearance, even in war costume, and painted, should I suppose, be, by no means, calculated to strike terror, to the soul of a coward.

Altogether, I was intensely disgusted and disappointed, in this first view, of Indian character, *as it is*; for I think that their appearance, is little calculated to inspire much of the poetry of Indian romance, dreamed, rather than thought of, by the author of “Hiawatha.” And from my own experience, I am inclined to believe, that when the *fancy* is given full scope, it lends to the imagination a softer picture of Nature’s sons, than the reality of a closer acquaintance warrants.

I had just completed several letters when I received, late in the evening, directions from Colonel Miles to publish, to the various officers of his command an order for our march, at day-light in the morning.

This order came originaly from the depôt, and is, I presume the offspring of some brilliant reverie, of that acute, grey-headed child, “Bonne”—

May 21st

As I supposed:—we started at reveille this morning, in hot search of a sheep trail!!! Which Sheep trail is said to be somewhere in the vicinity, or leading out of, the “San Jacinto” mountains⁴⁶— It was made by some sheep, it is conjectured, which were stolen from a town called Secoro, [Socorro] and distant from here about two hundred miles.

These sheep were stolen about six weeks ago, and the “trail” which our column of three hundred and fifty men!!!! are ordered to search for is reported by the guides to be two weeks old!! The sheep were run off, by not more than half

46. Judging from the description of the route of travel, the San Jacinto mountains lie between Bear Creek and Mangas Creek; to the north, and roughly parallel to their line of march, is the Black Range of today or the Mogollon of their day. The San Jacinto mountains of Lazelle’s *Journal* are apparently the San Vicente on old maps and as mentioned by Bonneville, note 33.

a dozen Indians; and all of the Indians in this section of the country, it is well known do not together number more than three hundred fighting men, which are considered about equal to one half that number, in strength, of good soldiers—

This is so notorious, that this act is considered, to speak of it in the mildest terms, as a supreme military blunder, and quite enough to rid one, of *great* reliance upon our leader, or chief commander, for success. But it is, we all feel, our duty to obey, and not to question.

But one can hardly prevent it with a pen in his hand, and no witness save the silent paper. Beyond this, I am resolved to be quiet.

It would seem that Col. Bonneville, overcome and confounded by his own thoughts in his endeavors to satisfy the desires of the Colonels, commanding the two Columns, in forming some plan of a campaign, has, to *save* himself, taken refuge in the wretched subterfuge, which this sheep trail has offered him, as a *chance* for success— He has ordered both columns in pursuit:—nearly eight hundred men—to do the work of fifty.— He has caught at the straws of circumstances, floating upon the surface of events, to redeem a flagging reputation, ignominiously won in Mexico; or a notoriety, unenviable, which he obtained in an endeavor at personal agrandizement, when sent to fight the battles of his country, among the Indians of the western frontier, years ago.

It is to be regreted, as a fault, and a serious one too, of our service, that *age* up to a certain grade, and *age* alone, gives rank: and *rank* of course, is power.

Thus a head in its dotage, may be a fatal clog to a great enterprize. It is indeed disheartening, too, that those actively engaged, and who are anxious to finish,—as could well be done,—in a few weeks a campaign, which, under the control of such a man, would prove interminable, even with the armies of Xerxes.

We have marched to-day only about 8 eight miles— We started with twenty days provisions, and we all feel that the slow movements of our long column of heavily laden pack mules, are illy calculated for the object to be obtained. "*Everybody*" is in a bad mood, and very unsociable. And

feeling sensibly the truth of another's opinion of association of ideas, I think that I had better put away this "index error," of myself, for some future moments' employ.

Friday May 22nd

Marched at day-light this morning, without having been joined by Lieuts' Whipple, and Steen, who it will be remembered, were sent out some days ago with two days' provisions. They were expected to return on the night previous to our departure; and orders were left for them to join us, immediately on their arrival, with their detachments. I am interested slightly, somewhat personally, in their coming on soon: as Steen is my mess mate, and happens to have with him the greater part of my cooking utensils, and preserved meats; to say nothing of the twenty days' provisions for us both, which I left for him to bring up, having with him, a mule for that purpose—Should he not join us, I fear that bacon and bread will be my fare for the next two weeks—

Yesterday at about two P.M. a portion of Col. Loring's command passed through our camp on its way to the depôt, and I had the pleasure of meeting an old friend and class-mate, Lieut. Smeed,⁴⁷ of the Artillery who is in charge of a detachment of the same corps, from Fort Stanton—N. Mexico.

Col Miles sent by this opportunity, a special message, to Lieuts Whipple and Steen to join us immediately.

Although the message was sent, they have not yet joined us; and I am still alone in my mess, subsisting upon coffee, bread and fried bacon, expecting every day to have an attack of the scurvy.

We have marched about twenty two miles to-day and I am very tired, and feel little like sitting up to write this record of nonsense: had I not commenced I believe it would be

47. John Radcliff Smead, graduate of the United States Military Academy. Commissioned 2nd Lt., 2nd Artillery, July 1, 1854. Advanced to 1st Lt., March 3, 1857. Killed at the battle of Bull Run, August 30, 1862.

Abner Smead, graduate of the United States Military Academy; Bvt. 2nd Lt., 4th Artillery, July 1, 1854. 2nd Lt., 1st Artillery, November 4, 1854. He served in the Confederate army during the Civil War.

The "Smeed" referred to by Lazelle was probably Abner Smead because companies F and I, 1st Artillery, were stationed in West Texas in 1856. Secretary of War, *op. cit.*, pp. 52ff.

as well. For who will ever feel any interest in its, stupid, egotistical pages, but myself? and I very little, should I ever peruse them again:— I can say and feel with Goethe,⁴⁸ "Happy is he who early discovers the gulf that lies between his aspirations and his powers."

Some too, in reading, might form the opinion, that "With his every word, a reputation dies,"⁴⁹ so personal and uncharitable, have I been.—But I will be more generous— (Though hear what follows.) I must if, however, I continue as a scribe, note down what has been to me one of the most painful acts of my life.

This was the placing in arrest, by Colonel Miles order, of Lieut Edson. This, for being drunk, while "Officer of the Day," and so publicly did he exhibit it that Col. Miles noticed his condition at a distance of a hundred yards— The aggravated nature of the offence and the fact, that this is one of a number of times that he has been found intoxicated, while actually on duty, during the scout, will, I should but think, be quite sufficient to dismiss him. I most sincerely hope not, for he is a noble fellow, and I will do all in my power to save him.

May God forbid, that I should ever again drink to excess!

Thank Heaven for the influence, of one dear, true, and esteemed friend, the dearest on earth, who has thus far restrained and saved *me*. Never have I, before yesterday, felt so powerfully the strength of my promise, and the power of temptation, as when urged by Smeed to join him in a social drink. The day was warm, I was tired, dusty, and thirsty: the mixture was cool and stimulating. I had not seen a boon companion with whom I had had many a night's frolic, when a Cadet, for years. What temptation could be stronger?

But I cared for another, and for my promise, more than

48. I cannot locate this quotation.

49. "Hither the Heroes and the Nymphs resort,
To taste awhile the pleasures of a court;
In various talk th' instructive hours they past,
Who gave the ball, or paid the visit last;
One speaks the glory of the British Queen,
And one describes a charming Indian screen;
A third interprets motions, looks, and eyes;
At every word a reputation dies."

Alexander Pope, *The Rape of The Lock*, canto III, line 9.

all this, and I felt in my reply, that I had sufficient force left, of moral courage, to refuse for life. But it is late, and I will, with Mr. Macawber,⁵⁰ wait until tomorrow for "something to turn up" before I write more—

Saturday May the 23rd

It has come, as most looked for, and definite periods of time, will, not differing in that respect, from the 'Ides of March,' materialy— This day however, though not quite as fatal to me as that to Ceasar [Caesar] yet, it has been fruitless in the accomplishment of any object. I speak of course, with reference to the Expedition, for at present, I have devoted my whole mind to it. (?)

I think that we slightly resemble, the king of France, who with twice ten thousand men, marched up a hill, and then—marched down again

This is the end of the 3rd day, and as yet no one has the remotest idea of the position or locality of "Old Bonne's" Sheep trail, of which "some say" that we are in quest.

We have, today, traveled sixteen miles from the "San Jacinto springs,"^{51a} our last place of encampment, to The Copper Mines, so termed. The country passed through has indeed, been beautiful. It is included between the San Jacinto Mountains, and the great Mogillon [Mogollon] range consisting of a space of open land, or rather tract of country, of about twenty five miles in width and seventy five long of a surface, generally undulating; gently rising into hills, and sometimes almost mountains, then almost imperceptibly, sinking into valleys, which are in their turn so extended, as to appear, while the eye ranges over them, like broad grassy plains,

50. ". . . Mr. Micawber is a man of great talent, Master Copperfield."

"Of great talent," repeated Mrs. Micawber. "My family are of opinion that, with a little interest, something might be done for a man of his ability in the Custom House. The influence of my family being local, it is their wish that Mr. Micawber should go down to Plymouth. They think it indispensable that he should be upon the spot."

"That he may be ready?" I suggested.

"Exactly," returned Mrs. Micawber. "That he may be ready, in case of anything turning up." Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p. 179f (New Century Library).

51a. The San Jacinto spring is probably the well-known San Vicente spring where present-day Silver City is located.

green and inviting. Clear lovely streams, of cold and pure, mountain water, dance merrily along, following the windings and turning of wooded glades, which are filled with an abundance of game inviting the hunter to the sport; while the air is swelling with sounds of animal life of many varieties of the feathered world.

It is indeed a fitting home for the Indian, and seems created for his special necessities,—could we imagine such an event probable:—the most luxuriant growth of the forests of mountain cypress, pines, live oak, walnut and birch trees, furnishes his shelter, and concealment from his enemies, as well as a home for this abundance of game which would supply him with food.

A view of such a scene, is really refreshing, and recalled to my mind many associations of pleasant and delightful days, in old New England's hills, and beside the still waters of her green pastures—

I have said that we were now encamped at the "Copper Mines." A few hours since I returned from a visit to all of its principle shafts, which were sunk here years ago by a company of miners, but have now, long been abandoned, on account of the troubles experienced from Indians.

I made also, a thorough examination of the furnaces, and what remains of the houses and Soldier's quarters,⁵¹ all of which seem to have been long ago abandoned and are now rapidly going to decay—

Were these mines in the "States," it is evident from the richness and abundance of the ore which is everywhere visible on the surface, that from them, an inexhaustible supply of copper and iron might be produced, which would be sufficient for the civilized world. I found many and very rich specimens of native copper, sulpherets of copper and iron, spathic, and brown iron ores, "cinnabar" or sulpheret of mercury, black lead, and sulpherets of silver; while the black sand which in California, is so productive of gold, fills the beds of all the streams and ravines. And indeed the whole mass of

51. For a description of the Copper Mines as Lazelle saw them, read John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*. . . , I, 227ff.

The history of this famous mine is told in John M. Sully, "The Story of the Santa Rita Copper Mine," *Old Santa Fe*, III, 133-149 (1916).

these immense mountains, seem to be nothing but superincumbent, and superposed layers of sulphate of copper, covered by a thin crust of alluvium, which supports a thrifty vegetation of trees and shrubbery, while all serve to conceal the rich masses of mineral wealth beneath— In spite of this, however, the rich veins frequently “crop out,” and almost make one wish that he had a pick and shovel— (with somebody else to use them) the whole time— The buildings seem to have been arranged for mutual military defence, but with the single exception of one large triangular one of very thick adobe walls, and sides, with bastion angles, of about one hundred and fifty feet in length, are now entirely in ruins. After fulfilling my intention of planting a pecan nut, in a favourable place, (as I had formerly done on the Gila river:—in the Mogillon mountains, and at Lake Gosman,⁵²) some sent me from Fort Bliss, by “*some bodie,*” and gathering some very lovely, and to me new varieties of flowers, I returned to Camp, much fatigued, but somewhat wiser.—
possibly.

Sunday May 24th

This has always been one of my unlucky days, but I trust that this, perchance is an exception: and thus far it has been; still, something may yet “turn up” to annoy and trouble me. “But sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.”⁵³

The weather has been beautiful, and our march has been through an interesting and lovely country, if possible, more charming than that of yesterday. Our Camp, is, at present, on the “Membres” river, about fifteen miles above what was formerly old Fort Webster,⁵⁴ and a little more than that distance, from what was formerly our old depôt: our camp of yesterday is twenty miles distant.

Nothing of interest has occurred to day, if I except the

52. Probably Lake Guzman in Mexico, on the road to Janos. The journal does not indicate that the expedition reached that far south, but Lazelle could have taken a side trip to the Lake.

53. Take therefore no thought for the morrow: for the morrow shall take thought for the things of itself. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Matthew 6:34.

54. “Fort Webster was situated about eight miles east-northeast of the Santa Rita Copper Mines. . . . It was abandoned in 1853, and the troops removed to Fort Thorn.” Bender, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

item, that the arrest of Lieut. Edson was to day 'extended' to the usual limits of Camp: poor d---l when first arrested he was literally confined to the limits of his blankets! while in camp, for he had no tent. I have at last been able to reduce this semibarbarous mode of life, to something of a system at least with myself: and from my having succeeded so well in this, I am compelled to believe that all things, in the moral, physical and intellectual, as well as the material world, may be placed in orders, classified and systematized.

My daily life is this— I rise at an early hour, attend "reveille,"—eat a bad breakfast of bacon, bread and coffee, and then march for the day— On arriving into camp, I first seek a bath, if possible:— then I have a dinner, quite as destitute of complication or display, as breakfast— Viz. bacon, bread, with sometimes, when I can get it, a dish of antiscorbutics, in the shape of a green plant which goes by the refreshing name of "Lamb's quarter."

After eating, of course I am compelled to sleep, even if we are on the moment of serious events.

I read daily twenty pages: then follows "Guard mounting," which I, as Adjutant have to attend, and afterwards,— if we are so fortunate, as to arrive in camp, from our march of the day, in season for such a civilized luxury—Supper, which, when it occurs, is a modification of the other two daily meals:—coffee;—then this *delightful* journal;—then my cold bed, for the nights are very severe. I am very illy provided with provisions: both they, and my cooking utensils, being with Lieut. Steen, who has I fear, shared the same fate as the Sheep trail, for which we have been looking, as neither of them have been recently heard of.

To day, I was told by my cook, upon asking him if he could get nothing for dinner but fried bacon, "If the Lieut. wishes I will boil him some!" This is indeed, my variety, and upon receiving this answer, I immediately "subsided," but I could not but think of the famous fable of the rice and mustard.

Mem. P. S. etc. —The 'Membres' is a delightful stream, of the purest water, and its sands in the bottom sparkle bril-

liantly from the great quantity of sulphuret of copper, which the poor soldiers take for gold.

"*Good night,*" (Lazelle), "*and pleasant dreams*" to you—

Monday May 25th—

I am heartily sick of this cursed cavalry company, of Edsons, and the command of it, is, to me, not only annoying, but exceedingly embarrassing: and more especially should it be so, when the delicacy of my position in it is considered.

He as the legitimate commander, being compelled to march in rear of it, without a word of authority, while I, much his junior in rank, and belonging to another and totally different arm of the service, give orders to it and for its government in his immediate presence, and which he, himself is obliged to obey.

I would not have the continuous command of a regiment under such circumstances. Beside all this, it doubles my daily duties, which are, already, quite enough to say nothing of the continuous, 'side scouting,' so to term it, which is at present the peculiar duty of cavalry.

Heaven only knows how long it is to continue— Perhaps during the Scout— I have indeed quite a novel occurrence to relate, as having occurred to relieve the monotony of our long march of twenty two miles to-day. My detachment of cavalry, or, rather that of Edson's which I command, composed the rearguard: and after riding very complacently and comfortably along, for about one and a half hours, I saw coming at a full gallop, towards me from the head of the column (as James says,) "a solitary horseman." I thought to myself that he rode "like unto Jehu the son of Nimshi: for he rode furiously."⁵⁵

When near enough to be heard he yelled out almost frantically, "The Indians are right ahead of the column Sir!" This was indeed thrilling news, and threw my naturally excitable nerves into such a state of commotion, that I might fairly assert that my brains soon began to boil.

55. And the watchman told, saying, He came even unto them, and cometh not again: and the driving is like the driving of Jehu the son of Nim-shi; for he driveth furiously. II Kings 9:20

But before they were completely cooked, I sent back a non-commissioned officer and a few men to bring up a disabled mule lagging behind, I closed the company up upon the others, at a hard gallop, and pushing on the pack train in this manner to the rearmost Infantry Company,—I wiped from my brow the drops of horrible perspiration, and drawing my sabre, prepared to shed (for my country?) a few drops of maiden blood—

I tried to be cool, and perhaps outwardly was so. At least so I thought; I “formed twos” with the company, and cursed the men for not doing it properly to satisfy myself that I was deliberate; but as it was on the approach of my first battle (as I supposed) it was vanity, and in fact, “no go.”

I had so fixed the belief in my mind, that should the Indians permit themselves to be seen, it would be in large numbers, and prepared to dispute our progress, that I was now satisfied of our proximity to a severe fight.

All was excitement and confusion, so far as I could see, up the column;—skirmishers out:—the commander galloping about and bawling for a bugler;—men running;—and “Greasers” shouting in Spanish to the d---ed mules which I had to stay with, and protect. Directly all was hushed. As silent as the grave at the head of the column, and this quiet feeling of mortifying disgust, gradually extended down through it to myself: as each in succession learned, that the cause of our alarm was a party of friendly “Navajos,” belonging to Colonel Loring’s advance guard.— —

And still worse than this.—This small band of fifteen Indians, had, in company with a few of the Guides of his column, on the day previous, met and defeated, the whole party of the famous Sheep thieves, which “old Bonneville” had in his wisdom, sent two columns of eight hundred men against! All of the party with two exceptions were either killed or taken prisoners, we were told, and Col. Loring had, they said, gotten nearly all of the Sheep—about four hundred.

I went into their Camp, and remained as long as the short halt and slow marching of the rear guard would allow and at the same time permit me to overtake it. I found them

as all Indians are, "Hiawatha" not excepted, dirty, lazy and disgusting, and when seen as they really are, utterly divested of any romance in their character— I will not mention that the country has been beautifully monotonous to-day; (that traveled over) that we are encamped in a cañon, the position of which is utterly unknown to our intelligent guides; and that we are still in quest of the *other half* of the Sheep trail, which Col. Loring's Column is not supposed to have found.

Tuesday May 26th

We continued our march this morning up the unknown cañon, upon a broad path, or trail, which has been much used by Indians: after pursuing it for two hours we discovered that it divided, one portion leading to the right and the other to the left, of our direction. These paths seemed the horns of a dilemma: but like a true philosopher, when two evils are presented for his choice, our brilliant commander took neither of the aforesaid horns, notwithstanding that one of them, was that over which, a portion of the Sheep seemed to have been driven but about one week previously—: and that on it an Indian camp (abandoned) was discovered.

However I suppose that he thought, that one bird in the bush, was worth two in the hand, when he came to this conclusion.

So we followed up the Cañon along a pretty Stream of water which flowed in our direction, and which we were obliged to continually cross, and recross in order to advance at all. At last, at a distance of about four miles from the diverting paths, we came to a dead stop, as it was impossible, to travel further.

In advancing through the cañon, we had observed it narrowing, and the sides becoming more abrupt, and precipitious, until at this point they completely enclosed us, leaving barely room for the little stream to crowd its way through the rocky walls which rose to a great height.

While the Guides groped along, to ascertain the nature of the pass, if such existed, I ascended one of the very high mountains near us, which gave a view of a wide range of country; and a bleak prospect it was, indeed. As far as the limit of

vision, arose one continuous succession, of apparently impassible mountains, with bare, blackened, and smoking sides; while the cañon of the little stream beneath me pursued its tortuous way for miles between them, an almost endless chasm.

No grass was anywhere visible, with the exception of occasional spots of it where it appeared upon the mountain tops, which had not been reached by this universal fire. I saw the lazy guides far below me, sitting upon the rocks, by the water's edge, concealed from the view of all else, and staring vacantly around. I watched them for some time and with interest, carefully concealing myself from their view. There they sat, indifferent to everything, seemingly bent upon consuming a proper portion of time, and then returning to report, upon the feasibility of the pass.

I completed my examination of the country, and got down the mountain just in season to hear them report to Colonel Miles that the pass was very practicable!

They made this statement as a random guess, for not one of the rascals had examined the ravine for more than a quarter of a mile, and they were all totally ignorant of the country. After listening with the most commendable patience until they were all through, I told them that they were a "nucleus of liars"; and then informed our Buonaparte of their proceedings. He immediately "countermarched" and after traveling about two miles he despatched me with six men, to find, if possible, a camp, with water and grass: a matter of no small difficulty, as the country has within a week been completely burned over with the exception of some obscure spots, and many parts of it are still smoking. As it happened, I had, this morning while the column was in motion, left it, and the cañon in which we were wandering, to pursue a narrow ravine, leading off at right angles to our direction, and had in a half hour's gallop stumbled upon a fine plat of unburned ground, high up in the mountains, where they had extended into a sort of table land. To this point I pushed forward and was fortunate enough to discover near it a small but clear stream, of pure water. I immediately sent back word to this effect, and in a few hours

had the satisfaction of seeing our whole column, in a comfortable camp, and all, seemingly contented and enjoying themselves. I was rewarded by "*some body*," who named the stream "Lazelle's Creek," of which fact, I trust that posterity, and *future historians* will please make a note⁵⁶— We have been about twelve miles to-day.

May 27th

We started this morning at an early hour, little dreaming of the terrible journey before us.

The commanding officer had resolved, rather than retrace his steps farther, to pursue the "Sheep Trail" from its point of division mentioned yesterday, to its termination, if necessary, let it lead where it would, even at the risk of the animals perishing.

And the only thing to be regretted, is, that he has not done this before. The morning was a fine one and the whole command was in excellent spirits: some of the men too much so; as at every short halt, caused by a search for the trail, as it became obscure, under the smoking and blackened wood, they could be heard deridingly imitating the bleating of Sheep; and one of them was seen to draw his butcher knife and sing out "Bring on your mutton!" Of course this was soon stopped and we ploded along more quietly—

This attempt at discipline was however quite unnecessary, as the steep rocks, high rugged mountains, and deep, rough, and narrow cañons, over and through which, our route lay, soon took from us all thought except of the fatigue. The heat soon became intense and the air as still, and deadly oppressive as that of a burning desert. Although we frequently crossed valleys, and gorges of such profound depth, that it seemed even the vertical rays of a noon-day's sun could scarcely penetrate them, yet our general course, during the first part of the day was—(that tradition, and his political opponents, say, that General Pierce gave the small infant,) a-scent.⁵⁷

56. I'm afraid that future historians failed to "make a note."

57. Probably a reference to Franklin Pierce who served as a Brigadier General under Scott in the War with Mexico and later became President of the United States.

The great altitude and the reflection of heat from the barren rocks, soon affected my eyes to such a degree that I found it almost impossible to keep them open and the suffering from them, was only partially relieved for the day by one of the officers having forced upon me a pair of eye shades which he took from his own eyes and obliged me to use.

Our slow and painful progress continued, sometimes upon what seemed to be faint traces of a quite old Indian trail, and at other times this was entirely lost sight of, and we clambered as best we could up the continuous ascent over rocks, rubbish, and trunks of half burnt trees, and blackened heaps of cinders, which nearly suffocated with their dust—

Sometimes passing for miles over and between immense masses of huge boulders, which had detached themselves from the heights, and now, feebly lay, attempting, apparently, like the mountains above us, to debar our further progress. And in following the sinuous, serpentine course we frequently ascended and descended the sides of mountains by steep, zig-zag paths, so narrow, and upon such treacherous soil that it seemed but bravado, to follow them. Late in the afternoon, after climbing a very high mountain, we saw from its summit, a broad plain spread before us, a portion of which had not been burned. It was certainly a very gratifying sight, as we felt that our days march was drawing to a close.

After arriving within a few miles of it our guides said that they recognized the country, and that over the next mountain, in the valley beyond, we should find water, and probably grass which was not burned. I could not say that I was sorry, at this piece of news, as I had no canteen, had neglected to fill my "*boata*" [*bote*, a jar] with water in the morning, and had had none during the day, except a little from the rocks which I was fortunate enough to discover.

At about 6½ P.M. we finally came to a deep cañon containing fine water and grass, after having been on the march eleven hours, and traveled at least twenty six miles over such a country as I never wish to see again, either for the sake of romance, or curiosity, as I dislike to think Nature so uncomely, and improvident. Now as I am too much fatigued

to write this journal "*to-night*," I shall put it off until "*to-morrow*" which is,

Thursday, and May 28th

Upon an examination of our animals after arriving in Camp last night, we found that it would be impossible to proceed to-day. Many of the mules' backs are almost literally skinned, and in some few places stripped of their flesh, while others, have immense bleeding bruises and raw places upon their sides, three, four, and five inches in diameter. But few of them are sound, and able to go on: our horses are completely jaded out, and one extra horse of mine, I this morning ascertained, was left behind yesterday, as he became exhausted, and unable to go on. And the stupid fellow whom I had allowed to ride him, left with him a fine saddle, bridle, etc. We ourselves are, some of us in sad plights, with great fatigue, bad food and terribly sun burnt faces:— to say nothing of the fact that we have, all of us, abandoned even hope itself, as regards present prospects of success.

After a careful inspection of my face in a glass, two, by one and a half inches, this morning, I came to the conclusion that my appearance was not so "gross" as I have been considered by Mrs L——⁵⁸ The nights continue cold and uncomfortable it being impossible for me to be warm in any way that I can arrange my scanty bedding: water freezes every night to the depth of more than a fourth of an inch.

I have amused myself to-day by reading, hunting, and in the difficult matter of endeavoring to ascertain from our guides, something relative to our position.— They "*recon*" (but "*quien sabe*") that we are in the Mogillon Mountains. To the South of us, and distant about fifteen miles, is the South Eastern portion of the "San Jacinto" mountains. To the North West, and running, South East, East, and South, distant about ten miles to the nearest point, is the great ridge, or comb, of the Mogillon Mountains, about, eight miles broad, and one hundred and twenty long.

A portion of high spurs of mountains running from this, was

58. See notes 1 and 44.

crossed by us yesterday, and to-day we have been encamped in a narrow gorge to the South East of them

Our guides to day, while exploring the country, found a "fresh trail" of fifteen Indians leading in the direction of the "Chikicouwa" [Chiricahua] Mountains,⁵⁹ and I suppose that a detachment will be sent to pursue it at least as far as the "San Jacinto" Mountains about forty miles. I wish I could go, for I am sick of this "Mutton track." However we will "Boast not of the morrow," for we have all seen that "Sufficient for the day, is the evil thereof."

May 29th

At 6½ we were on the march, all following the monotonous sheep track— After traveling a few miles, we came to a point where Col. Loring's Column first struck the trail; we having thus followed it, from the place of his fight, to the point where his pursuit commenced. But not over the same route however. From this we concluded that the route taken by us on wednesday, was the trail first made by the Sheep, when the Indians crossed the mountains with them above Fort Craig; that their intention was, to take them to the "Burro" Mountains, but finding this route a dangerous one to their own welfare, when they arrived in the vicinity of the "Depôt," they turned and sought safety by recrossing the "Mogillon" Mountains, to the "Membres" river, near which, a large portion of the party, were overtaken and stripped of their plunder as before stated.

Upon arriving at this point of the trail, this morning, a cavalry company was despatched to follow it, and ascertain if this *great "Sheep trail"* divided: if not, we concluded that Col. Loring had overtaken and recovered them all: if it did, divide, it was our intention to follow that portion of it which he had not. And until the return of this company thus despatched, we encamped at the first water which we found, a small spring, a few miles from the San "Jacinto" river.

At 3 P.M., this detachment returned, with the information, that the 'Stock' had not been seperated by the Indians in

59. Chiricahua mountains are located in southeastern Arizona, ranging from north to south, slightly east of south.

their flight, so I presume that we will soon start for the Depôt on the Gila river, which it is conjectured, is about twenty five miles distant. If we do, with the grace of Heaven, I will not write the words, "Sheep," or "Mutton," again in this journal:— for should it be read by another, I fancy that they would think me a little deranged upon the subject. While hunting this morning, in crossing a cañon, about two miles from camp, I killed a large rattle snake, nearly five feet long, which I had been near stepping on before observing it. The day has been very hot, and oppressive and the *little* 'boundless contiguity of shade,' here affords but little protection from the sun's scorching rays—

Saturday May 30th

Passing down this beautiful stream at so early an hour this morning, that had we any ordinary climate, such as we have generally seen given to man for his purposes, dew would have been upon the grass, we entered a narrow gorge, or cañon, in the centre of which ran the brook. Here for a distance of four or five miles, was the most enchanting sight that I have ever beheld: it indeed beggars all description from a fancy and pen like mine. It was one of *Nature's most exclusive views*, of wondrous beauty, of which she is so jealously frugal. Occasionally, they are seen in the wildest and most lavish landscapes: but perhaps more frequently upon the resistless moving element of the great ocean

—————"When grandeur, strength and beauty, are combined;

"Where sublimest powers of mighty, boundless creation, have together rolled

"In their huge strength, such awful works, as now transfix the soul!"⁶⁰

On either side, there rose to a dizzy height of several hundred feet, huge walls of solid sandstone, which by the frequent and terrible rains, had been washed into the most fantastic forms conceivable:— sometimes were seen, vast detached portions, standing far out from all else, which

60. These lines may be an original composition by Lazelle. I cannot identify them otherwise.

under the influence of frost and water, had been again split, and broken into spires, or solid masses, resembling the ruins of ancient temples of mysterious age, which only wanted the mythical "ivy green," entwining around their crumbling columns, to complete a picture, *not* drawn from fancy, of monuments of bygone splendor, and to associate them with all that is *wonderful* of Egyptian greatness, or mournful of Rome's departed beauty. Other parts again, seemed to have assembled themselves into the most grotesque groups of gigantic statuary. Some of these figures were elegant and graceful girls, and youths; others bold warriors and decrepid old men: while occasionally could be seen the hideous and mocking forms, of demons and imps who seemed to grin horribly at the living, thus passing through their silent tombs. Every thing seemed to want but the element *Life*, to rescue from eternal oblivion a long forgotten city.

The valley which in some places was several miles in width, was filled with the most luxuriant vegetation which rivalled the magnificent lavishness of Eastern gardens, or the wild and gorgeous beauty of Brazillian forests. The whole scene is beyond my description and almost without a comparison. Upon ascending, by a narrow winding path, a hill, which completely overlooked the valley, there was presented a picture of most enchanting loveliness: the whole like what one might imagine to be resurrection of some splendid capital of long gone centuries with its ruined temples, its massive domes, its towering columns and spires, and its vast amphitheatres, all mouldering vestiges of a luxurious era—

— — — —x But why should I be dull, just because the weather is? So passing over this I will only speak, of the remainder of our uninteresting route to the Depôt, over burning plains and tedious hills and mountains. Upon arriving at about one P.M. in sight of the Gila river, we followed its sinuosities in its tortuous coarse down, and finally encamped, within two miles of the fatherly protection of the master spirit of our movements, who about this hour was wrapped in a blanket and comfortably asleep, as was proven by a visit paid immediately to the Depôt by Colonel Miles, the Doctor, and myself.

I was soon sent back to Camp by him, with instructions to have it broken up and removed to our old camping spot "Camp Union," which is across the river, and about a mile below the Depôt. It was almost night ere this was accomplished. But for my labour of to-day, I have in pleasant anticipation, the prospect of sound slumbers, and an undisturbed "moral element—"

Sunday May 31st

Visited the Depôt to-day and called upon the officers generally:— found them not differing materially from human nature, and the human species. In a short time after my arrival the advanced guard of Colonel Loring came in, and finally the whole of his column, bringing with them, about four hundred of the recovered sheep, and nine Indian prisoners, all women and children who *did* differ from any thing human that I had ever before seen.

There were five women, and four children. The oldest of the women was about seventy, and the most hideous, deformed, and wretchedly filthy object, that Nature could exhibit. The next in age, was the former wife, or squaw, of "Chucaro Negra,"⁶¹ who was one of the most noted and desperate of the Apache chiefs, and who was killed in the fight when the sheep were captured. The other three women were ugly, course, filthy and fat. The children were, with one exception, of the same type: this was a very pretty boy, of about five years of age, with an intelligent face, and bright sparkling eyes, who interested me so much, that I should like to get him, and as "Miss Betsy Trotwood,"⁶² did to little "Davy," "wash him," and bring him with me to the "States" as a servant.

61. Cuchillo Negra was killed in the fight with the northern column under Col. Loring in the cañon de los Muertos Carneros. Ogle, *op. cit.*, p. 346. Ogle gives the date of July for the battle which does not agree with other accounts. See introduction, note 10.

62. "What shall you do with him," said Mr. Dick feebly, scratching his head. "Oh! do with him?"

"Yes," said my aunt, with a grave look, and her forefinger held up. "Come! I want some very sound advice."

"Why, if I was you," said Mr. Dick, considering, and looking vacantly at me, "I shoul—" The contemplation of me seemed to inspire him with a sudden idea, and he added briskly, "I should wash him." Charles Dickens, *David Copperfield*, p. 203 (New Century Library)

It is now quite evident, that, had it not been for the Indians, who were attached to the command of Colonel Loring, and who were scattered far ahead of his column, about twenty five miles, the sheep would not have [been] captured—

These Indians, upon having spied out the thieves in a cañon, as they were quietly enjoying themselves, silently left them, and returned with the information to Colonel Loring, who immediately sent on with them, his Company of "Guides and Spies." (who are an enlisted band of Mexicans, and desperate Americans) These fellows, eager for the fight and still more desirous of the plunder, pushed on so rapidly as to have jaded their horses completely out, by the time that they had reached the Indian camp: in consequence of this, eight of the party were able to escape, taking with them about three hundred sheep.

Nearly that number were picked up on their trail, by the troops who pursued, which had straggled out, and all of them that could be killed by the Indians in their flight had been. Thus is our most valliant commander partially satisfied. But I fear that his blood thirsty soul will never be quite contented, until he feasts his greedy eyes upon the scalps of all beings, who are unfortunate enough to have in their veins Indian blood. Oh! what an ambitious and terrible man!

June 1st

Lieutenants Whipple and Steen have not yet arrived. They have been absent in the "*Moguillon Mountains*" nearly thirteen days. Capt Ewell,⁶³ with his three Companies of Dragoons, has not as yet come in to the Depôt, and has not been heard from. His arrival is quite problematical, as it was optional with him whether to come in here or not. Major Sheppard will, it is said, temporarily relieve Lieut. Davis, who is on duty with the permanent party at the

63. Richard Stoddert Ewell, born in Virginia, graduate of the United States Military Academy, commissioned Bvt. 2nd Lt., 1 Dragoons, July, 1840. He served in the War with Mexico, received the rank of Captain on August 4, 1849, and was a Lt. General in the Confederate army. He died January 25, 1872.

Ewell received special mention for significant service in the fight with the Apaches which took place during this campaign. Secretary of War, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

Depôt, for him to take the recovered sheep in to Fort Thorn, whence he will return here.

It is now the general opinion that there is to be at this point a permanent Post, and it is by many of the officers, considered desirable to be stationed here—May the fates not disappoint them, to favour me, say I!

Tuesday, June 2nd

I remained in Camp all day yesterday, lazily lolling about, like a gorged anaconda; occasionally stupidly musing "On the beauties of June," Which, Heaven knows, are "very scarce, and hard to get" here.

But to day, I have been quite busy;—preparing official reports, "Field Returns," and mail matter— Besides, we moved Camp to-day, to a point one mile below, on the river. And the bother of packing and unpacking, with other accessory tro[u]bles usual in such removals, have really made me feel quite active.

The present orders are, for our Column to remain here in the vicinity of the Depôt, until the 10th Inst. when *all* of the troops, start with thirty days rations per man, for the "Coyotero" country,⁶⁴ which is supposed to be about one hundred and fifty miles distant. After that we shall, most probably, make a *finishing scout* of the "Chiricowa Mountains," on our way to Fort Thorn home. At least, this is the general supposition. Every person is tired of it. For it has ceased to be a novelty. Among others, our worthy friend and chieftain, Bonneville, begins to betray signs of weariness and disgust. He is intensely disappointed that the Indians have left this section of the country; (which they have evidently done as far as the "Rio Grande.") and that "*Mangus Colorado*," the head chief of the Apache tribe, has sued for peace, through the Indian agent at Fort Thorn, as he says, that he *cannot* fight.

He has also been informed by our Indian prisoners, that this chieftain, with his own, and the other principle bands of the Apache Nation, are at a Mexican town called

64. For a description of the Coyotero, who lived west of the Gila river, see Ogle, *op. cit.*

"Hanes," which is situated just over the boundary line, in Mexican territory. There they are receiving support and shelter, he is informed, from the Mexican population. All this, is certainly well calculated to discourage, dishearten, and to destroy the ambition of a feeble minded old man, who has staked his present, and his hope of a future reputation upon the success of this Expedition.

On the return of Lieutenants Whipple and Steen, with their commands recruited, by the 10th Inst:—both columns, —Col's Loring's, and Mile's, will, with Col. Bonneville at the head, start for the Coyotero Country! Hurrah! for that is the order.— We have now a chance of success.

Wednesday—June 3rd—

Thursday, Friday and Saturday, June the 6th, and if for the last few days I have not been outstripping the "seven sleepers"⁶⁵ it is still 1857. If any thing, can, more than another, intensify, and render still more disagreeably unpleasant, the affairs and associations of this expedition, it is lying idle and unoccupied in Camp, as we have done for the past week, and are likely to do for some days, yet. It is unnecessarily prolonging a season of labour, to an unusual and useless length. And that too, to be passed in irritating and chaffing inactivity. The cause of our detention here at this time is this. By a most culpable but characteristic oversight, Col. Bonneville has neglected to place at the Depot, or, to make any provision for having them placed there, either pack mules for transportation, or horses, for the cavalry.

As the former, are our only means of conveying our transportation, the consequence is, that at the end of every scout which is made, although it may not be for a longer time than fifteen days, the troops are obliged to remain inactive, for perhaps nearly an equal period, for injured, or partially unservicable animals to recruit. And as almost

65. "In early Christian legend, seven noble youths of Ephesus, in the time of the Decian persecution, who, having fled to a cavern and being pursued and walled in, fell into a sleep from which they were not awakened until after nearly 200 years in the reign of the Emperor Theodosius II (A. D. 408-450). A similar story is told in the Koran, the dog Al Rakin being said to have guarded the sleepers." Webster's *New International Dictionary*, 2nd ed., unabridged. The legend is discussed at length in Edward Gibbon, *History of Rome*, V, 359ff (New York, Fred de Fau & Company, 1907).

all of them become more or less so, even in a scout of that length, of course all operations are temporarily suspended. The various companies of Cavalry, have become crippled, and almost useless, (except as Infantry) by having lost and injured, by long marches, many of their horses. In one company alone, of Col. Loring's Column, no less than six gave out, and were obliged to be shot, in a single days march, while the troops were in the mountains.

As in these pages, I have said much to the prejudice of Col. Bonneville, it may not be irrelevant, that I should state some of my causes of complaint. But I do this critically and without personal feeling. It is true I am questioning the actions of an officer much my superior in rank, but let it be remembered, that while all may correctly criticize, but few could properly execute.

In a campaign of this nature, if one has had the hardihood to risk their reputation upon planning and successfully executing it; there are three important points to be gained, and which must never be lost sight of, for one instant. viz. Despatch in organization and arrangements.— Secresy.— And Celerity of movement— And the questions How, and by what means should these ends be attained, so as best to gain the greatest success, are collateral considerations, a proper attention to which, with the necessary force of armament cannot cause a failure, even should it not secure the complete attainment of the object sought.

Proceeding first to secresy— So inflated did this man seem with the idea of this expedition, while Department Commander, which may or may not have originated with his fancy, that like the frog in the fable,⁶⁶ he soon burst from the overcharge, scattering the brilliant conception over the territory in the shape of a proclamation, beginning with the celebrated words, in worthy imitation, to a certain degree, of a nobler document. "It becomes necessary to chastise the Indians." Thus heralding the intended campaign months before it commenced. It became notorious;

66. The frog in the fable in describing the huge size of the ox that had trampled on them, concluded: "Indeed, mother, but it was; and if you were to burst yourself, you would never reach half its size." Provoked at such a disparagement of her powers, the old Frog made one more trial, and burst herself indeed." Aesop's *Fables*, no. 29.

was the common talk of the common people, and even in the mouths of "babes and sucklings." The various tribes of Indians against whom it stated that the expedition was to be directed, were perfectly informed of it, and the results of our marches over their country has fully demonstrated, that they took such advantage of it as Nature, and an intimate knowledge of their mountain homes seemed to dictate, as fully bear witness the whole country blackened by fire and deserted by whole tribes, leaving but a few light-footed warriors to provide for their decrepid old men and women, in their almost inaccessible mountains.

The great length of time, a period of several months, elapsing between the *publication*, of this *public opportunity of escape*, thus afforded the tribes against whom the enterprise was directed, and the *beginning* of its execution, betrays a want of *Despatch*, which must be greatly culpable. All of the operations in concentrating troops and supplies; but more particularly the latter, were slow, cumbrous and bungling. And this military chief seemed to lose sight entirely of future *movements of troops*, in the indulgence of a gastronomical propensity to collect an immense abundance of provisions. This was excessive. And months were occupied in concentrating at the Gila river Depôt, long before they were needed, the most enormous supplies of stores entirely to the exclusion of pack-animals, for their transportation, for the troops who were to go into the field. And, for this same reason too, the want of animals for transportation, was a great failure made by neglecting entirely, attention to the *rapidity of movements of troops*, which is so important an element of success in field service, of this nature, where operations are those of pursuit. Our cavalry was, at times completely broken up by the losses of animals which it sustained. And there were none to replace them. Small parties of Indians, (and they are never large) well mounted as they were, could not be pursued successfully for this reason. In fact we were reduced by two weeks active, and *actual* service, to a poor pitiful set, of straggling wretches, ineffective and useless, unless the Indians had attempted to attack us, which of course was not very probable. And

even after such a period of fifteen days labour, our return to active operations was a question of time, depending entirely upon the state of health of our pack-animals, the condition of their backs etc., as there were none to replace, the unserviceable animals.

Thus as we were tr[a]iling over a portion of country, by tedious marches and slowly moving columns, the Indians (if there were any,) stepped aside, allowed us to pass quietly and then did as they pleased, as before.

It must be that in scouting over a country of the nature of this, possessing so many facilities for the security of the Indian, and presenting so many natural obstacles to its examination by his enemies, that delays of the duration of ours either for recruiting, or other purposes would be necessarily destructive. It is like bailing a sinking ship without stopping its leaks. With Goethe we may say, "Happy is he, who early discovers the gulf that lies between his aspirations, and his powers." It is true that the expedition has been partially successful.— A number of stolen Sheep have been recovered, and *possibly* a moral effect has been created: but more *probable* that contempt, has, ere this, taken its place in the minds of Indians.

Our chieftain (?) is now at a full stop, but his pause is the blindness of ignorance, and not the quiet deliberation of wisdom.

And if eventually, we are successful in this new territory where our coming has not been heralded, it will be the success of chance, not of intention and design.

Indeed, it seems that investigations of this problem, as far as developed, may be thus stated. (By the permission of "Bartletts' analytical Mechanicks")—

Let F = the force = \$500000.00 and 800 men

Let P = the path passed over by the point of application of the force = 1200 miles

Let Q = the quantity of effective work performed = the recovery of 500 Sheep and 10 Indians

And we thus have the equation $Q = F \times P$. or

500 Sheep and 10 Indians = 800 men moving 1200 miles at the expense of \$500000.

To discuss this equation. $Q = F \times P$. It is evident that Q is dependant

for its value upon F , and P ; now assuming F , as a constant quantity, and the value of P , the path, as limited, it is evident that Q will, (if time be considered,) be dependant upon the *rapidity of motion*, of the force F .

Let D = the *whole distance* which has been, or is to be, marched over.

Let T = the whole time, occupied in the field by the troops.

Let M = the whole number of miles traveled per day—

And we have the equation. $D = T \times M$ or $T = D/M$. Now in this last equation assuming D . as a constant quantity T . will depend for its value upon M , alone, and as we decrease M . T . will increase: or making, in the equation, $T = D/M$, $M = 0$ we have $T = D/0 = 0-0$. and Q , as a result, is 0. Now this must have been Bonneville's discussion. He considered that as the *time* was infinite, it made no difference how slowly we moved, or what was the value of M . But enough of this.

Sunday June 7th and 8th 9th and 10th etc. until the morning of what it now is, June the 13th we were occupied in preparing for the great Scout of thirty days to the "Coyotero Country." Nothing worth noting has transpired with me, and now we start. Even while I write some of the troops are in motion. To day I shall commence my journal in *rhyme*, so "adios" to plain statements.

END OF PART FIRST

CAMELS IN THE MINES

By DAN DEQUILLE¹

THUS far the camel has never proved a success in any mining region on the Pacific Coast. One would suppose that the animal could be employed to advantage in many of the desert sections lying westward of the Rocky Mountains, but such seems not to be the case. Camels can only be used in level and sandy regions for transportation purposes. In the mountains they soon become footsore. Owing to the peculiar formation of their feet they cannot withstand the sharp rocks of the mountain roads, and it is in the mountains that the work of the mines lies. For packing ore over the rocky trails of mining regions one good mule is worth half a dozen camels.

The only use to which camels can be put in the Pacific Coast country is in packing salt, soda, borax and similar mineral products of the desert regions to the railroad lines. They have been tried in Nevada in transporting salt from the desert marshes to the reduction works of the Comstock, but were found unprofitable. The camel may be fast enough for an Arab, but he is too slow for an American. Wherever a camel can travel in comfort one may go with a wagon. In the business of salt transportation in Nevada, trains of wagons and big mule teams soon ran the camels off the track.

Originally twelve camels were brought to Nevada. It was before there was a railroad anywhere in the Great Basin region. The animals appeared to be as much at home here as in their habitat in the Old World. They found here the artemesia and many of the same bitter and prickly shrubs that are native to the desert regions of Asia. When the occupation of the camels as packers of salt was gone they

1. Dan DeQuille was a resident of Virginia City, Nevada, and author of *History of the Big Bonanza* (Hartford, 1876).

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The basic story of the importation of camels for service in the Southwest can be found in Lewis Burt Lesley, ed., *Uncle Sam's Camels*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1929.

were sold to some Mexicans who used them for a time in packing wood down out of the mountains. The Mexicans took them up rocky trails into the rugged hills and used them the same as they use a mule—unmercifully. They soon killed three of the poor animals and would have killed the remainder had not a Frenchman who owned a big ranch on the Carson river taken pity on the poor abused creatures and bought the whole of them. This Frenchman had been in Algeria with the French army, where he had acquired an affection for the camel—probably owed the animal a debt of gratitude for saving his life on some occasion. He had no use for the beasts and therefore turned them out to roam the desert plains at their “own sweet will” and enjoy themselves.

The animals soon waxed fat and increased and multiplied. In a few years the herd numbered thirty-six, old and young. The Frenchman then sold the whole lot to be taken down to Arizona to be used in packing ore down off a big mountain range. It was said there was a good smooth trail, but the animals found all the rocks and soon became foot-sore and useless, when all were turned adrift to shift for themselves. They wandered away until they reached a region on the borders of the Gila. There they found a climate and pasturage suited to their habits and taste, and there they have been running wild for many years. It is said they have broken up into several herds as they multiplied, and these herds are scattered in various directions. Of late it is reported that the cattlemen have been shooting the animals for some reason; perhaps because they frighten and stampede their horses. No one knows how many camels are now running at large in the wilds of the Gila country, but there must be a great number. One is occasionally caught. Three years ago one was caught near Gila Bend that measured over nine feet in height. It was supposed to have strayed from one of the herds roaming that region.

The Dutchman Who Killed A Camel

When the camels were first taken down to Arizona to be used in packing ore one of them was shot and killed by a

MINERAL DEPT

German miner. The man who did the deed suffered about as much distress of mind as did the sailor who killed the albatross. The German was working for a mining company at a place about three miles from where were located the men who were trying to use the "ships of the desert" as "prairie schooners" in carrying ore down from the mountains. The man did not know there was such an animal as a camel on the American continent—probably in all his life had never seen a camel.

The German had a "jager" which he had brought from the old country. With this rifle he had brought down many a chamois in his native land. Every Sunday he was out with his tremendous old "jager." He brought home no game, but always came in loaded to the muzzle with stories of the bear, deer, mountain lions and other animals he had seen and desperately wounded.

One Sunday Hans came tearing into camp about ten times as wild-eyed as usual. "Poys," cried he as soon as he could get his breath—"poys, I haf shooted a hel-ak." (elk.)

"A what?" asked one of the men.

"A hel- ak— a hel-ick!" cried Hans—"Mine Gott, es war de biggerest, moas' grosseren hel ak das in all Arizona ge-was!"

"He means to say that he has shot a monstrous big elk," explained some one.

"Yaw, a hel- ak," said Hans—"So wahr mir Gott helfe, es ist biggeresten hel- ak das in all dese mountains sall wohnen!"

"Big horns like this?" queried an old miner, drawing his neck down into his chest and spreading his arms abroad.

"No horn at all," said Hans—"She was a frau hel-ak, she was der grandmother of all der hel-aks in the vorldt!"

As Hans was able to show blood on his knife, gun and hands, the men concluded that he had at last really killed a beast of some kind. Horses were caught up and two men sent with Hans to bring in the meat—of which he said there was "more as a vagon-load."

Hans insisted upon all hands taking guns, as he said he had seen a large drove of the elk just across a little valley from where he had downed his victim. As the men rode along with him across the country, Hans honestly owned that he had never before seen an elk. He had heard so much said about the elk, however, that he thought he knew the build of the animal.

Probably Hans dashed up to the spot where lay stretched the dead camel. Dismounting he threw his beloved "jager" across his game, then as the others came up he laid a finger on his lips and pointed in the direction of a range of low hills. He wanted no noise made for he was in just the right humor to creep over the hills and slaughter the whole herd.

In his anxiety to make sure of his game, Hans had nearly sawed off the head of the poor camel. When his companions came up they were for some moments at a loss as to just what kind of huge creature Hans had stretched upon the plain.

Presently one of the men who was a Comstocker cried out:

"By the holy poker, he has killed one of the camels that belong over at the other camp! Here is a nice mess! I have no doubt the animal is worth all of a thousand dollars."

"Gott in himmel, wort a tousand dollar!" cried Hans—"Ah mein lieber! Ah, Gott, if we could only kill dem all it is more as twenty tousand dollar in our pocket!"

It was long before Hans could be made to understand that the "boot was on the other foot"—that the owner of the camel would demand \$1000 for it.

"Ach der teufel!" cried Hans. "Potz wetter! Das kameel! das kameel! Is it den one kameel I have killed?"

"Yes, a camel," said one of the men, "and the men who own the camel will be after you."

"Donner wetter!" cried Hans.

As the men with Hans did not wish to be caught near the dead camel all hands beat a hasty retreat for home.

When they got back to the mine and told of Hans' latest exploit with his old "jager" the whole camp was in a roar.

For three or four days Hans endured being pointed out

to all comers as "the man who shot the camel," then he came up missing, and his old "jager" with him.

At meals, and on all occasions when Hans appeared among the employes of the mining company, the killing of the camel was made the topic of conversation. The atrocity of the act would be enlarged upon, and the value of the slain beast gravely discussed. Several had held that for show purposes—for use in a menagerie—the animal was worth \$1500, and the lowest estimate was \$800, which was for his use as a pack animal. This talk did not serve to give Hans an appetite—it was poor sauce to his victuals. Then the men always went through the ceremony of placing some one on guard as a picket, that the owner of the camel might not come and catch them all in a bunch at meal-time.

All this so worked upon the mind of poor Hans that one night he "folded his tent" and in imitation of the Arab, "silently stole away."

Five months later the Comstocker—a millwright named Tom Alchorn—went to a camp about a hundred miles away, in another part of Arizona, to work upon a set of hoisting works. At the first meal, when all hands about the mine were seen together, Tom recognized among them Hans, his former fellow-workman.

"Well, by the holy poker!" cried Tom—"here is Hans! Here is the man that shot the camel!"

Tom Alchorn was then, of course, called upon for the story of the killing of the camel and before it was half finished Hans had slipped away from the table. That night the poor fellow disappeared from the mine. The after history of Hans was unknown to my friend Alchorn, but it is probable that he is still occasionally recognized by some one in some camp of Arizona or New Mexico as "the man who killed the camel."

The Result of an Attempt to Shear a Camel

With the herd of camels when it was owned by the Frenchman on the Carson river was a huge old bull camel that was known as "old Heenan." He was a giant and the patriarch of the herd. He had hair on parts of his body that

was from a foot to eighteen inches in length. The animals ranged down the valley of the Carson nearly to old Fort Churchill. At Sam Buckland's ranch, a mile above the fort, several Mexican vaqueros were employed. These men had often seen the big camel and had looked with covetous eyes upon the long silken hair that hung from his huge frame. They thought this hair might be spun into beautiful riatas and braided into many handsome forms of reins and ornaments for bridles.

One fine spring morning two of the Mexicans—Antonio and Gedonio—equipped themselves with a pair of sheep-shears and a lasso and set out to catch and shear "Old Heenan."

Usually the "ferocity" of a camel is on a par with that of a sheep, despite all hissing, showing of teeth and venomous looks. There is one season of the year, however, when the old bulls are really very vicious. The Mexicans had sallied forth in the midst of this season, but were unaware of the fact.

Old Heenan was found guarding his harem on a greasewood plain near the river. The Mexicans were mounted upon mustangs and dared not go near the herd on horseback. The sight and smell of a camel sets all ordinary horses wild; for some reason terrifies and stampedes them. Gedonio dismounted and taking with him the lasso, left Antonio to hold the two horses and the shears.

Gedonio found the big camel easy to approach. The old fellow stood stock still, dreamily chewing his cud with half closed eyes. The lasso swished through the air and in a moment was about Old Heenan's neck. Then, as the patriarch felt the rope tighten about his neck, the fun began.

Alongside the giant beast the Mexican looked a mere pigmy. When Old Heenan realized that the small two-legged creature was actually trying to "gather him in" his little eyes turned green with rage. Hissing like a red-hot locomotive, he charged Gedonio.

The little Mexican held to the rope for a time, thinking to choke the camel down, but found the animal apparently able to subsist as long without "wind" as without water. Be-

sides, Heenan made for him so rapidly that he could get no square pull on the beast. At last Gedonio was so hard pressed that he was forced to drop the lasso and take to his heels.

By this time Heenan was thoroughly enraged. The Mexican tried to dodge the irate beast among the bunches of greasewood, but these being only two or three feet high afforded poor cover. He then struck for the river, intending to climb one of the cottonwoods on the bank of the stream, but Heenan was so close at his heels that there was no time for climbing and he was obliged to plunge into the river.

Not being able to swim Gedonio was obliged to halt when the water came up to his chin. Heenan charged down to the water's edge and there stood on guard. Though the old fellow would not enter the water he made the Mexican very unhappy by spitting showers of acrid saliva into his face and eyes.

Meantime Antonio, who had witnessed his partner's inglorious retreat, became uneasy. He feared he was either drowned or killed, as he could see neither man or camel after they plunged down the bank toward the river. Leading his mustangs he ventured near the bank of the river and shouted: "Gedonio! Gedonio!"

Gedonio heard and begged Antonio to come to his relief, explaining the situation. He told Antonio to tie the two mustangs together and leave them, then slip down the bank, get hold of the trailing end of the lasso and tie it to a tree.

All went well until Antonio was about to pass the end of the lasso round the tree. It would not reach by a foot or two and he hauled upon it. That attracted the attention of Old Heenan and he went for Antonio open-mouthed.

Up the bank went Antonio with the big camel at his heels. He tried to reach the horse to mount and ride off, but at the sight of the camel the mustangs gave a snort of terror and dashed away.

Heenan's attention being attracted to the horses he gave chase to them, much to the relief of Antonio who had plunged headfirst into a bunch of sagebrush to conceal himself from the enemy.

Presently the two men got together and went in search of their horses. Half a mile up the river they found both animals drowned in a deep hole, with Old Heenan upon the bank, standing guard over them. It was only after infinite trouble that the two Mexicans were able to recover their saddles and bridles, and as they sneaked home to Buckland's that evening they were sadder and wiser men. They "went for wool and came back shorn"—even their shears were lost.

The pair told all manner of lies to account for the drowning of their horses, but as it happened the Frenchman who owned the camels had climbed a tree to watch the Mexicans, not knowing what they were after, and had witnessed the whole affair. When the true story reached the ranch there were a thousand jokes among the men about the fun to be had in performing the feat of "shearing a bull camel in the rutting season."

Sam Buckland, himself, was the boss joker, and almost laughed himself sick over the business. The two Mexicans stood the joking about a week, then disappeared between two days; two of Buckland's best and fastest horses disappearing at the same time. Then Sam's merriment was turned to wrath. He would hear no more of the jokes in which his heart had formerly delighted. He told his men that there had already been "too much said about shearing camels."

Notes and Documents

On February 14, 1847, one hundred years ago, Richard Green was born in Boone, Watage County, North Carolina. August 28, 1848, ninety-nine years ago, Mary Caroline Lewis was born in the same city.

There on October 31, 1867, eighty years ago, Richard and Mary Caroline were married in her old home. To this union, there were born thirteen children. Seven girls and six boys. The first five children, Clay, George, Calvin, Mae and Christopher were born in Boone, North Carolina.

Though by 1873, Father Green had a wife and five children, the call of the Pioneer West was in his blood. North Carolina roots were hard to pull, but his desire to become a farmer caused him to "Go West." The journey westward was begun in 1873, though the family traveled no further than Jonesborough, Tennessee, where they remained two years. Nancy the sixth child and second girl was born here on December 27, 1874.

To them Tennessee was still "East," and the West being their destination, they proceeded on in 1875, the second leg of their journey to take them to Jacksboro, Texas. Here Father Green purchased 300 acres of farm land, built a home, and knew the thrill of being a farmer, having had great success with his crops and cattle. They remained here for ten years, raising five more children, Roy, Effie, Ella, Emma and Kittie. After 10 years the family left Texas for New Mexico. On April 10, 1884, Mother and Father Green and eleven children started out on the journey that was to take them more than two months to complete. Four covered wagons, three of which were horse drawn, and one by oxen, along with 65 head of cattle, made the arduous journey.

The family arrived in San Pedro, New Mexico, without mishap, and here Father Green and the three older boys, using their large wagons, obtained a contract to haul ore from the mines in San Pedro to Los Cerrillos, from where it was loaded on to railroad cars and shipped to the smelter in Socorro, New Mexico. This proved a profitable business,

but the lack of a school in San Pedro made the family decide to move to Los Cerrillos and establish a permanent home. Here in 1885 they purchased land and a seven roomed house, this later proved to be the site of the Palace Hotel. This home was the birthplace of Richard, the last son, who was born in 1888.

Accustomed to working for himself, Father Green purchased the Madrid Coal Mines, which he worked for a number of years until, his health failing, he was advised to sell. The Colorado Iron & Fuel Company purchased the mines and subsequently built the first railroad from Madrid to Los Cerrillos. It was after selling the mines that the plans for the hotel, which had been a dream, were materialized. Their decision made, construction was started on the hotel in 1888.

The stone portion, consisting of twelve rooms, was erected first. Five dollars a day was the wage paid an excellent stone mason. In 1890 native labor was hired to manufacture, by hand, adobe brick, and with this material the adobe addition was constructed. The approximate cost was \$10,000.

On the left, as you enter the building, the "Office" was located. Father Green often played the role of "Night Clerk," so he occupied the little room directly in back of the office. The large room to the right of the entrance was leased to Mr. Julius Muralter for a tailor shop. His living quarters were in the back of the shop. Mr. Muralter boarded with Mother Green, and resided and conducted his business there for a period of 22 years.

On the second floor, the room directly over the office, was known as the "Guest Room," or "Bridal Chamber." A second bedroom was in back of this suite. Over the tailor shop were two rooms, occupied by Dr. F. Palmer, who was Los Cerrillos' only physician. He also held the post of company doctor for the Atcheson, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway Company. On the third floor there were three or four bedrooms.

The adobe addition contained a large room, used primarily as a dining room. It comfortably seated 32 people. On the north end was a large sitting room, one of the most popular rooms in the building. It was furnished simply,

but comfortably. It was here, gathered around the old fashioned organ, that the family and "guests" spent many enjoyable times. South of the dining room was a large pantry from which a door opened into the front hall of the main building. Back of the pantry was the kitchen, and in succession to the back, was Mother Green's room. It had a cheery fireplace, and made a haven for her to catch a five minute wink between her many chores.

Back of Mother Green's room was a small hallway leading into a bedroom reserved for hired help. There was also a large room used for storing purposes. The last room in this corridor was a bedroom, which was also equipped with a fireplace, and reached by means of a long porch. It was in this room that Ruth the youngest and last child was born.

An outside stairway led to the second floor of the adobe addition. Over the dining room was a large room, rented to the Masonic lodge for a two year period. Father Green was a member and became a 32nd Degree Mason. Over the kitchen portion there was a long porch, off of which there were six bedrooms. In the extreme south portion there was a suite of two rooms occupied by Dr. Wm. Bishop, D.D.S., who conducted his dental practise here. Dr. Bishop later passed away in this room.

When the room occupied by the Masonic lodge was available, upon expiration of their lease, rather than renew their lease, the room was subdivided and six additional bedrooms were made.

Throughout the years, there were several prominent people who at one time or another occupied the "Guest Room." Of the most notable were Thomas A. Edison, Ulysses S. Grant and Governor Prince. General Grant and Governor Prince were in Los Cerrillos to inspect Placer Mining locations. Mr. Edison was making experimental electrical research for an electric plant in Madrid. Only his colleagues, and not Mrs. Edison, accompanied him.

Col. Theodore Roosevelt did not come to Los Cerrillos but, on July 4, 1899, the "Roosevelt Rough Riders" held their annual re-union in Las Vegas. Father and Mother Green accompanied by Nancy, Effie, George and Dick went

to Las Vegas for a Fourth of July outing, and had the pleasure and honor of shaking hands with him, and of hearing him commend their son, Clay, who, while assigned as Col. Roosevelt's orderly of the day, was killed in the first charge up San Juan Hill in the Battle of Santiago de Cuba, on July 1, 1898. From this great man praise was bestowed on the son who gave his life for his country, by the simple gesture and the words he spoke as he laid his hand on eleven year old Dick's head and said, "Dick, I sincerely hope you will grow up to be as fine a man as your brother Clay was."

Father Green passed away in the little room back of the office on November 29, 1906. One year later Mother Green sold the hotel and moved to Los Angeles, California, where she resided until her death on May 24, 1932.

The foregoing has been written expressly for Mrs. Nellie Trigg, present owner and restorer of the Palace Hotel, to be known as the "Rock House Ranch."

NANCY GREEN MCCLEARY

San Gabriel, Calif.

July 17, 1947.

P. S.: Another old pioneer hotel man of Los Cerrillos was D. D. Harkness, founder of the Harkness Hotel. He had purchased four lots on the street that presently faces the railroad tracks, and announced that he was going to build a hotel. He erected a temporary building and moved his family from Las Vegas in 1880. In this year railroad track was being laid, and Mrs. Harkness was persuaded to board the foreman and six of the men employed in building the road bed. She told Mr. Harkness on his return home, "Well Pa, I've started our hotel, I have seven boarders." This was the beginning of a very successful business. Mr. Harkness then erected an 18 roomed frame building.

Mrs. Orah Ashley Lamke,* granddaughter of Rev. Jacob Mills Ashley, submitted for publication these extracts of correspondence from Rev. Ashley to his cousin Frank Ashley in London, England. Mrs. Lamke wrote:

* 1327 McCutcheon Road, Richmond Heights 17, Missouri.

I am sorry that we do not have the original letters. Father tried to get them of cousin Frank years ago when he visited England and later my brother made the attempt. Our cousin did not want to part with them but told brother he would copy everything written about our country, that the letters were fading badly and that he wanted to copy them anyway. This he did and father had copies run off for each of us.

The spelling of Spanish words and place names has been corrected. Some of the errors, if not all, might have occurred when the original letters were copied or in copying the copy.

Unless indicated otherwise, the letters were all written in Albuquerque, New Mexico.—F. D. R.

Oct. 25, 1880

It may surprise you to hear from me in this distant part of the world, in almost the south west part of the U. S., in fact out of the states into a territory in 35. N. Latitude, 30 Longitude W. of Washington, a great deal nearer the Pacific than the Atlantic Ocean.

The inhabitants are almost all Mexican and Indian, Spanish being the language spoken. The Mexicans are Catholics and are so under the control of the priests that they dare not call their souls their own. The Indians have a mixed religion; while acknowledging the Catholic priest, they intermix with their Catholicism a part of their Sun Worship and are yet looking for Montezuma to come.

The houses are built of sun dried bricks called Adobe. The room I write in has a mud floor, mud walls with some timbers laid across then some rough boards and over these 18 inches of mud, and we pay £3 per month for it. When we came last March there were only about 250 Americans here speaking the English language and about 3,000 Mexicans; now as the railroad has got this far there are over 1,000 Americans.

The climate here is very dry and the air very pure. The place is on the Rio Grande Del Norte. In the valley it is generally very mild, but as we are surrounded with mountains that a great part of the year are covered with snow, when the wind comes from them, our Adobe (mud) house with a very little fire is comfortable. These mountains are rich in minerals, including silver and gold, and many are coming here to find mines. Heretofore it has been so far out of the world and so many wild Indians in the country, that it has been but little known. During this year the Indians (wild ones) have killed about 400, but a few days since their principal Chief Victoria was killed and we hope the Indian war is over.

Last March my eldest living son Alfred was likely to die with consumption. Nothing would suit him but that I must bring him here;

to satisfy him we came. I did not expect he would live many weeks, but the change was so beneficial, that he is so far recovered that he is able to practice his profession (physician) but it will not do for him to leave here at present and as there are so many Americans coming in I have opened a Mission among them. Our churches (Congregational) are determined to enlighten these people if they can and so have established Academies among them and my son Walter who is an A. M., M. D., has charge of one at Las Vegas, N. M., 132 miles north of here, and Mrs. Ashley (George's widow) has a school at Stockton, Utah among the Mormons.

Brigham Young Jr. and his brother John come here sometimes from their southern settlement in Utah and Arizona.

When we got here there was no railroad, but one was building from the N. E.; this has passed thro' and is running 130 miles S. and will make connections with one from the Pacific Jan. 1st, 1881. Another is built out w. from here 60 miles, going also to the Pacific. I rode out on it 45 miles last Monday and was within 25 miles of Mount Taylor, the highest point of the Rocky Mountains in this territory; it was covered with snow. Two Indians came to see us and rode on the train 3 miles. They were as pleased as children.

We have 10 or 12 Jesuit priests here, mostly Italians, that have been driven from Italy, France, Spain, etc. I do not wonder that they have been kicked out. They will from here if they do not behave themselves.

My health is good, I weigh 148 lbs. and altho in my 65th year, old age does not creep upon me fast. . . .

April 17, 1881

We are indeed in a strange land with a people of a strange tongue. When we came, in a population of 2,500 there was only about 300 that spoke the English language; the rest only Spanish. There was not a two story building in the place, and all, even the Catholic Church, built of adobus. We had to pay £6 for one room without board or fire. That was £1-12-6¹ extra beside washing. Our room floor was about 10" below the level of the road. Walls of adobus plastered with the same mud then whitewashed. Across the top of the walls large beams just with the bark taken off and pieces of boards split out of logs, placed from one beam to another; then over all a thick bed of stiff clay, made just rounding enough to carry off water. Such a roof would wash away in a short time in England, but in this dry climate, with an occasional patch they last for ages. The place was settled long before the Spanish came and they came about 1530; they conquered the inhabitants and with the exception of from 1680 to 1693,

1. This is an English money symbol and means 1 pound, 12 shillings and 6 pence (or pennies). Today, the English pound is officially worth \$4.02. There are 20 shillings to the pound and 12 pennies to the shilling.

THOMAS DEWITT

have been here ever since. The people are blind Catholics and the Jesuit Priests have complete control over them. There are about a dozen of them here and you may see one or another of them, with their long black robes in the street at any time. When I came our Missionary Society wished me to commence a Mission. I did so, first preaching in the County Court room; but the Catholics soon got us out of there. Then we furnished a room partly built, leasing it for six months and they got us out of there as soon as our lease was up, and for a time we could find no place to preach in except now and then a dark hall. Meanwhile the railroad came in bringing many Americans and a few Englishmen and I made some progress, organized a small Congregational Church, and built a house which we dedicated last Sunday. My son Walter preached the dedication sermon. This is the *First* Protestant Church² built in this place, and there is not another of any kind within 85 miles of it, and there is not another Congregational Church in the Territory, which is larger than all England, Scotland and Wales put together. It has been almost an unknown land, until this last few years. Warlike Indian tribes on the East, North and West of it and Old Mexico on the South; so far so difficult of access that few dared to brave the dangers. The country is not fertile, except in the valleys where the water can be carried from the streams by ditches over the land to water it. Where this is, it is very prolific; the most delightful grapes that ever I ate, peaches, apricots, with all kinds of garden vegetables growing in abundance.

In November and December we had some unsettled weather, the worst that has been known here in 24 years. I wrote to our Missionary Society asking the privilege of coming East to lecture on New Mexico and raise money to build a Church here, but they said rather than I should leave the ground they would send me help. It really would not do for me to leave. Had they sanctioned it and I had got to Boston, I think the temptation for to cross the big water to see you would have been too great for me to resist. I cannot say that I have altogether given up hope of doing it yet, but the best laid plans of mice and men oft go stray. I am growing old, let me see, your father must have been 60 years old last Thursday. Well do I remember when they came between 9 and 10 at night to tell me that St. Valentine had brought me a baby brother. Time flies, September I shall be 66, but I look ten years younger; few take me to be 60. God has blest me in my old age, with good health and strength for my work. . . . I have written this between my morning and evening services so as to get it off quick.

2. The Methodist Church might dispute this statement. See John W. Hood, *Methodism in Albuquerque, 1879-1939*. University of New Mexico, 1947. Ms. (Master of Arts thesis in History).

June 3, 1881

I thought when I came to this country I should be where there was no ministerial work to do, but I found work immediately. Within 14 months I have gathered a congregation, organized a Church and Sabbath School, built a House of Worship (your cousin Walter preached the dedication sermon) and we have sent for an organ for the Church. Church and organ are paid for and now other places are calling me.

A few weeks since I spent a Sabbath 135 miles west of here, five miles over the continental divide, the waters there running west instead of east. This was near the end of a new railroad building to the Pacific. A motly group I met there. The Americans, English, Scotch, Irish, German, Welsh and I do not know how many other nationalities, beside the Pueblo and Navajo Indians, gorgeous in their dirt, paint and feathers and varied colored blankets. There was a diversity of religions as well as race, Sun Worshipers, Pantheists, Catholics, Protestants of different sects and Mormons. John W. Young, one of the heads of the Mormon Church, son of Brigham Young, with one of his five wives and two children were there. I suppose their Missionaries in England deny they are polygamists, but we know that they are and they do not deny it here, but try to justify it. I am informed that they promise to give to every head of a family 160 acres of land, as an inducement to converts; but they do not give it, it is the U. S. Government that gives it to everyone that will settle upon it, whether he is a Mormon, Jew, or anything else, so that what they state of THEIR giving is false.

The ride out to where I went was quite interesting. First down the Rio Grande del Norte 12 miles (fields and vineyards on both sides of the river) to the Indian village of the Isleta where there are 1,081 Indians. Their land is cultivated and they have good vineyards. Having crossed the river we rise at the rate of 52 feet to the mile until we reach the top of the Mesa or tableland between Rio Grande river and Rio Puerco; across that and up Rio San Jose, thro' the Indian village of El Rito, Laguna and Acoma, with other Indian and Mexican villages in the distance and large flocks of sheep and herds of cattle grazing on each side of the road, and in the near distance mountains rising thousands of feet above us. The scenery is grand. We then pass thro' Mal Pais (bad land) Lava beds. The lava in untold ages past has been belched forth from an extinct volcano and then when cold uplifted and thrown into thousands of different shapes. We may see in these things the wonderful forces of nature, but more of nature's God, who controls these forces.

The Duke of Sutherland with his suite passed thro' here last Sunday night. He did not go out over the route I have been trying to describe but went south to make connections with the Southern Pacific railroad to California. . . .

May 19, 1883

This is one of the best mining regions in the world and many will be made rich by it, others will lose all, for it is not every mine that turns out well, and many are disappointed. This place has made a wonderful growth and is still growing and promises to be one of the largest cities in this part of the U. S. A. There are two prominent reasons for it. The advent of the railroad which made it accessible and the reducing of the numbers of the savage murderous Indians; they have committed many depredations and murdered between 30 and 40 persons this year, and that is few compared with former years. There is a prospect that the soldiers will be able this year to entirely subdue them. None but those who have been in this country can conceive of the difficulties to be encountered in the pursuit of them; the vast mountain fastnesses known only to them and almost inaccessible to man and beast, their cunning, etc. Sentiment favors them, but experience proves that they cannot be subdued with kindness.

Get a good map of this country, if it is a good one it will show you near the N. W. line of Arizona, not far from Nevada about 500 miles from here, where the Grand Canon of Colorado is, one of the greatest wonders of the world. The river runs thro' a deep gorge, some of the mountains rising from it almost perpendicular 5,000 or 6,000 feet. There is a sublime grandeur to the scene.

My son Walter, my son-in-law and another gentleman and myself visited it four weeks since and we shall never forget it. As our time was limited this week and it being 22 miles from the railroad and no regular conveyance we had to give it up. Besides we had seen it once. A Miss Sybil Carter, whose father was an Episcopal clergyman, a native of Tunbridge Wells, was with me on this trip. If we did not see the Grand Canyon, we saw other canons, Padre or (Father Canon) which we crossed on an iron bridge; it was where we crossed 176 feet deep. Canon Diablo (Devil's Canon) 252 feet deep, and Joyhnson Canon, very deep in places, was nearly 5 miles long here. In one place near the railroad was the Devil's well; the top of it is only about 30 by 15 feet and it is 2,860 feet deep. These are some of the wonders of this strange land. The lava of extinct volcanoes was seen almost all the way. This country also gives us some fine illustrations of Scripture passages. Here are often seen large flocks of sheep and many goats among them. "He shall separate the sheep from the goats"—Solomon writes of the Lodge in the garden of cucumbers. I called my fellow traveler's attention to the Lodges in the vineyards through which we passed, also the threshing floors where the oxen treaded out the wheat. To the houses, how easy it was to dig through them and let a man down through the roof. How like Peter we could sleep on the house top, etc., etc.—All these things you may read about, but I thought it would interest you all to have me write about them. Before I write again I expect to visit California and see the Pacific

ocean, altho' I would rather visit the Atlantic, cross it and pay you a visit. But I am so much nearer the Pacific and the time and expense of seeing that is nought compared with seeing the Atlantic.

Holbrook, Arizona; March 20, 1884

I have moved to this place temporarily as it saves me 506 miles travel on the railroad per week, which is a great relief. I am getting to be an old man and tho' my health is good I am fatigued sooner. I think I shall soon have to give this work up. Today ends my 46th year in the Ministry and in ordinary work I think I am good for 4 more; but I have special work here, for besides my work with the English speaking population, I have the overlooking of 2 Mexican preachers who labour among their own people. Then I have to look after 3 schools, well apart, one purely Mexican, and 2 for Mexicans and Mormons. We have these ignorant and deluded people in this part of the U. S. I wish the people of England knew them as well as we do here; then they would have fewer converts. We are hoping by schools to enlighten them and thus break the power of the Mormon priesthood. Then I am greatly interested in Indian work. I sent you a magazine that had an account of my visits to the Acoma Indians. I hope you got it. I will send you in this letter a clipping from the *Chicago Advance*, that will give you some information about my work. You in England may be surprised that the Indians in this country are so neglected, but the fact is our Churches have all that ever they can do, to keep up with the increase of population in new places. Can you imagine a country as large as all England without a single house and in 10 years to be covered with farms and growing villages? Yet that is what I have seen in the last 10 years. Most all the people come poor; the government gave them land, they had houses to build, farms to make, school houses also to build; these serve also to preach in until they can build a Church. Thus for some years they are not able to support a minister so Societies and richer Churches have to keep them.

Then we have I might say, men from every nation. We have in this place that is not 2 years old, English, Irish, Scotch, German, Negro, Chinese and Turks and as we have such a variety of nationalities, so we have of creeds, but I am sorry to say very few Christians. The worst part of the people are the Irish, the most drunken and quarrelsome. They mostly work along the line of the railroad and are the best supporters of the saloons and most are kept by them. My being an Englishman leads me to say very little about them, for it would be attributed to prejudice. I have been in Ireland and I used to say it then and I say it now here, that the priest and whiskey are the curse of the Irish.

I see by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, that Mr. Brice, M. P., has been publishing his impression of this country. I met him when he was out here last year. He seems a very pleasant gentleman. When he was

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here he was looking at some specimens of petrified wood. We have a large petrified forest 30 miles from here; much of the wood is crystalized and agilized, so that it is quite a curiosity and many come to see it.

May 30, 1884

I have asked to be relieved of the work or at least have some change. Whether I have a change of work or not you see that I have changed my residence back to Albuquerque, which will be my address at present. I have nothing to complain of as to health but I get so tired with travel and loss of rest, that I ache all over and do not get rested before I have to start all over again.

Our schools among the Mexicans and Mormons have done well. They close this week until Sept. first. I am trying to get schools among the Indians, but have not yet succeeded. Our Churches have all they can do, and our work is harder than in foreign lands. . . .

Nov. 28, 1884

I have not been relieved of my general Missionary work yet, but I hope to be next month and with that I have again charge of the Church in this place, their pastor having resigned and gone to California. Then I have the school and the Missionary work among the Mexicans to look after. I am looking next week for a new superintendent of Missions and hope he will relieve me of some of the work. I think a little rest will put me all right again. . . . The harvest has been very abundant with us. Wheat is selling at 15d a bushel; it seems as if we have more than we can consume or sell. It is a blessing for the poor. . . .

April 11, 1885

I begin to feel my age (69 nearly) and altho' I look well and strong I am not as spry as I once was. Mental work is the hardest for me now; a little physical work does me good, and so I have been handling the saw, plane, etc., building a fence around my house this last week. My youngest daughter with her husband is living with me. He came to make me a visit and liked the climate so well that he concluded to stop, and has entered the mercantile business, and I think will do well. It makes a happy home for me. My eldest daughter, a widow, is teaching a Mission school 20 miles from here. She has 40 Mexican and 3 Indian children pupils. She comes up occasionally to visit us and will pass the summer vacation with us and so will also my other daughter, then I shall have all three of my daughters with me.

In the matter of number of children I beat your father and he beats me in grandchildren. I have only two, one (Walter's) only 5 days old, I have not seen yet but hope to soon. Since the early part of October, I have been supplying the Church here. The pastor left

and they asked me to take it again. I consented to do so until they could get another Minister and one came the night before last and I feel greatly relieved. It is doubtful if they will let me rest as long as I am able to do anything.

I have this week to go out from here 90 miles and back, to look at work among the Mexicans. Then the week following to go to the Pacific shore to be present at the dedication of a Church the first Sunday in May. These over they give me a rest. I do not feel able now to take the responsibility of regular work, but will help a little when I can.

What would you think of this in England? A few weeks since I received a letter requesting me to go 310 miles to marry a couple, as I was the *nearest* Protestant minister (except Mormon). I sent them word I would come March 23. I started at 3 A. M., went on the train 158 miles, stayed there 3 hours on Mission work, then took the next train 55 miles further arriving there at 4 P. M. I had to stay in a house built with 1 inch board, there were but two houses in the place. At 8 next morning, started in the rain on a rough open carriage we call a buckboard drawn by two mules, and in 24 miles saw nothing but 1 poor wild rabbit. There we stopped and changed mules and reached St. John, 54 miles from the railroad, at 7 P. M. I was so tired that I would not go any farther that night; stayed there the night and all next day until 7 P. M., then started for Springfield 35 miles farther. The night was clear and when we got up into the high tableland very cold, for we had to face a wind from the top of snow covered White mountain. Before midnight I and the driver were pretty well chilled thro', and glad I was when at 2:30 A. M. we reached our destination.

Springfield has a population of about 400 (about half Mormon). Some of the Mormons in this place and St. John have been imprisoned for polygamy, others have left the country for fear of it.

On the 26th I married the couple and another couple brought me their 8 months old child to baptize. That night I took a good rest and had the happiness the next day to be favored with a day's ride back to St. Johns. This is a place of about 1,450 people. Near 600 are Mormons and a little more than 600 Mexican Catholics, a few Jews and the rest of no religious character. There were some who wished me to stay over Sunday, 29th, and preach in the Court house to them; I did so and had about 40 hearers morning and evening and they seemed to hear with gladness. They are anxious for a Missionary as they have nothing there but a Mormon bishop and a Catholic priest. Thus a number are left without any religious instruction. They see the abominations of Mormonism, that it is as the lowest Roman Catholicism. Our people have sent them a teacher for their children. She does the best she can with a Sunday School, but they need a Minister, but I am afraid from lack of funds our Home Missionary Society will not be able at present to send them one. You have no idea in England

of the necessity and extent of Home Missionary work in the far west.

On Monday at 8 A. M., I started again on my way and reached the railroad at 7 P. M. It was, I think, the roughest ride I ever had. I had then to lay over until 3 P. M. the next day, then took the train and got home at midnight, and it was several days before I got over my ride.

That trip cost the man I married over £10 sterling. The regular railroad and train fare was over £11 but he got a reduction. Now everyone has not that amount to pay for being married by a minister, so some get married by a Justice of the Peace or live together without. Some who once professed religion in their old homes, in these wild places almost forget their God and his Sabbath. I was pained yesterday to hear that a man who was a Baptist in London and occasionally preached was at work each Sunday building him a house.

In this New Mexico, we have a Catholic Society called Penitentes. They have strict rules of secrecy about many of their proceedings, but at Lent they have some public exercises. Every Friday in Lent they meet and scourge themselves for their sins. When they do it in public, they put a cloth over their heads so that no one will know who they are. The day before good Friday, they meet in the morning and continue their barbarous exercise until after midnight Friday, cutting themselves with knives, scourging themselves till the blood runs from their backs to the ground, being trampled upon, carrying heavy crosses and being hung upon them; they say they are the slaves of Jesus and have to imitate him. At Cubero where we have a Mission School, two have died under their torment this year, the one being trampled upon, (the other on the cross). My Aunt told me that he was her most promising pupil. It is wholly a Mexican place and the population sustains it and such places in the region of the Shadow of Death. It would not do for me to come to England, and tell what I see and know; they would say I was not telling the truth. Pray for these poor ignorant and benighted people, so priest ridden, that it is hard for a Protestant to get a word in with them. I am sorry to see by the papers that you are likely to have a war with Russia. I hope the war cloud will disperse and peace prevail. I can tell you that the people of this country think that Gladstone is the foremost statesman of the age, and are sorry to see such trouble on his hands and hope he will come out all right. We are sorrowing over Grant's dying, for little hope is entertained of his recovery. . . .

[The next letter was from California where he had gone to dedicate a new church. After which he lectured in various churches as far north as San Francisco on work among the Indians. Then because of the illness of the minister's wife he stayed and preached in the new church until August, finally returning to Albuquerque.—O. A. L.]

Oct. 21, 1886

I am not now in the regular ministry, I begin to feel my age, over 70, and so I am not willing to assume the responsibility of a regular charge, but I find enough to do, for I occasionally go out to preach even to the distance of 254 miles. Then I am correspondent secretary for the Congregational Union for New Mexico and Arizona and I look after Mexican Mission Schools in the territory.

I returned this A. M. at 10 o'clock from 100 miles west of here where I am superintending the building of a school house, a teacher house and a Missionaries Home. I had a rough journey home. The place has altitude of over 6,500 feet and Mt. Taylor in near sight of it over 12,000 feet. I started at 5 P. M. in a wagon to the station four miles. It was blowing a gale when we started and it soon began to hail, rain and snow and it blew the umbrellas to pieces. I was soon wet. We reached the station at 6:20—a long time you may say for a 4 mile drive, but you must know the road was not like your English roads. There never was any labour bestowed upon it and about one mile of it was over a lava bed, so rough that the horses could only walk over it, had they trotted it would have shaken the wagon and riders to pieces. I had then to wait nearly three hours for the train and it stormed the whole way 96 miles. While waiting at Grant Station, I met a Mexican gentleman that lived about 25 miles away in the San Mateo mountains; he said in one of the recesses of the mountain there was a Cliff Dwellers Village, that many hundreds of years ago was inhabited by another race, probably Footes or Axtecs. That digging in one of the dwellings they found a woman's skull, with fine flaxen hair. This would indicate that a fairer race once inhabited this land.

Last week the principal of our Academy (he is from New England), and two others went 140 miles. Today he was telling me how he enjoyed the trip. Each of them brought about 30 pounds of petrified wood home with them. I wish you could have a view of the scenery, rocks, hills, mountains and valleys, such as cannot be found anywhere in the British Isles.

I have been west many times but never tire of the scenery. For my children's sake I am glad I left England when I did. For myself, altho' I have met with some heavy pecuniary losses I have no fear but what I shall reach the end of my life without depending upon anyone. My children are all working and making comfortable livings. The two eldest are gone. Edwin, the next son, is a Circuit Commissioner and doing well in his profession (lawyer). He has two little girls. Walter is at the head of the best educational institution in New Mexico. He has one little girl. Herbert, the youngest son, is farming in Dakota. Mrs. Rood, the eldest daughter, is a Missionary Teacher, one of the most successful ones among the Mexicans, in a large Mexican village 20 miles from here. Her husband has been dead two years.

Phoebe, my next daughter, is married to an excellent man, principal of a large school in Kansas. Laura, with her husband, has a ranch in Colorado. They did live here with me and we went in business together, I as silent partner, but thro' the dishonesty of certain parties we lost money. Her husband is an Englishman and brother to Edwin's wife. Now I have given you a short family history.

The book I caused to be sent direct to you from the Home Missionary Society in New York. They write, "The book has been forwarded to your son in London." I thought it would give you considerable information about the country and I hope it has. In the way of earthquakes, etc., you have not had much experience in your little island; our large continent is likely to experience more. We all here take an interest in your political matters and Gladstone is a general favorite in America. Only last night talking with an educated Mexican that lives in the mountains; he was praising English policy in European affairs. As your papers keep you posted in our affairs, ours keep us posted in yours. In spiritual matters we are in the darkest part of the U. S. A.

Nearly all the people are Roman Catholics and their priests are blind leaders of the blind. Some of them will say Mass in the morning and then spend the rest of the day in drinking and gambling, or attending horse racing or cock fighting and the poor ignorant people are afraid of them. In a place not far from here, a man with a little property died a short time ago, and the priest said he would not bury him for less than £100 (\$500). His son said they could not raise the money, but could half of it. The priest said, give me that and I will bury him out of Consecrated ground and keep him dancing on the borders of Hell until you bring me the other half, then I'll take him up and bury him in Consecrated ground and put him on the way to Heaven. So his children borrowed on the property to pay the \$500, that their father might not be kept on the borders of Hell. Amidst their darkness we have to labour. Our schools are doing good work, we want more of them. . . .

Book Reviews

Murder and Mystery in New Mexico. By Erna Fergusson. Merle Armitage Editions, Albuquerque, N. M., 1948. Pp. 193 and photographs. \$3.50.

Here is a modern retelling of nine true stories of New Mexican violence. It is evident that Erna Fergusson has enjoyed digging out details concerning the murders and collecting the various explanations that have been offered for still unsolved mysteries. "The Vigilantes of Socorro" tells of the shooting of A. M. Conklin, editor of the *Socorro Sun*, by one of the young Bacas in 1880, over a fancied insult, and the subsequent illegal proceedings of the Committee of Safety, organized to secure "justice." The second narrative explains the shooting that arose over a disputed land title between Manuel B. Otero and Joel P. Whitney, of Boston, in August, 1883. Other chapters are devoted to the career of Billy the Kid, the strange disappearance near the White Sands of the San Andrés of Colonel Albert J. Fountain and his little son, the hanging of train robber Black Jack Ketchum, the killing of Indian trader Frank Dugan on the Navajo reservation, the Manby mystery of Taos, the murder of Yee Fong in Silver City, and the mob violence against some Mexican coal miners in Chihuahuita, near Gallup.

All of the stories hold the reader's interest, even better than do the ever-popular fictional "who-done-its." Here fact itself falls into patterns of suspense, and the assembled clues have a concreteness difficult to rival by invented circumstance. The characters, also, are more varied, colorful, and convincing than are the creations of even top level purveyors of today's crime and mystery best sellers. For this reader, at least, truth in the realm of murder is not only stranger but also more fascinating than fiction.

Murder and Mystery in New Mexico appeals, also, by its regional quality. Racial and physical backgrounds, common occupations, local customs, ethical and cultural standards, and characteristic ways of thinking and speaking permeate the stories. No one of them could be inserted unde-

tected, even with a change of place names, in such recent crime anthologies as those entitled *New York Murders*, *San Francisco Murders*, or *Denver Murders*.

Another important aspect of this volume is the artistry of the narrator. Erna Fergusson goes far beyond the usual levels of newspaper crime reporting, giving us sympathetic understanding in addition to accuracy and clarity. She demonstrates the ease, freshness, vividness, and restraint of the experienced and gifted writer. She also avoids the over-detailed and the over-sensational treatments that have too often been accorded the criminal aspects of earlier Western and Southwestern life. Her writing is, moreover, beautifully framed by the attractive format of the book, another example of distinguished local publishing.

University of Denver

LEVETTE J. DAVIDSON

No Man's Land. By Carl Coke Rister. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 210. \$3.00.

This book is a history of the once wild and often dusty area which is now the Oklahoma Panhandle. Its title comes from a phrase used in a "New York Sun" story on this area in 1889, when it was indeed "God's land, but no man's." It is an area bigger than Rhode Island and Delaware combined. Although repeatedly blasted by droughts, dust storms, and blizzards, many of its sturdy inhabitants have stuck to their homes and farms through thick and thin.

Dr. Rister, research professor of history at the University of Oklahoma, is well known as author of a series of excellent books on the history of the Southwest. The work is not annotated; but its bibliography, and other books by the same author, provide sufficient guarantee that it is based upon wide study of the original sources, in Oklahoma, at the National Archive, and elsewhere.

The story of the area is carried from the days of Coronado to that of the latest suitcase-and-windshield farmer who hopes here to get rich raising wheat under inflated war-time and post-war prices. "Don't Go Out Thar," was the advice to an army officer's wife given by Kit Carson, who

knew the area well from the days of Josiah Gregg and the wagon trade over the Santa Fe Trail. The blizzard of the 1880's, causing death to thousands of cattle when this was chiefly a cattle area, and the dust storms of the "Dirty Thirties," after War I had made it a wheat area, were the region's worst God-made plagues. Man-made plagues were the outlaw gangs which located here in the later 1800's, when adequate government was lacking.

To this latter problem, and to the struggle for law and order, Dr. Rister gives most of his attention. Part of the Texas cession originally, in 1850 Congress had left the area unorganized, being preoccupied with the slavery question. Hence the panhandle area was placed in no administrative unit, neither state nor territory. Law and order were non-existent. Here outlaws found a choice refuge, and non-criminal settlers faced a long and heartbreaking fight. Today's local boosters call the area a "beef bowl" or "wheat bowl," as means of forgetting that the dust may come again. Fortunately the outlaws never will.

University of Nevada

AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON

Jeff Milton, a Good Man With a Gun. J. Evetts Haley. Norman, Oklahoma, University of Oklahoma Press, 1948. Pp. xiii, 430. \$5.00.

I have a very considerable admiration for J. Evetts Haley. I do not know Mr. Haley from Adam's off ox but I know his writings and these I regard with lasting respect. Mr. Haley began acquiring this respect with his first book, *The XIT Ranch and the Early Days of the Llano Estacado*, and it continued to grow as I read his story of Charles Goodnight and those other books concerning George W. Littlefield and Charles Schriener. I was not let down when I read *Jeff Milton, a Good Man With a Gun*.

Mr. Haley is a Texan and, as everybody knows, a Texan's cattle bawl a little louder, his horses buck a little higher, and his friends grow a little taller and shoot a little straighter than any others. Mr. Haley writes about Jeff Milton, who was his friend, and proceeds to prove his points

regarding bucking, bawling and shooting. He dots the i's and crosses the t's of his story with documentary proof, and he has dug back into source material, interviewed many and gone out and ridden the country he writes about. To my way of thinking this is essential for how else can a man write of the old timers? He must know them and their country.

Mr. Haley knew Jeff Milton and the reader comes to know him too. He liked and admired Jeff Milton; the reader also likes and admires him. He saw Jeff Milton as a whole man, with weaknesses as well as strengths, and the reader also sees Jeff Milton. Therefore a good deal of Southwestern history unfolds and is explained. Men like Jeff Milton made it; men like J. Evetts Haley record it.

There were many doors in Jeff Milton's life and Mr. Haley opens them. Through the doors come stalking such characters as Governor John Milton of Florida, Major Jones and Captain Bryan Marsh of the Texas Rangers, Old John Selman and George Scarborough down in El Paso, Burt Alvord, Bronco Bill Walters; the Rurale Colonel, Emelio Kosterlitzsky, and hundreds of others. But these are small people. With them stands Jeff Milton, dominating them.

Jeff Milton did it all. He was a Ranger when rangering was tough; he was a peace officer when to wear a star often meant assuming the duties of judge, jury and executioner as well; he prospected; he guarded gold shipments for Wells Fargo; he was an inspector for the Immigration Service. Jeff Milton was "a good man with a gun," and he was also a good man, and so he hunted outlaws and put down lawlessness; was shot at and hit; shot back and made hits in return. He did those things that honest, fearless men do in a savage, untamed country. J. Evetts Haley tells about them in salty, hard twisted prose. Where else but in a Haley book will you find a man described as being "comfortable" to have along in a fight? Or another as, "standing out like a black muley steer in a whitefaced herd?" Me, I don't know. But I do know that Haley writes that way and that I like it.

Something should be said about the illustrations. There are photographs of old timers and old time places, and there

are line drawings by Harold D. Bugbee. These last particularly are like the chilitipins that Jeff Milton carried in his old cap box: they make colorful, spicy flavoring for the whole.

Maybe I've gone overboard about this book. If I have that's all right with me. A critic might dig in and find fault and discover discrepancies and overdrawing. I don't know. I do know that I read *Jeff Milton, a Good Man With a Gun*, and that I did not put it down until I had finished. Then I dipped back into the book and repeated the performance. I expect to read it many times.

Albuquerque, N. M.

BENNETT FOSTER

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 25, 1941)

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, a vice-president, a corresponding secretary, a 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 amendments 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.

The Historical Society of New Mexico

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

adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863

re-established Dec. 27, 1880

1881 — HON. WILLIAM G. RITCH

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1923 — HON. FRANK W. CLANCY

1925 — COL. RALPH E. TWITCHELL

1926 — PAUL A. F. WALTER

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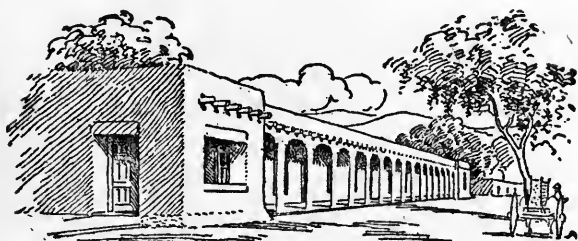
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New Mexico Historical Review



Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

PERIODICAL DEPT

April, 1949

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THEODOSIUS MEYER, O.F.M.

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON

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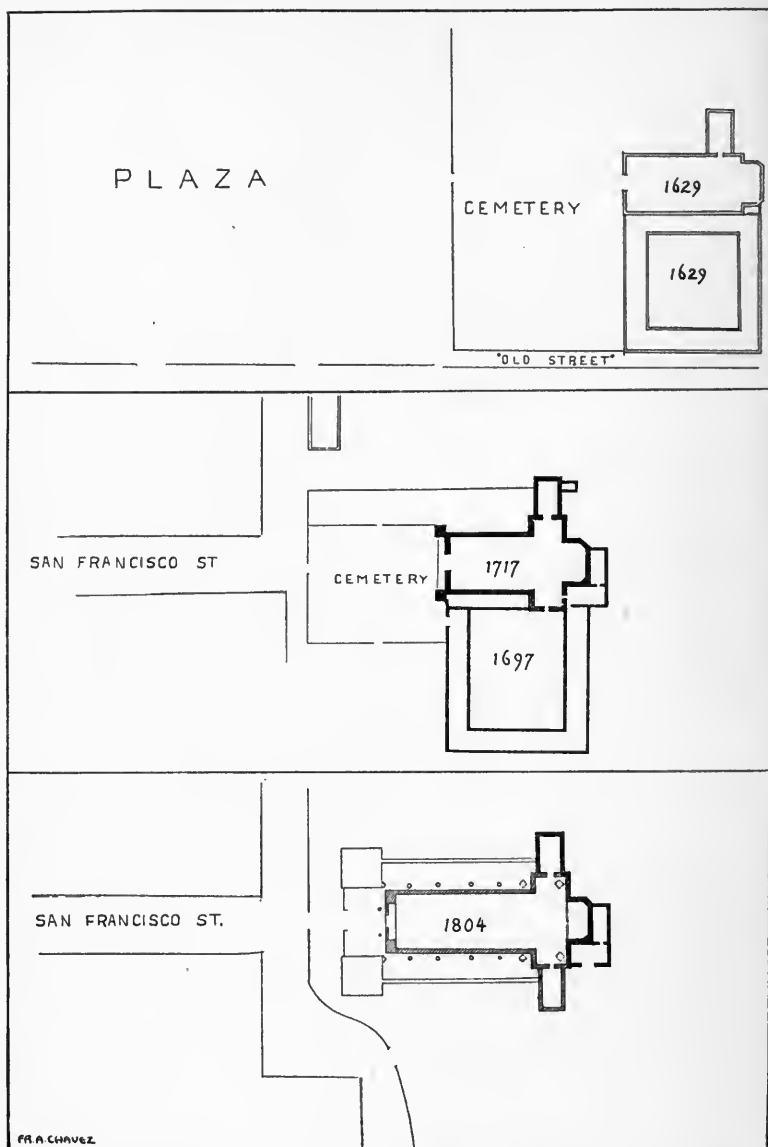
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Descriptive but not accurate sketch showing relative position of the Plaza and Church-Convent before 1680 (*top*); the post-Reconquest Church-Convent (*center*) with San Francisco Street emerging between groups of houses built on the upper Plaza after 1693; and (*bottom*) the present Cathedral built around the 1804 Church, shown by shaded lines. Black outlines show 1717 sections still in use.

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SANTA FE CHURCH AND CONVENT SITES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

By FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ

THE ORIGINAL 1697-1698 document of the erection and act of possession of the first Franciscan Convent in Santa Fe after the Reconquest, besides presenting an interesting picture of those times, furnishes us with some valuable points which, with the help of other published and unpublished data, resolve some old problems concerning the more or less exact location of several historic places in the ancient Capital. Its own quaint rambling phraseology can better describe the occasion than any modern paraphrasing; for this reason the entire manuscript is here given in translation.¹ Afterwards, the points to be discussed can be taken up with greater ease and clarity.

In the Villa of Santa Fe, Headquarters-Capital of this Kingdom and Provinces of the New Mexico, on the Twentieth day of the month of August of the year one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, before me the Captain Don Alonso Rael de Aguilar, secretary of Government and war of this said Kingdom, there appeared the Señor Don Pedro Rodriguez Cubero, Governor and Captain-General of it and Castellan of its forces and Garrisons for his Majesty, for whom I vouch. I know and declare that he, having arrived on the second day of July past of this year to date and taken possession of his Administration: and on having seen and ascertained that the religious of our seraphic Father Saint Francis had neither Convent nor living-quarters with the

1. Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, *Spanish Period*, No. 13.

decency which their persons deserve, since those in which they exist and reside are merely some poor lodgings extremely small, in which they live with great inconveniences, surely a sad state of affairs, for which Causes, Reasons, and motives, said Lord Governor and Captain-General had the convent begun which is now being built, which is situated in front of the ancient church and Convent which borders on the north side with the water ditch that passes in front of this Villa. And on the south side, all that once was a street, which forms a front before the convent and Church which existed in olden times. And on the west side with the former plaza of this Villa. And because said Convent finds itself built today for the most part, in that the greater part of its walls is up as ordered by said Señor to be built from their foundations, and because his determination and final Wish are directed towards said end, it being the result of his devotion as so much a son of our Seraphic Father Saint Francis, and because of future Uncertainties and his being a mortal man, he declares before me, said Secretary of government and war, and the witnesses who should be present, that said Lord Governor and Captain-General was making and did make Gift and donation of said Convent freely, purely, clearly, and irrevocably, according to what law calls *inter vivos*, to the Very Reverend Father Preacher, Fray Juan Alvarez, most worthy Custos of this holy Custody of the conversion of Saint Paul, as Head that he is of it, so that in the name of his sacred Order he might accept this said donation which said Señor makes according and as it now stands: and that it continue to be built in the future, for not for this Reason of said Señor making this writing shall he desist from it, but on the contrary shall apply greater interest and care in its furtherance, so that it is finished within a shorter time, and then, when this is so, he shall place said Very Reverend Father Custos, Fray Juan Alvarez, in Royal Possession in order that he may accept it In the name of his Sacred Order, that they Possess and keep it Freely and frankly and without any impediment, and that if some person or persons should place one, said Señor shall answer to the charge since he is making and building said Convent

with his own resources and funds; and with regard to the ground on which it stands [he declares], as Governor and Captain-General that he is of said Kingdom, that none of its inhabitants have right or share to it by Reason of its being on Royal lands won with the arms of his Majesty; for which Cause, in his Royal Name, he made and has made Grant of said ground together with all the rest of the land which should be needed both for building the church as well as [that needed] if said Reverend Father Custos should wish to extend said Convent further, and likewise a piece of Land for a Garden which is situated and extends along the east side and reaches up to said Old Church. And if any of the Settlers of this said Villa had a Grant made [here], said Señor annuls them from Now on and declares them null and of no Validity or effect, for on the other hand he will remunerate them for these and make them good, because it is worthy of all consideration that said Reverend Fathers who now reside in this said Villa, and those who should be in it in the future, have the necessary Conveniences in said Convent due to its wideness and Capacity; and so that it may be Valid concerning this said donation of said Convent and Grant of ground made in favor of the Most Reverend Father Custos, Fray Juan Alvarez, and of his Sacred Order, said Lord Governor and Captain-General so executed and signed before me, said Secretary of government and war, there being present and as witnesses the Royal Ensign Don Miguel de Sola Cubero, the Sergeant Major Juan Lucero de Godoy, and Francisco Rodriguez, living in this said Villa—and said Governor and Captain-General ordered me, said Secretary of government and war, to place the seal of his arms for greater solemnity, force, and Validation—

Pedro Rodriguez Cubero [*Rubric*]

[*Faint shield on wax over fancifully cut piece of paper, and this folded over to protect impression.*]

Before me

Alonso Rael de Aguilar [*Rubric*]
 Secr. of gov.ment and war.

PERIODICAL DE

ROYAL POSSESSION OF THE CONVENT [*On the margin*]

On the Twenty-fourth day of the month of January of the year one thousand Six hundred and ninety-eight, I, the Captain Diego Arias de Quiros, Alderman ordinary of first Vote of this Illustrious Council of this Villa of Santa Fe, about ten in the morning went to the Convent which the Señor Don Pedro Rodriguez Cubero, Governor and Captain-General of this Kingdom and provinces of The New Mexico, recently built, and in the presence of said Lord Governor and the Regents Jose Rodriguez, Francisco Romero, and the High Sheriff Antonio de Aguilera Ysasi, and a great concourse of People, I read the Donation and grant which the said Lord Governor and Captain-General made in favor of the Order of Our Seraphic Father Saint Francis on the twentieth Day of August of the past year of one thousand six hundred and ninety-seven, by Virtue of which, I took by the hand the Reverend Father Preacher, Fray Juan Alvarez, custos and ecclesiastical Judge of this Holy Custody of the Conversion of Saint Paul of this Kingdom and Province of the new Mexico, and I led his paternity walking and, arriving at the principal door, he opened it and rang the bell as a sign of Possession which I gave him, not only of said Convent but also of the grant of lands and garden according and as contained in said grant, in the presence of said Regents who signed it Together with me on said day As above—

Diego Arias de Quiros [*Rubric*]

Antonio de Aguilera Ysasi [*Rubric*]

Francisco Romero de Pedraza [*Rubric*]

Joseph Rodriguez [*Rubric*]

Of prime interest here are the references to an "ancient church" and an "ancient convent." These were the structures erected during the early part of the seventeenth century, and which were destroyed by the Indians in the sacking of Santa Fe in 1680. But first, let us clarify the difference between the church and convent and their mutual relationship. The Franciscans, who exclusively evangelized New Mexico for more than two centuries, lived in community as members of an Order. As distinct from the house or resi-

dence of a secular priest, or the palace of a bishop, either of which can be separate and even distant from the church itself, their communal dwellings were contiguous to and communicated with the parish or mission church which they served. They were not called monasteries, for these are the large secluded dwellings of the older Orders of monks (like the Benedictines and Cistercians), but rather *convents*, or gathering-places, for the *friars*, or brethren—who held a position half-way between the *monastic* life (alone or secluded from the world) and the *secular* life (in the world) of the diocesan clergy. The word “convent” is the ancient official Franciscan term used even today (Latin: *conventus*), which in its ablative form became the Italian and Spanish *convento*. In England, however, the peculiar term was “friary” for the friars, in the same sense that a “monastery” was for the monks. In modern English, too, the word “convent” has come to connote exclusively the dwelling place of religious Sisters, who are a relatively recent development, for the ancient Orders of women were called *monachae* or female monks (*nuns* in English), and their places were also referred to as monasteries (*nunneries* in English). But this ought not make us change the time-honored designation of a Franciscan house as a convent.²

Therefore, in all the New Mexico Missions the Franciscan Convent was joined to the church building, the larger ones united to it fore and aft, and sometimes along the adjoining flank. In Santa Fe, the first permanent parish church of Our Lady³ was built during the term as Custos of Fray Alonso Benavides (1626-1629); its convent might have been erected sometime before or at the same time; evidence points

2. Modern Franciscan terminology distinguishes between two main kinds of houses: 1) the “formed” *convent* which must observe the rules of enclosure and must have at least six professed friars, four of whom at least are priests, so that the divine offices and other religious observances are duly performed; 2) the “unformed” house, called a *residence*, which lacks the above requirements. A convent is ruled by a *guardian*, a residence by a *praeses* or presiding superior. O.F.M., *General Constitutions*, Ch. V.

3. For the old Spanish period under consideration, when every stable house was a convent and its superior a guardian, the above distinction has no bearing. During its long history the Santa Fe convent had only two friars, at times only one. An interesting transfer of the use of the term occurred in New Mexico after the Franciscans disappeared in the first half of the nineteenth century. The people continued to call the secular priest's house a *convento*, and his housekeeper a *conventera*, even to this day.

to the fact that in 1631 the convent was in use, but the Benavides church, its principal nave at least, had not yet been completed.⁴ What the shape or plan of these contiguous buildings was we do not know. The Benavides church did have attached an extra "Lady Chapel" which was finished before his departure.⁵ From the general appearance of the more important church-convent structures in New Mexico before and after the 1693 Reconquest, we can imagine it to have been similar in style and plan to its post-Reconquest successor or to the still existing plant at Acoma. This church and its convent were razed to the ground by the Indians during the 1680 Revolt.

In his 1692 expedition, Governor de Vargas saw the ruins of these buildings and, prior to his second entry with the colonists in December, 1693, had publicly vowed and resolved to rebuild the church as soon as he was able. During the next few years, the tower-chapel on the southeast corner of the Government Palace served as the parish church, and also, it seems, another temporary structure erected outside the north wall of the town "by the road to Tesuque."⁶ During these first years the friars lived in separate hovels or "cells," while the Governor and the people went on with the onerous task of rehabilitation and the suppression of continuous Indian uprisings or threats of revolt. Hence, de Vargas had not found time to keep his vow by the time his successor, Governor Cubero, took over the office on July 2, 1697.

Cubero had bought the governorship from the King, and

4. On March 22, 1631, after Father Perea had gone out to meet the new Governor, Francisco Nieto de Silva, they returned in procession to the Santa Fe convent; but the grand religious-military reception was held in the "iglesia de San Miguel." San Miguel chapel, called a church in this instance, apparently was serving as parish church while the large Benavides structure was in process of completion.—Archives of New Mexico, A.G.N., Mexico, *inquisición*, t. 372, ff. 3-14.

5. Fray Angelico Chavez, *Our Lady of the Conquest* (The New Mexico Historical Society, Santa Fe, 1948), p. 34.

6. The question of chapels that served as the parish church in Santa Fe between 1693 and 1717 requires further study. R. E. Twitchell's account is a jumble of anachronisms and misapplied titles in this regard. *Old Santa Fe* (Cedar Rapids, 1925), pp. 50-51. A. von Wuthenau identifies the tower-chapel on the southeast corner of the Government Palace with a temporary "parish church of St. Francis" on the road to Tesuque. "Spanish Military Chapels in Santa Fe and the Reredos of Our Lady of Light," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, X, p. 180. However, the document on which the latter author relies seems to place this Tesuque-road church, not at the southeast corner where the tower-chapel stood, but *outside the town wall* somewhere towards the northeast corner of the Palace block. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, II, no. 758.

for reasons of his own did not like de Vargas' tarrying in Santa Fe after his thirty days' *residencia* was over, so he began criminal proceedings against the Reconquistador and threw him into prison.⁷ De Vargas himself, although opposed by both friars and people in particular instances during his six-year term, had acquired a well-deserved popularity. We might then wonder if this is not the real reason why, as soon as he arrived, Cubero set to building a convent for the Franciscans—within fifty days of his arrival it was completed "for the most part." His writs of donation and possession, aimed to be read before the populace, lay heavy stress on this act of pious generosity. Furthermore, he not only provided for the location of the future parish church, object of the unrealized de Vargas vow, but also for the expansion of the new convent.

De Vargas finally got his release, after almost three years in prison, and left New Mexico; but he returned with added royal honors for a second term. Long before he arrived in Santa Fe in November, 1703, Cubero had fled the country by a roundabout way,⁸ leaving as his only monument the Franciscan Convent in question; for de Vargas soon made an official complaint against Cubero's destruction of the town's wall and other buildings of defense.

The new parish church was not built until many years later. Perhaps de Vargas did intend to carry out his decade-old vow, but he died during an Apache campaign in 1704. This permanent parish church, dedicated in honor of St. Francis of Assisi and joined to Cubero's convent, was not ready for use until 1717, having been started three years before and brought to completion by the faithful with the assistance of the ancient Confraternity of La Conquistadora.⁹ Its exact location, and that of the convent, are definitely established by those rich descriptions which Father Dominguez wrote in his Report of 1777.¹⁰ Most likely he examined this very document of 1697 in the convent archives, for he expressly states that "this convent was built at the

7. L. B. Bloom, "The Vargas Encomienda," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIV, pp. 378-389.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 392-393.

9. *Our Lady of the Conquest*, p. 39.

expense of Governor Cubero." The parish church to which it was attached was the 1717 structure. Although it fell into ruin at the close of the century, its 1804 successor, longer as to its nave, was built on the same spot, for it incorporated the same old sanctuary, sacristy, and Conquistadora chapel, which had not fallen down. When Archbishop Lamy replaced this building with the stone Cathedral in 1886, these three sections remained intact. They provide a sure starting-point for fixing the exact or at least the approximate location, not only of the church-convent structures, but also of the eastern limits of the foreshortened Santa Fe Plaza, both before the Indian Revolt of 1680 and after the Spanish Reconquest of 1693.

According to Father Dominguez, the 1717 church was about 121 feet long. This would place its front entrance close to the center of the present Cathedral. The 1697 convent, built as a quadrangle with inner cloister, touched this church at the front south corner and at the southwest corner of the sacristy; therefore, its front west elevation ran about 121 feet south from the middle of the Cathedral nave, then as many feet to the east, and again as many feet north to meet the sacristy at the exact spot on which the 1804 south chapel of the Cathedral now stands. Father Dominguez describes this corner very minutely.

As to the eastern boundaries of the plaza, the Cubero document states that the 1697 convent's west front ran along "the former plaza of this Villa." Therefore, the Santa Fe Plaza in its original form, from 1610 to 1680, ran clear up to the middle of the present Cathedral. After the Reconquest, people began building on this upper section of the plaza, so that as early as 1697 many had to be evacuated from the extreme east end to make room for the convent and for the church that was to be built eighteen years later. A cemetery directly in front of the church was already in use by 1732, after the interior floor-space had been used up, as we learn from the burial books; this cemetery is described by Father

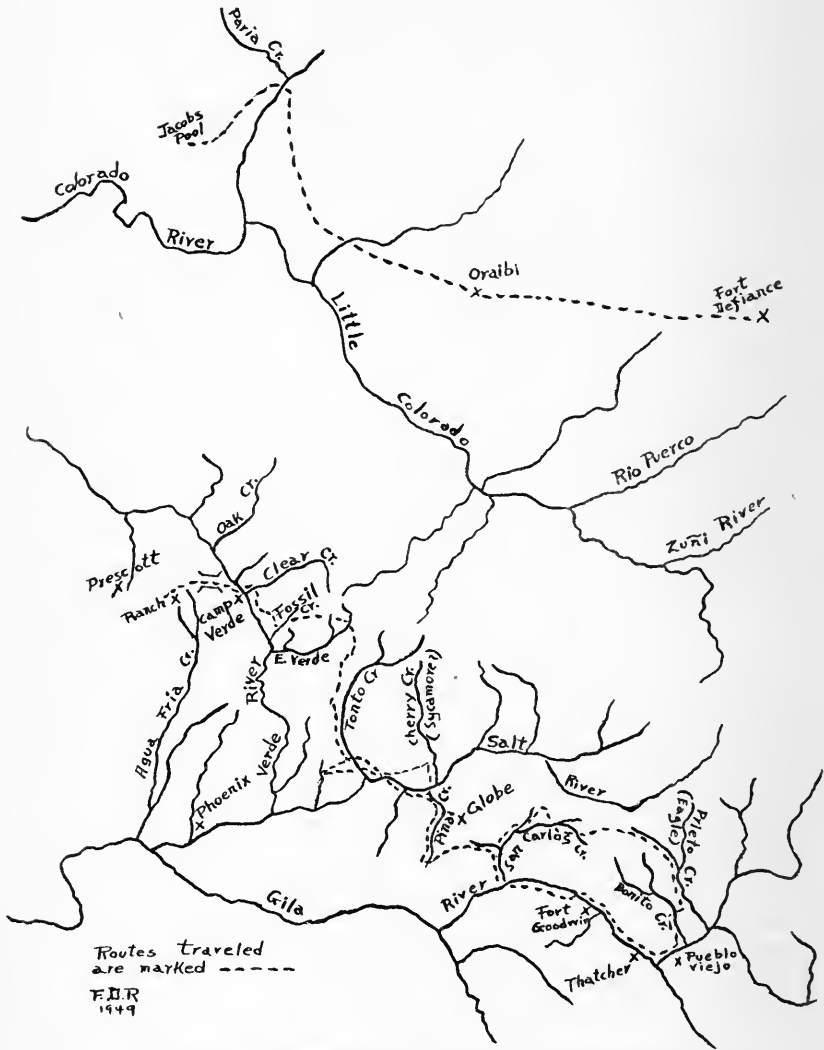
10. *Descripción del Nuevo México hecha por Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, 1777*, Biblioteca Nacional de México, Leg. 10, No. 43. This lengthy and most important document is in process of translation for publication, with pertinent annotations, in the near future.

Dominguez as running about 103 feet from the front elevation of the church to a short street parallel with it, while houses were scattered in between this street and the town plaza.

From all this, we can speculate as to the position of the "ancient" church and convent of 1629. They had been destroyed by the Indians in 1680, but their foundations were still visible in 1697. The Cubero document does not say whether the convent was actually south of the church or vice-versa; because the south would be the better protected side, we can suppose almost with certainty that the Fathers used the higher church structure as a wind and weather break on the north. Invariably they chose the sheltered side for their convents in all the Missions. These church-convent foundations stood east of the 1697 convent, and with enough space left between them for a small garden. North of it ran a ditch, its water drawn from a marsh above; south of it was a street "that had been" before 1680, and directly on it was built the south flank of the convent. This would place the Benavides church of 1629 almost directly behind the present Cathedral, its front entrance, and the convent's, along the north-to-south line now occupied by the hospital's two-story brick quarters to the rear of the Cathedral—and not on the front lawn of St. Vincent's facing the Post Office, as commonly believed. The space between it and the original upper limits of the plaza would have been the logical place for the pre-Revolt cemetery in front of the Benavides church.

Certainly, a surveyor with his professional knowledge and his instruments could figure out the more or less exact position of these places. Besides the Cubero and Dominguez documents, the "Urrutia Map" would be of great help.¹¹ For the present, the accompanying general sketch will have to suffice. All this, in turn, would make it possible for an architect or an artist, with further aid of the Dominguez Report, to build authentic scale models of Santa Fe's center at different periods of its existence. All in all, the whole matter is very intriguing.

11. This mid-eighteenth century map of Santa Fe is reproduced in Twitchell's *Old Santa Fe*, facing p. 62; also in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, X, facing p. 182.



Cook and Tenney Routes Arizona: 1864 and 1870

WAR AND PEACE: TWO ARIZONA DIARIES

Edited by FRANK D. REEVE

WAR

King S. Woolsey was a notable Arizona pioneer. He was a member of the Walker party organized in 1863 to prospect for mineral wealth in northern Arizona. He also became a rancher and participated in politics for a number of years.

Due to the unsettled relations between the white man and the Redman in Arizona of those days, Woolsey, on at least two occasions, led punitive expeditions against the Indians. Among the members of his expedition of August, 1864, was F. A. Cook who kept a detailed diary of their activities. Woolsey's account of this expedition was written in the form of a report to Governor John N. Goodwin and has been published in Thomas Edwin Farish, *History of Arizona*, III, 258-272 (Phoenix, Arizona, 1915).

Cook's diary is in the possession of the Sharlott Hall Historical Museum of Arizona, Prescott, Arizona. The editor copied approximately the first two-thirds of the diary while on a visit to the Museum, and Mrs. A. H. Favour, a resident of Prescott and active in the management of the Museum, kindly copied the balance of the ms. and forwarded it for publication. The diary is here reproduced exactly as written by Cook in so far as possible; some difficulty was experienced in reading the punctuation and an occasional word:

WE left Woolsey's¹ on the eve. of the 1st. of June, 6:00 P. M. Our course was N. 69 E. over a rolling country 18 miles to a good spring.²

1. The starting place was Woolsey's ranch on the Agua Fria creek, about twenty miles east of Prescott. *Journal of the Pioneer and Walker Mining Districts 1863-1865*. Arizona Statewide Archival and Records Project, Historical Records Survey Projects, p. 13 (Phoenix, Arizona, 1941)

Woolsey's ranch was later known as the Bower's ranch and was located between the present day towns of Humboldt and Dewey

2. Woolsey called this spring "Fisher's Cienega," distant fifteen miles rather than eighteen miles. Farish, *History of Arizona*, III, 258

There is a fine valley of several hundred acres—excellent grass. Jumped a band of about 15 Indians, but as it was Midnight, we did not see them

June 2nd.

Started about 7 o'clock in morning—our course N. 69 E. (18 miles). Most of the way was rocky and down a cañon to San Francisco River.³ Found a running stream in this cañon, heading about 4 m west of San Francisco.

Crossed San Francisco at noon. Camped here, dinner [?]. Caught some fine fish. This is a splendid valey Soil sandy, but vegetation shows it to be Rich Timber scarce but what there is, is principally Cottonwood.

This valley is large enough for hundreds of families. Started about 4 P. M and traveled east 5 miles to Clear Creek (which is a large stream tributary to San Francisco)

Here Col. Woolsey overtook us a little before dark, organized the companys and commenced preparations for attacking his Asship Big Rump.

June 3d

The Colonel called out all his men and placed them in their respective messes & companes and appointed captains (or squad leaders) for the attacking party which numbered 60 in all. The men a single blanket a piece and provision for four days but expected to meet the pack train⁴ in three days they were all in good spirits and eager for battle.

In about 2 Hours after Col Woolsey started the pack train crawled out. For the first hour or two we made verry slow progress for we passed through Clear creek bottom where the brush was thick and no trail, there was but 30 men and 60 animals and confusion rained

3. Woolsey named the canyon "Copper Canyon," and the river the "Verde." *Ibid.*, 258

I don't know why Cook named the river the "San Francisco" unless he misunderstood the name San Fernando. A military map of 1859 lists the river as the Verde or San Fernando

4. "At Clear Fork I divided the command, sending the pack trains with thirty-three men Southward to seek a passage through the mountains, while with the remaining sixty men I continued in an easterly course, toward the great Tonto Basin, where the pack train was directed to meet us." Woolsey in *Ibid.*, 259

We arrived at Stinkbug creek about 6 oclock took water and went up on the masa & campd for the night Travelled 8 mis today

June 4th.

Started in good time this morning and travelled down and up Hells own Cañon Found water in tanks on top of the masa or near the top rather and camped for the night. this mesa is verry high I think 1000 ft above fossil Creek or rather rivor (where we camped for dinner) which I forgot to mention. Eight miles to Fossil Creek.

June 5th. (after dinner)

Started about sunrise, travelled in a N. E. direction up a mountain about 300 ft above our camp went about 5 miles and struck about East About 9 miles from camp found pine timber and general appearance of the country changing entered a small but pretty valley large pine, oak, & cottonwood. good munch grass

Found fresh Indian sign and as we progressed more of it. Found an Indian fire, deserted; 10 miles from our camp. Below the fire about 1 mile we heard the allarming cry of murder from the rear. Every one appeared somewhat excited some much more than others, of course. A party of 4 or 5 men started back to aid the sufferer, & the rest of [us] tied the animals as close and as quickly as possible. We had no sooner got them tied than the men commenced returning.

The cause of the allarm was this one of the party a Frenchman stoped to adjust his pack, lost the trail, got into a steep cañon and was not able to get out probably because he was scarred. I cannot detail as I would like. I hear the order to drive up and we do not know what will come next Perhaps a fight.

June 5th. afternoon

We travel faster than any time preceeding and throu a better country. About 5 miles on the trail we crossed a small stream running to the S. E. thugh a heavy timbered valley

mostly pine Went 5 or 6 m farther & Camped on a large open masa to the right of trail. Water in canon to east.

We travelled about 8 m this afternoon and as near as I can judge about S. 80 E. I have not had an opportunity to set the compass for two days we have much work and few men.

June 6th.—Noon.

We started about 6 O'clock this morning feeling a little uneasy about the attaching party this being their 4th day out. Their rations were only for 4 days

Our course this morning has been about East and over quite a rough trail I think we traveled about 6 miles up to this time. Noon. We are camped in a verry beautiful valley, but small about 10 acres of good arrable land A few cottonwoods and Oak A small stream runs through this valey to the south. it is nearly enclosed by steep bluffs Here we find good grazing and *clover* nearly knee high. There is about One acre of land that was cultivated last year in corn. The stalks are still standing. some of them full length.

This is the prettyest and best camp we have had, both for safety and convenience About a quarter of a mile back, we struck the trail of some of the attaching party They were going south, and ahead of us. I think our general course has been east since my last observation with the compass I forgot to note a small saka [acequia?] which we find here.

June 7th.—9 o'clock A. M.

We are still camped in the little valley at which point we arrived yesterday.

We have not yet heard from the party which left us on Clear Creek on the 3rd. We expect them today—and are verry uneasy about them. I think Woolsey must have engaged them yesterday morning, for they were all arround us last night and apparantly going away from home or in the opposite direction from Woolsey, who was going south. We made signal smokes on the round masa to east yesterday and two of the men are up there now making signals for the Woolsey party. Thes men who were on the masa yesterday

said, there appeared to be a great many fires to the south of us.

Our men are nearly all on duty now. Some guarding the animals—some on picket, and the ballance building a corral or fort which we will call Fort Anxiety until a mor appropriate name shall be found

I have the compass setting by my side. On top of the masa west of our camp—about 300 yards. As near as I can judge from the appearance of the country we traveled East yesterday.

The bearing (from this point to the largest mountains we can see, and the ones supposed by our guide and others in the party who were out on the other expedition with Col. Woolsey, is South 5° West. This is to the most Eaasterly peak in the range which appears to be a little higher than the other three or four to the West or right. I should think these mountains are about 25 or 30 miles distant and the country between here & there very broken & rocky, as it has been for the last 8 or ten miles.

June 7th. 1 P. M.

Col. Woolsey with his party have just arrived⁵

June 8th.

Started about 7 Oclock this morning in a southerly direction. Kept on this course about 6 miles and Camped for dinner in a senega [cienega] or valley.⁶ Find granite formation commencing 3 miles back of this One of the party got the color A small spring here We find limestone on granite here. About 5 miles south of our noon camp we found quartz the rock stil changing Granite here is of a blueish color and there is a great deal of green colored rock.

Evening.

We are camped on the brink of a small canon to the right of trail & about thee hundred yds below some aban-

5. Woolsey states they met the pack train on the East Fork of the Verde five days after the separation. *Ibid.*, 260

6. This place was on Tonto Creek. *Ibid.*, 260

done Indian huts 4 or 5 in number. Verry little water here, but plenty for both men & animals.

We have traveled about 14 miles to-day

June 9th.

The bearing from this camp to Point of Mountain suppose to be on our line of march onward is S. $25^{\circ} 30'$ to a high timbered mountain *over & beyond the above peak*. Bearing to Mountain of which I took an observation to from Ft. Anxiety, which was S. 5° W. is her from this point to S. 10° W

Noon—

We left our camp at 7 this morning and traveled in the direction as above noted and have progressed but 6 miles, as we had no trail a part of the way say about $\frac{1}{2}$ way.

The country has the appearance of gold. It is very rocky, rough & hilly, Crossed several dry Creeks today The rock is a hard reddish colored granite with some quartz. Also a great deal of the green rock which some say indicates Copper & Silver.

We are encamped close up to the foot of the mountain and on the North side on the top of a masa. There is running water in the Creek below but does not remain long above the surface. Several of the men have gone down to the creek to prospect. Several report color but not sufficient to pay.

We started from here after dinner in a zigzag way— S. E. direction over a rough & rocky country paying little or no attention to trails Went about 4 miles and camped on a branch of Tonto Creek running towards the North. Found no gold here Remained here untill 1 Oclock P. M.

June 10th

started & traveled in a S. Easterly direction over rough ground and camped on a creek running N. E. Water standing in basins in the creek here. Indications for gold & silver look much better here than anything we have seen since leaving Granite Creek. Mr. J. Cox Saw 3 Indians this morn-

ing and signs of what he thought 25 or 30 more. They have been watching our movements verry closely for the past four days. They build fires & smokes at or near our Camps as soon as we are out of range of our guns

We encamped to night on a creek running N. E. or nearly East. Tributary to the main streem Tonto Creek Water in Tank, plenty but I think not permanent Made about 10 miles this after[noon].

June 11th morning

A party of 21 men with Mr E Peck at their head have just started from camp back of here—Basis Camp. We went down the bed of this creek about 3 miles and struck Tonto Creek.—a runing stream Traveled down T. Creek 3 m and camped, and went out prospectting. Found a silver Lode. Large and looked well.

Saw an Indian. Close but he ran the gauntlet and got away in good stile. We fired 6 or 7 shots but none hit him. He was a fine looking fellow. Large—strait & well dressed buckskin through out—darkness prevails.

Bearing to Pine Peak is S. 68° W. from this Camp Boulder ruins.

S. 10° E. to Big Rump Peak. S 30° E. Bearing of Tonto Creek N 20° W Supposed Course back to Woolsey. N 47° W. Woolseys guess.

We camped here tonight where are plenty of ruins of stone buildings. so old that the walls are mostly hidden by the earth The water here stands in a lake 3 or 4 Hund yds long and quite deep, for we went in swimming and could not find bottom. Cottonwood Camp

June 12th 1864

Started an hour before sunrise this morning Traveled down Tonto Creek 8 miles and camped waiting for Mr Pecks party & intending to go on down the creek in the afternoon, but it is now 7 oclock P. M. and they have not yet returned The weather is hot & dry—have had no rain since we left Col Woolseys The nights are warm & one can sleep comfortably *with a single bla[n]ket*

J Cox⁸ was at their head We expect them back in about 15 days. They numbered 21 We remained here at S. R. C., untill 4 oclock on the morn of the 17 when we moved up the river about 6 mi and camped on a beautiful Senega [Cienega], where is a clear spring⁹ or two rather of good fresh water Splendid grass here

South 74° E. from Salt River

Camp to Cupola Peak.

From S. R. Camp to Tonto Peak.

" " " " Bg is S. 77° 30' W.

" " " " " " S. 85° E. to a round topped mountain about 20 miles distant.

The valley of Salt River above and below S. R. Camp is 4 miles wide & 7 miles long. From S. R. Camp N. 10° W. To a table mountain the highest part of which [is] on the south end—About 8 miles distant

June 18th.

Col Woolsey is getting up a party of 36 men,¹⁰ who will start this evening. They will take 6 days provisions and intend to go about 40 miles in an easterly direction & return in a N. Westerly direction back of the high range of mountains N. of us. Soon after dark the party marched out.

June 19th.

All hands were called up 1/2 past 4 this morning and as soon as breakfast was over began the construction of Fort

At 10 oclock we had the posts all set and willows woven in most of the way arround then we all took to the shade for 5 hours.

June 20th. Sunday

Finished the fort this morn Went fishing in afternoon good luck plenty of fish

8. Henry Jaycox. *Ibid.*, 261

9. Woolsey named it Grapevine Springs. *Ibid.*, 261

10. "As the pack train would not return from Pimo for several days, and I was confident there was a large number of Indians in the vicinity, I determined to hunt them and on the following day, after dark, I started at the head of thirty-six men with six days rations for a scout on the north side of the river." *Ibid.*, 261

June 21st.

Made 4 or 5 hauls with our willow drag & caught about fifty fish all suckers, but verry sweet. I think the best I ever tasted. Perhaps it is because we have no meat for we have nothing but flour & coffee

5. oclock evening.

Col Woolsey and party have just returned after a scout of 3 days & nights. They report many Indians, and a great deal of Wheat, Corn Beans Pumpkins mellons, etc Expect them in tomorrow to make a treaty.

June 22nd.

Waited anxiously for the Indians to make appearance. About midday we saw Smokes within a mile. Col Woolsey & Capt. McCannon went with a white flag to meet & bring them in but the smoke proved to be one which was made by some of the party the even[in]g before & no Indian showed themselves consequently no treaty

Upon hearing the Col orders (which were to moove at sunrise on the morrow to their wheat fields) much dissatisfaction was manifest. Expressions of fear & bravery could be heard from nearly all parts of our quarters. The Col called for an expression, or rather put it to vote whether we should moove or not. But with all the apparient dissatisfaction the vote was unanimous to moove, which was the Col's wish Although I considered this a desperate moove. I do not think we could do otherwise, for some of the men were entirely out of provisions and the rest, had from 2 to 4 lb of flour to the man, with but little coffee, less sugar & no bacon. Except about 5 or six who furnished themselves & they had from 30 to 50 days provisions ahead

For the past five or six days about half our living has been fish. Our only trouble is that we have not got lines strong enoug[h] for the large fish which weigh from 10 lbs to 40 lbs., neither can we catch many of them in our willow drag.

June 23rd.

Left camp or rather Fort—about 6 o'clock this morning. Col W. and his party about 55 men with the pack animals left for the wheat fields¹¹—15 miles in an Easterly direction. And Capt Gird with 16 men inclusive; myself among the number for the Pimos or rather to meet the pack train which went on the 14th from S. R. C. for provisions. We are to escorte them to our new camp, which is well into the enemies' country. I expect we will have to do some hard fighting before we return. For the Indians do not subsist on nature alone but cultivate the soil, & they must be an exception, if they do not fight for their homes and crops. Camped on masa on S. E. side of Tonto Creek, for the night.

June 24th

Started before sunrise this morning, went about 8 miles up Tonto Creek & camped, lay in the shade thro the heat of the day untill about 4 o'clock here we left Tonto Creek & went towards low gap in mountains and camped (within 500 Yds of foot of Mts.) for the night.

Saw signal smoke on other side of valley on top of mountains about N. E. of us. Found good water here.

June 25th.

Took breakfast, & started (a little after S Rise,) over the mountain. The trail was good, but for about one mile verry bad on account of rocks on one side, in which the Indians can hide and give a party much trouble, and be secure themselves. In this respect this is the worst place I've seen. Went about 8 miles & camped about 1/2 mile E. of trail near spring on side of mountain. Jacob Snyder killed a fine deer here. We ate it all but I. [one] ham which we saved for breakfast next morning.

After dinner, I with 5 others, Smith, Rice, Stevenson, Gilson and Ike—went up the high mount E. of us hunting, but instead of finding Deer we found 8 or 10 Indians who were watching us and had run off all the deer. We got within

11. The wheat fields were on Pinal Creek, south of the Salt River. *Ibid.*, 263

abo[u]t 200 yds of them, unexpected to both us & them, but they ran & we did not get sight of them untill they appeared on top of a sharp peak of rocks about 500 Yds above us. We watched each other a few moments. They hidden all but their heads and Shoulders, We standing up in full view, when we saw a puff of smoke, & whiz came a bullet and struck about 20 ft to our left. Wallace answered the shot, and they all dodged out of sight every time a gun was pointed at them. We returned to camp took a lunch, & about 5 oclock marched down into a valley & camped for the night, on an open plane, Dry Camp.

June 26th.

Started before S. R. & before breakfast traveled about 7 miles and camped on a small creek running S. E. good water, Some large Cottonwood & plenty of willows. A party went hunting in the morning & another in the afternoon. One saw a few deer but killed non. After Sundown we went up the Creek about 1 mile to & open park and camped for the night.

June 27th.

Left camp this morning before sunrise without breakfast, our provisions nearly all gone. We had not gone more than 7 or 8 miles when with joy we beheld the pack train encamped in a valley or basin on a creek which like most other creeks in this country is dry, with the exception of a place here & there where the water comes to the surface. It is generally good & tollerably cool. Here we remained all day on a/c of Wilford Riley who was sick with Disentery.

June 28th.

Moved over to the place, a dist[ance] of 8 miles we left yesterday morning. 'Twas noon when we arrived here, & as it is to much of a drive for our animals to go to next water we remained untill morning.

June 29th.

Started this morning sun abo[u]t an hour high. Some

of us expected we might possibly have a brush with the Indians today, for we passed over the worst part of the trail but we do not see the least sign of them, not even a distant smoke. We are encamped in Tonto valley, under the shade of a large tree, a cool spring about 300 yds to the N. W. & good grass.

June 30th

Got up this morn as usual abo[u]t daybreak but did not get off untill sun was an hour high, when we started down the creek. we find water abo[u]t two miles on the trail & about 300 Yds above old ruins. These are quite extensive, abo[u]t 80 Yds by 150 Yds. Corral or fort and buildings inside. Ruins are 6 or 7 feet high We stoped on Tonto Creek for dinner, a dist[ance] of about 8 miles from morn[ing] camp. Afternoon we went about 12 miles down the creek and camped for the night in a brushy & weedy place, close by Tonto Creek.

July 1st.

Started at 7 oclock got to Salt river at 10, but did not camp here drove on to F[or]t — — where we arrived at 12.

Made a few hauls with our willow drag. caught a few suckers & 1 large fish weighing about 25 lbs. had a good feast, and although I was unwell never relished a meal better for our grub now consists wholly of flour, wheat and penola [pinole, a cereal meal].

July 2nd.

Left the Fort a[t] 6:30 this morning and traveled over a dry, sandy, barren & hilly country, in a S. Easterly direction. Camped at 12 Noon found a spring of cool water about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile above camp, near the top of mountain. I think we have traveled 12 miles up to this time A. M. 3 oclock. Left camp & went over to Wheat Creek where Col Woolsey and the bal[ance] of our party are encamped. got in about 6 oclock about 7 miles this afternoon.

July 3rd.

Wheat Creek Camp from camp to Cupola peak. N. 65° 30' E. 1 mile.

Bg. of Wheat Cr. N. 39° W. into Salt River

" to Large Peak S. 29° E.

Supposed Bg to Pimos S. 70° W.

We remained here all day making pack saddles & mending shoes etc.

July 4th.

Left Wheat Camp at 6 this morning and traveled up the creek. Our general course about S. E. which is to the left of Large Peak, have traveled about 8 miles. A good spring here We had a heavy rain and are all drenched to the skin Still looks like rain Got a good prospect here for the first time After dinner mooved on about 6 miles and camped on a dry creek, but there was rain water in pools enough for man & beast This is much the best looking gold country we have seen. Several of the[m] prospected surface dirt and got as high as 15 colors to the pan. Plenty of quartz Lodes here but we found none which we thought would pay to prospect; more particularly on a/c of water being scarce.

July 5th.

We started this morn in nearly an east cours down the bed of the creek abo[u]t 3 miles to its junction with Penal or Wheat Creek up the bed of which we traveled 8 miles & camped for dinner, found water which was left from yesterdays rain. Otherwise I think we would have suffered for the want of it.

There are several Indian skulls, earthen pots, wicker jugs for carrying water etc. This is apparrantly an old battle field. Indications for gold not as good. More granite & less quartz (this is Scull camp.

3 P. M. Packed our animals and mooved about 200 Yds up the mountain a[nd] camped for the night.

July 6th.

Started early and traveled about 6 miles up to a spring.

Camped & spent the afternoon in prospecting hunting etc. Got a good prospect & 3 or 4 deer we will call Cherry Camp.

July 7th.

Started early and travelled about 8 miles up to the summit the trail was generally good but steep We deviated from the line to Penal Mt to the Southward today and also yesterday. Today we have seen a great variety of timber, Maple, cherry, Oak, large Pine & alder, Syckamore & many other kinds of timber. Quartz quite plenty, looks like a gold country, but water scarce. This is Mountain Spring Camp.

July 8th. 4 P. M.

Went up on the top of large mountain and took observations as follows

Pinal mountain N 60° 30' W. to Tonto Peaks.

N. 86° W. Needles Peaks

S. 70° W. to Cassa Blanco [near] Pimos

S. 22° W. [S. 7° W.] to Picacho on the road half way from Teucson to Pimo villages

S. 7° W. to Teucson

S. 9° 30' W. to Prominent Peak S. W. from Teucson

S. 47° E. from this Peak up a river supposed to be the Gila or San Pedro, turns to S. of this mountain around the Base

N 81° E. To Peak Supposed Siera Pinto[?]

This is also the Bg. of dividing range between Gila & Salt River

S 50° To Cubarba Mountain

a high Table or at top Mt

July 9th.

Our party split & 17 men went back via Pimos. We went down north the mountain 5 miles to a large water Tank & camped for night.

J[uly] 10th.

Started at 6 this morning and traveled about N. 60° E. for 25 miles over a desert most of the way down a dry creek

the bottom of which is covered with Mosquite bushes About 18 miles from Tank & on the S. or East Side of dry creek up a cañon about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile, there is a small spring, but as it would have detained our party to long we did not stop, but continued on down to Agua Colandra, or West Fork of the San Carlos, where we find plenty of water, a large Aceque full of water, it is about 6 ft wide & 2 ft deep. There is a heavy growth of timber here, principally cotton wood; a cornfield above and one below our camp also some beans just right to eat our boys gathered a few beans

July 11th.

We were rather slow to start this morning, on account of the animals & men who gave out yesterday and would not have got in had not some of the men got on the mules and carried water back to them; as it was some of them did not get in until 9 o'clock Eveny

It was past 9 when we got in motion, we went down the river at a brisk pace (our course was about S. E. 30°) 8 miles & camped for dinner under the shade of some large cotton wood's. The stream here is about 8 ft wide and 6 in deep with a good fall.

The men's shoes are very bad and their feet getting sore, and some of them lag back & suffer a gooddeal.

P. M. We travelled down the creek 7 miles to the junction, (or rather a mile or two below) of the Coland & Gila. That is we suppose it to be for it is a good sized stream. We see fresh shoe tracks & horse tracks, and it is evident that the Post is somewhere near us we are in hopes of finding them soon

July 12th.

From Camp Junction to Siera Pinto, S. 59° E. This range runs East & West.

From Camp to Pinal Mt. West

" " " the Triplets N 6° E.

" " to Lone Peak N 45° E.

Our course yesterday W [?] S 30° E.

From camp noon the 12th on the stream,
to Siera Pintos S 30° E.

The Triplets N. 28° 30 W. to Lone peak in range N 31°
30' E course of Stream South 83° W

We are traveling up stream — Mountain to west of San
Carlos N. 31 W. The mountain mentioned as Siras Pintos is
not that mountain name unknown to us.

Started about 8 this morning and traveled up the Gila
on the S. E. side. Lava, Limestone etc., but no indication of
gold Still on the soldiers trail going the same way we are.
Made 10 miles and camped a little above old soldiers camp
which from appearances they had left but a day or two
before. Afternoon we traveled up the stream about 3 miles
and crossed. Made 10 miles this afternoon camped at sun-
down. Our pack train is strung along the road for 3 or four
miles.

July 13th.

Started before sunrise and without breakfast travelled
10 miles, camped, breakfasted, went fishing. Good luck laid
over thro the heat of the day. Started out about 4 P. M. had
not traveled more than 1 or 2 miles when we met Soldiers
under command of _____ They had a six mule
waggon and where going down Noon camp. gathered salt
here.

July 13th

To Penal Mt N 66° W.

S " Triplets N 57° W

" Lone Peak N 32° W

" Siera Pinto S 50° W

" Long Black Mt. S 38° E

" Right hand " S 22° 30' E

Bg of river down & up 15 miles N 50° W

" to Mt on N side of River N 83° E.

General Bg of River from this point N 75° W.

P.M. After we were on the road 1 hour we saw soldiers
on opposite side of the river. Halted a few moments. Col.

W went over to see them, & we went up the river to camp. Made about 12 miles today.

July 14th

Laid over about 3 miles below the Fort (Goodwin)¹² on the river bank.

July 15th.

Traveled about 18 miles¹³ up the Gila & camped after dark. No fires allowed.

July 17.

Traveled 25 miles & camped on S side of Gila at 8 o'clock in the evening. Passed old ruins¹⁴ & saw considerable broken pottery some of which was nicely painted & glazed. This country is almost destitute of grass. Volcanic rock washed into boulders.

July 18th.

Gila River N. Side at the point where we leave the river to go across to Prita.

Bg from here to Mt. Graham is S46°30'W to Highest point above the center as seen from here, South of us appears to be a large open flat or plain. To small peak exposed (?) on South side river N67° East. River bears, S63°W from here Buro Mts S65°E.

July 18 Started at 4; this morning, went 3 miles & camped on N Side for breakfast. Killed a large brown bear abo 1/2 mile below here. P.M. Started at 1 o'clock & went across the hills to Prita,¹⁵ 8 miles, which bears S15° East This river

12. Fort Goodwin was located on a stream called Pulerosa, a tributary of the Gila. Col. Rigg, 1st Infantry, California Volunteers, was in command. *Ibid.*, 265

13. Col. Rigg "issued rations to my command and it was agreed between us that I should proceed up the country to the Black River and prospect the district, also looking for the Indians and that I should return across by the heads of the Bonito and San Carlos to our old camp on Pinal Creek and there join Maj. Thomas J. Blakeney's command and with it operate against the Apaches in the vicinity of that creek and Signal mountain, on the north side of Salt River." Woolsey in *Ibid.*, 265

14. These ruins were known as Pueblo Viejo. The party left the Gila near this point and traveled cross-country to Bonito Creek. *Ibid.*, 265

15. Judging from maps and Woolsey's report, Cook is wrong in calling this stream the Prita, which is correctly spelled Prieto, meaning Black creek. The party first touched the Bonito Creek, then traveled farther eastward to the Prieto, which is named Eagle Creek today.

or creek is about 3 feet wide clear & swift running, through a box cañon for 18 miles from the mouth up. The walls on either side are nearly perpendicular; of Lava rock; and about 100 ft high. Mr Lewis prospected this evening but found no color.

July 19th

Traveled up this stream 10 miles & camped for the night Found some Adobe Houses in a good state of preservation under some shelving rocks, they were much in the present Mexican stile, the walls painted & whitewashed.

July 20

Went in an easterly direction across the hills 8 miles to a creek or river 15 to 20 ft. wide, good water & plenty of fish also some Bear, Bever & Turkey, After dinner moved up the stream 3 mi and camped on a masa for the night. we have had good grass since we left the Prita This stream runs about S15°East & like the Prita thru a box cañon. got the color where we first struck it & indications look a little like gold.

July 21st

Left camp Bonito this morn. at 4 Oclock & traveled up the cañon, & I think crossed the stream twenty or thirty times, dist about 7 miles, stopped for breakfast & dinner. Traveled about 7 miles this afternoon. Found a Rancheria and a lot of muskal. the Indians had apparently just left in haste. We had just got encamped when a young Squaw about 10 Years old came in. She was verry thin and evidently a prisoner for she bore the marks of the whip.¹⁶

July 22nd.

Started at 4 this morning & went up the stream & crossing every 2 or 300 Yds made about 6 miles and stopped for breakfast. Caught some fine fish. After dinner we turned back down stream 1½ miles (for the Cañon was impassable)

16. Woolsey wrote: "She came in with us and is now at my Agua Fria ranch."
Ibid., 266

And took a trail leading to the right, but up the river. We had a splendid trail & passed thru a beautiful country after going 5 miles we again struck the river which here opens out into a fine large valley, the best for both farming & grazing purposes I have seen in the territory (14 miles to day passed several corn patches I think in all about 30 Acres. Just beginning to silk. Indians left. Bearing of the river here is S10°E. Bg to Peak S40°E

" " Peak N38°E

Traveled 8 miles to day

July 23

Roused camp at day break but did not start till 7 oclock. Went East 6 miles up on high ground camped for dinner. Bg to Mt. Graham S15° W. PM Went back to the river (over very rough road), as we could not get over the mountains. camped for the night I think 3 to 5 mi above morning camp.

July 24th

At 5 Oclock & without breakfast we resumed our march, or rather climbing & wading up the river went about 6 miles; breakfasted, rested 4 hours, & moved up 3 miles to grass camped for the night Here our Party divides One under McKaman¹⁷ goes East prospecting & the other _____ in number with Woolsey towards home.

Corrected 24th July 25.

This morning was spent in mending shoes, washing etc At 2 Oclock P.M. We started westward or toward the wheat patch, went 7 miles and camped, no water here heavy showers in the night 1. o cl

July 26th.

Started at five and traveled over low mountains 7 miles. Camped for noon at a water tank used all the water, but

17. Woolsey: "A portion of the command was not satisfied that this stream was the Black River, and were desirous of going further east to look for it. I, therefore, detached Mr. P. McCannon with 46 men in that direction while with the remaining 24 men I started on my return to Pinal Creek. Mr. McCannon rejoined me at Ft. Goodwin 19 days from his departure. . . ." *Ibid.*, 266f

men and animals had plenty. Here I have to record the saddest thing that has transpired on our trip. (Blank Space)¹⁸
2 P. M. We started and traveled 10 miles. killed a bear. camped for the night near some tanks of water, rained half the night.

July 27th.

Went 7 miles S.W. and camped for Dinner & also to let Mr. Bomfor Shake. P.M. Traveled 8 miles about S20°W and camped a little before sundown

July 28th,

Made 4 miles over the dividing range S.W. Saw 15 or 20 Indians & 6 or 8 Lodges, Camped on a spring branch tributary to San Carlos From here to But end of Mt. Graham S17°30'E. Mt Turnbull Pinto S29°W. Ft Goodwin S. Supposed Bg Triplets. Spd Bg S58°W. Penal Mt. Bg S70°W. Supposed.

P.M. July 28.

Went ten miles and made dry camp.

July 29

Started at 4 this morn and went to a Tank 4 miles. Camped for breakfast after which we went on 10 miles to the San Carlos & camped for dinner Plenty of water. A good sized stream 10 ft wide 1 ft. deep with a rappid current Then we went on untill sundown and camped on N.W. side of a cañon in which is a good Spring The rock here looks more favorable for gold country

July 30.

Got up at 4 this morning packed our animals & went about half way down into the cañon to the spring. ate some grapes, breakfasted, prospected three pans of dirt, and pegged out at 10 O cloc. no color here It rained hard & the

18. Probably the death of J. W. Beauchamp who ascended a neighboring peak to take bearings and was killed by Indians: "he was waylaid by six Indians, shot through the chest with a rifle, lanced, stripped and left for death." *Ibid.*, 267

wind blew cold from the N.E. last night. About 1 in of water fell.

Noon. We are encamped in an old indian rancherie & have traveled this morning about 8 miles in a N.W. direction.

P.M Traveled 4 miles when within 1 mile of camp the Indians hollowed at us from the highest point of rocks they also hoisted the white flag but we could not get them into camp. We camped for the night on a clear masa. Water in the cañon below.

July 31st

We traveled about 15 miles stopped for din on side of mountain. No water except what we had in our canteens. P.M. we went about 6 miles & camped for the night. Good spring. heavy thunder shour. rained half the night

Aug. 1st

After eating some wheat about half Boiled & drinking our coffee which was good, we again resumed our weary march, & did not stop untill we had gone about 15 miles when we found a good spring to the left of the trail, and stopped to rest, eat wheat & drink coffee; had no sooner got our packs off the animals when we heard the Indians (hollowing from the rocks above) Americanos buenos. 8 indians & one squaw came down to camp. they appeared very friendly & we traded for some mesKal, [mescal] which appeared to me to be my only salvation for I had not tasted bread for two days.

Aug. 2nd.

Started before sunrise and after traveling first N.W. then S.E. over mountains & cañons for about 4 hours. we got into the wheat patch about 8 oclock. Then we had a big fiest of boiled & roasted corn. Camped under the big Sycamore in the evening we mooved up on the hill among the Soldiers. When within 400 Yds of here we heard firing by the Soldiers. It seems the Indians which were at our camp yesterday were coming in, according to agreement with Col.

Woolsey when the soldiers fired on them killing one and taking two prisoners

Aug. 3rd.

Spent the day in gathering and drying corn.

Aug. 4th.

Repeated the labors of yesterday. This afternoon a company of 16 cav. arrived from Ft Goodwin. They came as an escort for Maj. [Blakeney?]-who is relieved from his comd. The two Indian prisoners were hung on a limb of the big Sycamore this evening.

corrected date from this on

Aug. 4th.

The cavalry which came in yesterday started back this morning. Col Woolsey accompanied them, and is going as far as the San Carlos.

Aug. 5

Started at 2 oclock P.M. for the San Carlos. went 8 miles & were stopped by a thunder storm which was very heavy in about $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour it slacked a little & we resumed our march the road (or trail) was muddy and several of the animals mired down. The previously dry creek is now a mad rushing river; dangerous to ford by the animals and I had to leave mine on an Island tied to a tree considering myself lucky to find a tree on which I, with Mr Gird & Rice crossed, but not without danger, for had we made a miss step should have fallen in and our chances for life would have been slim for the water was over our heads in depth & very swift, filled with driftwood. made 10 mi in all this afternoon and camped after dark

Aug. 6th

Started early & traveled hard all day I think about 25 miles & got into camp on the San Carlos long after dark. The last mile through thick brush & mud up to our ankles,

Weary, tired and hungry we rolled up in our blankets, and I slept soundly. Camp Riggs, San Carlos River.

Aug. 7th.

Layed over today; got 100 lbs more flour fixed up our traps Shod some Horses found the corral all right. All our carefully prepared araingments fell through on account of the failur of the military authorityes to coopirate

Aug. 8

Traveled down the San Carlos Woolsey¹⁹ having gon over to Fort Goodwin and we are to travel down to junction camp, to wate untill he comes. the overflow has left great quantities of soft mud in which we hade great trouble geting through. I see by refering back that we were at this camp before on the 12th of July. The River is raising And has a verry swift current. This camp is about 12 or 15 miles South 6°W from the center peak of the Triplets which will [?] from here.

Aug. 9th

Junction Camp. Laying over wating for Woolsey. 17 of us gard corners very quiet.

Aug. 10th.

Rain very heavy last night and I was verry sick with Collock. I had to get up to start fire for the Boys the Horses nighed upon turning them loos. all the flats covered with Water, no tidings of Woolsey yet. the River is Raising and he is at the other side, suffered much pain last night and this morning feal very week just now passing bludy mucas. very sore.

Aug. 11th.

All ar becoming very impatient waiting for Wollsey and something must have hapind that he does not come. he

19. Woolsey went to Fort Goodwin to persuade Col. Rigg to again agree on a joint campaign against the Apaches in the Signal Mountain country. Rigg agreed to participate in the undertaking, but weather conditions prevented operations. *Ibid.*, 270

Eather must have been gobled up by the Indians; (which I think very improbable) or the party that left us at the head of Black-River must have met him at the fort in which case he will be delayed in getting down, he was to have met us on the morning of the 9th early. I am afraid that something out of the general course is amiss.

Aug. 12th

T o c P.M. No Wollsey or any tidings from him. I cannot conceive what it will come to [,] this delay for nothing that I can conceive but an accident or Something or Something of that kind [,] it is raining steadily with no signs of abatement and most of wet. still it is warm [warm] (*Bad calculating this*) Raining still. laying here very much against our wishes. mud and wet and I fear more we shall have an epidemic among the men. We [t] to day. I to day sent up an express to see if they could hear anything from Woolsey but not one word.

14th.

Went up myself could find met with the same result as yesterday.

15th

Moved up to Camp Rigges. Got there about noon. about 3 oc McCannon party came in and I was at once full of business. Friday Gaston Morral was accidentally shot on the Francisco River.

16th.

Started to day for home and after much grumbling over getting very short of grub We concluded to issue one pint per day, started up dry Creek which heads in the Pinal Mountains and runs nearly East into the San Carlos 2 miles above camp Rigges. traveled off pretty smart. McCannons party suffered for want of food and had a hard time. We crossed the dividing ridge between Pinal Cr and Dry Creek and camped at water on a small rim making this day 20 miles.

Aug. 17th.

Wenesday, traveled hard all day making our Former camp at the Wheat patch about 2. oc P.M. all tird. day very hot & sultry damp heat. hade a chill. moved on while it was still under way and my bones ached very bad. went from here to Cotonwood Springs over the divide towards Big Horse Canyon, traveled today from Summit Camp to Wheat patch 15 miles from wheat patch to CotonWood Springs 6 miles. Course South of West.

Agu 18th

Thursday Started early and traviled to Grape Vine Springs 10 miles. Splendid Grass to the north running East & West parralell with Salt River is Signal mountain. This is one of the finest places that I ever saw, very late, travled. In the arftenoon acrost salt River & made the Willow Camp about 10 oc PM. very tird. distance 8 miles from Grape Vine Springs. distance to day 18 miles.

Aug. 19th.

Friday. Woolsey's command consisted of 93 men. One of the party Moreal was killed by accidental discharge of O. Allen's gun.²⁰

20. Woolsey reported that his command reached the Agua Fria ranch on the eighty-seventh day from the date of departure, June 1. This sets August 26 as the end of the march homeward

PEACE

Ammon M. Tenney was a Mormon missionary to Indians in southern Utah, northern Arizona and in Mexico from about 1858 to 1890. His diaries were given to the Church Historian, Salt Lake City, Utah. A copy of the diaries was procured by the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona. The excerpt published here was transcribed from the copy in Tucson. The latter, to all outward appearances, is an accurate copy of the original. This excerpt is published without change in punctuation or spelling except in a very few instances. A few footnotes have been provided for the benefit of the reader.

Mr. Tenney's trip to the Navahos was made two years after they had returned from exile at the Bosque Redondo where they had been removed by the military in 1863-1864. Presumably they had learned to live at peace after that experience, but this diary reveals that trouble with their white neighbors could still occur:

IN 1870, there appeared in Kanab, our extreme S. E. settlement in Utah a gentleman, Major Powel,¹ of Grand Canyon of Colorado notoriety bearing a letter of introduction and friendship to Jacob Hamblin.²

After many days of social relations it was agreed that they travel together to Fort Defiance with a view of mutual protection and to shorten the journey of Major Powel and co. eastward to their homes.

They also desired to explore the country and gather information from the various tribes lying along our route. Captain Hamblin had in view a treaty of peace with the Navajoes who had been marauding the southern parts of Utah and had been the cause of bloodshed and the loss of

1. J. W. Powell. *Exploration of the Colorado River of the West . . . 1869. . .* Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1875.

2. Jacob Hamblin was a long time Mormon missionary and trail blazer in the northern Arizona and southern Utah area. For his own story see Jacob Hamblin, *A Narrative of his Personal Experience . . .* Salt Lake City, Utah, 1881.

Hamblin gives the date of this trip to the Navaho as 1871, but Tenney is correct in giving the year as 1870. This trip occurred in 1870 when Powell was preparing for his second trip through the Grand Canyon. Frederick S. Dellenbaugh, *The Romance of the Colorado River*, p. 233 (New York, 1903).

many thousand head of cattle, horses and sheep, together with the breaking up of all our smaller towns and outstanding ranches.

We began to make ready our little companies and to organize as well as we could with our meager supplies. It was decided to amalgamate the two small companies so as to relieve Capt. Hamblin and Maj Powell to go farther south in search of the causes of the murder of three Americans³ who had left Powels company in a former voyage down the Colorado River.

Accordingly they mutually agreed to place, in charge of both companies, Ammon M. Tenney to conduct them to the river and there await their arrival. We proceeded to the river carrying on mules enough lumber to make a small boat.

This was done by taking two large cottonwood logs and hewing them down to a three inch thickness and a length of 12 ft.

Each end on the underside schooner shape. On this side we nailed our 8 inch dry lumber and launched it overnight when the dry lumber swollen closed the cracks and with the hurriedly provided boat we ferried our camp equipment and men while we swam our horses.

This was the first ferry boat made and used on the Colorado. It was at this place and time that we felt the awful sorrow of suspence. We had waited the arival of our Captain and Maj. for three long weeks.

At last we fully decided they had fallen prey to the natives of the land. It was mutually decided or agreed upon that Mr. Graves, one of the Powel party, and Ammon M. Tenney would return to the settlement and report this unhappy condition.

On arriving at Jacobs Pools we met them bringing Nathan Terry and Elija Potter as young missionaries to the Lamanites.⁴ The following day we were ferried across

3. William H. Dunn, O. G. Howland, and Seneca Howland decided to leave Powell, August 28, 1869, when not far from the end of the journey on the first trip through the Grand Canyon. Suspected of being miners, and miners being troublesome people, the Indians killed them. Powell, p. 130; a copy of this story is incorporated in Hamblin, p. 97.

4. Mormon term for the American Indian. See the *Book of Mormon*.

the Colorado at the mouth of the Paria⁵ creek where we met our [?] found our camp. All were exceedingly rejoiced over our safe arrival.

We at once took up our march and on arriving at the Oriba village Major Powel set to work gathering information of their traditions as to where they came from and how long they had been on the top of these inaccessible Red Rock cliffs

In this labor the Major used a native who had been a captive by some other tribe and sold as a slave until he had fallen into the custody of the New Mexico people and had remained a captive for many years.

During this time he had acquired the Spanish language and Ammon M. Tenney, who also spoke Spanish became interpreter for Jacob H.

One of their ancient traditions was their system of marriage which they regarded as being sacred.

The father and male relatives of the espoused daughter always took the bridegroom into a room stript and washed him from head to feet and clothed him in sacred robes made of cotton by their own hands.

The mother and female relatives of the bridegroom took the bride washed and dressed her in robes made expressly for such occasion

This tradition came down to these people from time immorial [immemorial] and carries an inference of some sacred teaching in the past.

While visiting among the different villages of the Moquitos it was made plain that the Navajoes were chafed in their feelings over the loss of those who had robbed us and had been the cause of the death of quite a number who had been murdered by them and our local natives.

Notwithstanding the Navajoes had robbed us of an immense amount of property and the breaking up of many homes. They paid dearly for all they got in loss of war-

5. Only two places for crossing the Colorado river above the Grand Canyon were known in those days: (1) the crossing of the Fathers (2) "and another a few miles below, at the mouth of the Paria, on a route which has been explored by Jacob Hamblin. . . ." Powell, p. 106

rriors who had been slaughtered in every encounter with them.

In view of our critical condition it was decided that Maj Powel and Ammon M Tenney with our Oriba interpreter should precede the company to Fort Defiance and arrange with the Agent, Capt. John C Bennett⁶ for a meeting of reconciliation with the chiefs. It happened that we had been visited while camping at the villages by a Navajo chief who seemed friendly.

This we did not know for the lack of a good understanding as there was no Navajo interpreter in Navajo.

We started and before we had traveled two hours there appeared two fine looking young men whose stallions were superb and in fine shape while the silver ornaments heavy and profuse not only decorating their admirable animals bridles, and saddles but also their raiment, hair and fingers, ears and the glitter radiating in the noonday sun could be seen for miles and on their faces shown a brilliancy that bespoke "We are your friends" while they dropped into line behind us obeying an unwritten law by leaving a distance between us.

We consulted our interpreter regarding this strange incident and found his forebodings were beyond control. The Major seemed calm while the writer felt the warning emotions while tremulous and darting vibrations reached every corner of my sensitive make up. We soon reached along our trail one of those sudden decents, which led us into a lower valley while the trail from which we were to descend took a sudden change to the east.

From the top of present situation we could see that our trail lay paralell with the elevated bench land and as from an electric thunder cloud on a clear day our ears were saluted by a war (terrible) whoop which reverberated from one corner of this elevation to the next corner which made it appear to us that we were surrounded by an army of our wood be assassins.

6. Captain F. T. Bennet was agent for the Navaho during the fall of 1870 when army management of some tribes was tried temporarily by the government. John C. Bennett is not the correct name.

I again consulted our Moque interpreter and noticed that his face was a deathlike hue and around his mouth was covered with froth and his whole appearance was distracted.

We dismounted and tightening the girths of our saddles, & examining the condition of my "repeater" and with a prayer on my lips, prepared for death. As I lit in my saddle I saw two warriors leaping from rock to rock toward the scene of action. When I said to my Major "There they come" the first overt act on their part means war to me and I shall sell my life *dearly*.

I loaded my "repeater" and set my trigger at half cocked and we took up our march as though nothing had happened (a bold move indeed). There was nothing left for us to do in view of our surroundings.

The two behind closed up with us, which at this tragic moment was equal to saying "We also want a hand in dispatching you and of course in the booty." A few rods brought us within 25 yards of the two raving maniacs who were approaching and at this critical moment our two companions rode quietly around us and in an unusually mild tone talked to the approaching two and they reluctantly laid their guns down on the grass & came forward.

The Major dismounted and took two sacks of tobacco from his pack. As he pulled them out he held them up to me and said:—"This is the kind of arms I carry. Put your guns down Mr. Tenney. (I was holding my gun ready for action).

He walked over to the two . . . men and slapped each on the shoulder then with a loud and hearty laugh handed them the tobacco.

In a very few minutes we were traveling on our course with our two companions in the rear. We crowded our horses with a view to relieve ourselves of the two, who had persistently held to us and here dear reader allow me to say what I imagine *you* will say. "How it is possible that you couldn't detect the friendship of the two who followed you and who were probably the means of holding off those other two who evidently were bent on trouble. *I do not know*

unless it was the result of our unnerved condition, coupled with that other fact that we were watching *only* for trouble.

We camped about 4 P. M. to allow our animals to rest and graze, preparatory to a night ride. Our two companions camped also and at supper we divided our frugal meal with them. After resting we caught our animals and began to make ready to depart when for the first time they came and made motions urging us not to go on and here were the first impressions that made us realize their friendliness toward us.

The distance to Fort Defiance was still far away so we decided to mount our horses and travel until 11 o'clock. We left the trail and camped in a lonely little opening of the forest in which we had been engulfed for many miles and reached our destination about 9 the next morning.

We were cordially received by Capt. Bennett and his aids where we awaited Capt Hamblin and Co. who arrived safely.

In the mean time we had formed an agreeable acquaintance with the agent John C Bennett and had opened up communication with the principal chief Barbancito he being at the head of all the Navajos. On the arrival of Capt Hamblin a date was attached to the already agreed program upon which to meet.

We arrived at 2 P. M. The treaty was heralded to a nation, and in one of the spacious rooms were seated Major Powel and captain as representatives. Maj. Powel for the U. S Government, Capt. Bennett, agent for the Indians, Capt Jacob Hamblin representing the Mormon people with Ammon M. Tenney as interpreter. The throng was immense.

Mr. Bennett told the writer that there were about 8000 on the ground who had gathered to participate in the treaty and to receive their portions delt out to them by the U. S. Government. Major Powel took the initiative as this was agreed upon before entering the treaty.

He recounted the past to them in which sorrows they were the losers. He pointed out the benefits they were receiving from the U S Govt. He called their attention to the fact that he was sent to establish peace between them

and the Mormons, and boldly declared that if they continued their maurading he would order on the army and cut down their trees and not leave one vestige of their (Hogans) homes.

Next followed Capt Hamblin who briefly described how they had robbed our settlements, killed our people and destroyed small towns—the hard earnings of a peace loving people and while our young men were enraged and wanted to cross that “Big River” and make war on your families, we, the older men wanted to try once more for peace.

What shall I tell my people? Shall we live in peace and till the soil, raise cattle, horses, and sheep and be friends? Or shall I go back and tell my people that you want to live like wolves and come prowling around in the night instead of coming like friends? All this was interpreted to one Captain Sus⁷ by J. Lorenzo Hubbel⁸ and in turn by Sus to the Navajos.

The Agent came next and took strong grounds for peace. He told them they must sign a document of reconciliation.

The hour was now late and the commanding Chief Barbancito said:—Let us extend our negotiations until tomorrow at which time we will answer.

This was granted and on the following day we conveyed again, but Oh! the difference of the spiritual atmosphere from the previous day. The excitement of that day was terrible to witness. Their moves, their gestures, their war-like attitude as they rode the very animals they had stolen flaunting them in our faces, like saying to us—here are your horses take them if you can. They laughed and sneered at us carrying a taunt of defiance over us. My feelings were wrought up beyond my power of description. With patience we awaited our time for we knew that our cause was just and that is not all we knew for we knew that the

7. Sus was no doubt a Navaho leader, and a leader or chief was often referred to as captain.

8. John Lorenzo Hubbell was a long time Indian trader in northern Arizona. His story, as told to John Edwin Hogg, has been published in “Fifty Years an Indian Trader,” *Touring Topics*, vol. 22, no. 12 (Los Angeles, December, 1930).

servants of our Heavenly Father had sent us there and that he would protect us.

The chief opened the negotiations and in a dignified but considerate manner went all over the grounds that had been covered by speakers of the previous day and said "We too like you, want peace and earnestly solicit your friendship and then added that they were not able to arrive at what principle to recover the stolen property as it had been traded off and had gone through 4 & 5 innocent hands and on discussing the disagreeable points it was agreed that if they would maintain peace they could keep the animals already stolen and we would forgive them.

In a few days we turned our faces homeward—a happy lot of missionaries in knowing that we had accomplished our mission by obtaining peace, notwithstanding I saw them riding my own horses that they had stolen from me in Utah

On arriving at the Moqui village we laid over to rest our animals and while there we were visited by other Navajo chiefs who had not been at our treaty in consequence of the distance they lived west of Fort Defiance.

These chiefs had been summoned by their superior chief, Barbancito to meet us 85 miles west on our journey so as to sign the "Treaty document." We met with them and held our council of reconciliation in a very large room belonging to the Caseque [Cacique] (King) of these vilagers.

These men were much impressed with the results of declaring peace and the prospects of commercial opportunities in the trading of their woolen and excellent home made blankets for our horses.

When we got seated they made known to us the object of their visit to us.

With a child-like and humble salutation, speaking to Jacob with Ammon M. Tenney as interpreter they said "We have not come to change the splendid treaty already signed and entered into but we have come to cultivate and irrigate this tender plant of peace so that it will grow and bear fruit of a lasting brotherhood, that we may in the oncoming years eat this fruit of peace from one dish, sleep

under one blanket and warm ourselves by one fire and teach our children to follow our example, while *time* lasts.

We had, however, gone over our past experiences and at last this *out-burst* of *Navajo oratory* flowed from them at the moment of our hearts swelling I interpreted it to Jacob and said—"What shall I say to them" I then discovered that Jacob's emotions were wrought in a most wonderful manner while the tears rolled down from his cheeks in profusion. He said "Go to Tenney you can do it better than I can. Instantaneously I felt the influence of the spirit and I began to speak along the same lines that they had in regards to teaching our children and I taught them the gospel and the pursuits of peace and happiness and within a few minutes these noble sons of father Lehi were all weeping until they had no control of themselves.

Two of them came forward picked me up and carried me by main force and danced and sang and shouted all over the room. I soon extricated my self when they went to Jacob and embraced him with their arms and talked in an audible tone of voice and then began to shake our hands and slowly quieted down.

As for me, never before had I felt the demonstration of the spirit and power of God as on that occasion.

This ended the most successful labors of my association and companionship of 15 years, off and on with that God-fearing man Jacob Hamblin

CHECKLIST OF NEW MEXICO PUBLICATIONS

By WILMA LOY SHELTON

Introduction

The publications in this list include all official literature which has been printed and published from 1850 through 1948 by or for the state or of which an edition has been purchased by the state for distribution. Aside from Mr. Arie Poldervaart's lists in the New Mexico library bulletin, the New Mexico list in Bowker's *State Publications* and the titles included in the monthly checklist of state publications, there are no general lists of official New Mexico publications. Although there are some documents included in the *Checklist of New Mexico imprints and publications, 1784-1876*, prepared by the Historical records survey of Illinois, and in the checklists issued by Grace E. MacDonald and William S. Jenkins, they are too few to be very useful as a guide to documents of the state:

Bowker, R. R., *State Publication* N. Y. Publishers Weekly, 1905, pt. 3 p. 567-576.

New Mexican librarian v. 2 no. 2 Dec. 1939, p. 7-8.

New Mexico library bulletin v. 10 no. 5 Jan. 1942, p. 11-12; v. 11 no. 1 March 1942, p. 9-11; v. 11 no. 3 Sept. 1942, p. 12; v. 12 no. 3 July 1943, p. 38-40.

MacDonald, Grace E., *Checklist of legislative journals*, Providence, Oxford Press, 1928, p. 156-160; *Checklist of Session Laws*, N. Y. Wilson, 1936, p. 151-154; *Checklist of Statutes*, Providence, Oxford Press, 1938, p. 73.

Historical records survey, Illinois. *Checklist of New Mexico imprints and publications, 1784-1876*; Detroit, Michigan Historical records survey 1942, 115p.

Jenkins, W. S., *Checklist of Legislative Journals of the U. S. of America*, Boston, 1943, p. 440-45.

"Affairs in the territories were under the direction of the Department of state to the year 1873 at which time their administration was transferred to the Department of Interior. . . . By the act of 1792 the Secretary of state was required to have the laws of the territory printed. . . . The

territorial governments were dependent in large measure upon the Department of state during the greater part of the period and a considerable number of papers relating to them are preserved in the archives of that Department. Many events in the territories, however, have been of such a character that material respecting them are found in the files of other executive departments in Washington. Numerous papers which form the basis of Indian relations in the early period are found in the archives of the Department of War. . . . The extension of the postal service to the frontier is illustrated by materials found in the Post office files. In the general land office, in the Department of interior, is found a large collection of sources relating to surveying and disposing of the public lands. In the Senate & House files are many original papers, as well as bills, committee reports, and similar materials relating to various aspects of territorial affairs. The Manuscript division of the Library of Congress also possesses papers which relate to territorial matters.”¹ By 1938 most of the records, including the territorial papers, formerly held by the Department of State, were transferred to the National Archive.²

The law of 1857 provided for a public printer who was elected annually, by joint ballot of both houses of the general assembly, at such time during the session as the two houses could concur. It was the duty of the Public printer “to print and publish all such public matters as may be entrusted to him by either branch of the legislative assembly, or by any of the civic departments of the territory.”³ The office of public printer was abolished in 1907. Since that time each individual department determines its own methods in the procurement of printing.

According to the laws of 1937, it is the duty of every board, commission, department, state institution or purchasing agent to award contracts for printing to a New Mexico firm. This act does not apply to contracts for printing the

1. Carter, C. E. *The territorial papers of the U. S.* v. 1 p. vii-viii.

2. U. S. National archives. *Guide to the material in the national archives.* p. 12, 35-36.

3. *General laws of N. M.* comp. under direction of L. B. Prince, Albany, Little, 1882. p. 425-426.

New Mexico Supreme court reports, to any official compilation, or to the codification of the laws of the state.

The official head of each state office, commission, department or institution is required to file three copies of each publication with the librarian of the Supreme Court Library, who must deliver to the librarian of the Museum of New Mexico one copy of each publication received (Laws of 1931, chap. 154). An act relating to the filing of public documents and requiring documents to be filed in order to be effective was passed in 1947. Officials having charge of the reports of the Supreme court and of the published statutes or session laws of this state are required to transmit copies of each volume as issued to the following parties: "1 copy to the Attorney general of the U. S. ; 1 copy to each of the Justices of the United States Supreme Court ; 5 copies to the Librarian of the Supreme Court of the United States ; 5 copies of the reports of the Supreme Court of New Mexico and 8 copies of the statutes or session laws of this State to the Library of Congress ; 1 copy to the United States District Attorney for New Mexico and each of his assistants ; 1 copy to the Attorney General of New Mexico and each of his assistants ; 1 copy to each District Attorney in this State and each of their assistants ; 1 copy to each Board of County Commissioners ; 1 copy to each Probate Judge ; 1 copy to each District Judge in this State ; also, where any other state or territory will supply the State Law Library of this State with one or more copies of the Supreme Court or other Appellate Court reports and the statutes or session laws of such state or territory, the officials above mentioned are required to transmit . . . an equal number of copies of the reports of the supreme court of this State and of statutes or session laws of this State ; 1 copy to the United States District Judge for New Mexico ; and 1 copy each to the judges of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals in the Tenth Judicial Circuit. Provided that such copies of reports and statutes supplied to officials within the State remain the property of the State of New Mexico and must be delivered by said officials to their successors in office and provided that the Supreme Court may by order distribute its report in addition to those herein specified to

State and Federal officials and institutions." "The officer or employee of this State having charge of the publication of the public documents hereinafter mentioned shall transmit the same to the Librarian of Congress for the use of members of Congress from New Mexico and others interested, if and when printed, as follows: 2 copies each of the biennial budget, of the reports and official opinions of the attorney-general of the state, and of all separate compilations of laws issued by state officers; 1 copy each of the legislative journals and other documents published by order of the state legislature or either house and all reports, bulletins, circulars, pamphlets, maps, charts and other official publications of any executive department, office, commission, bureau, board or state institution now existing or hereafter authorized by law."⁴

The present study is as complete a listing of the territorial and state publications as it is possible to compile at this time. In spite of all attempts toward completeness, it has been impossible to locate all materials. The editor would greatly appreciate any information regarding publications not here recorded and any corrections that should be made. The publications of the state supported educational institutions and those of the agricultural experiment stations have been omitted. The checklist includes titles found in the State Library, the State Museum Library, the state offices, the University of New Mexico Library, and in bibliographies. Information regarding the issuing bodies was secured from the laws of the state.

Reports are listed under the name of the issuing body followed by other publications in alphabetical order. If changes in names of the body occur, serial publications are listed under the latest form of name with a reference from earlier forms. Whenever the publications have been mimeographed this information has been indicated.⁵

4. *Laws of 1937*. chap. 171 sec. 1-2. *Statutes, 1941 compilation*. sec. 12-113, 115.

5. Explanation of abbreviations. The following symbols have been used:

() Information not on title page

— In dates of reports indicates two or more calendar years

? Information uncertain

v. Volume

Published by
Kendall City, Ill.

CONSTITUTIONS

Constitutional convention, 1849.

Journal and proceedings of convention of delegates held at Santa Fe on the 24th of Sept. 1849 presenting a plan for the civil government . . . and asking the action of Congress thereon. Washington, 1850. 18, 8p. (31st. cong., 1st. sess., hse. misc. doc. 39)

Constitutional convention, 1849.

Journal of New Mexico, convention of delegates to recommend a plan of civil government. Sept., 1849. Santa Fe, The New Mexican printing company. 1907. 22p. (Historical society of New Mexico. Publication no. 10) "This is a reprint of Miscellaneous document no. 39, House of representatives, 31st. cong., 1st. sess. The document is headed, Feb. 25, 1850. Referred to the Committee on territories and ordered to be printed."

Constitution of State of New Mexico, 1850. Santa Fe, 1850. 18p.

Constitucion del Estado de Nuevo Mejico. Santa Fe, 1850. 19p.

Constitution of the State of New Mexico. Santa Fe, 1870.

Constitution of the State of New Mexico. Santa Fe, 1872. 44p.

Constitucion del estado de Nuevo Mejico, approved Feb. 1, 1872. n. p. n. d. 47p.

The constitution of the state of New Mexico, adopted by the Constitutional Convention, held at Santa Fe, Sept. 3-21, 1889. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co. (1889) 21p.

Constitution of New Mexico. (Santa Fe, 1889?) 62 leaves.

The constitution of the state of New Mexico, adopted by the Constitutional Convention, held at Santa Fe, New Mexico, Sept. 3-21, 1889 . . . and amended Aug. 18-20, 1890. (Santa Fe, 1890) 56p.

La constitucion del estado de Nuevo Mexico adoptada por la convencion constitucional, y un manifiesto al pueblo por una comision de la convencion. (Emmendada del 18 al 20 de agosto de 1890) (Santa Fe, 1890?) 48p.

Declarations and resolutions submitted to the people of the territory of New Mexico at their statehood convention, held at Albuquerque, Oct. 15 and 16, 1901, demanding a state form of government from the Congress of the United States. (Albuquerque? 1901) (4)p.

New Mexico's struggle for statehood; sixty years of effort to obtain self government, by L. Bradford Prince. First ed. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1910. 128p.

La constitucion del estado de Nuevo Mexico; adoptada por la Convencion constitucional, tenida en Santa Fe, desde octubre 3, a Noviembre 21, de 1910. (Santa Fe, 1910) 41p.

The constitution of the State of New Mexico. Adopted by the Constitutional convention, held at Santa Fe, N. M. from October 3 to November 21, 1910. (Santa Fe? 1910) 41p.

The constitution of the state of New Mexico. Adopted by the constitutional convention, held at Santa Fe from October 3 to November

21, 1910. (Santa Fe, 1910) 41p. At head of title: Supplement to New Mexican review

Constitution of New Mexico. Message from the President of the United States, transmitting copy of the constitution of New Mexico with formal approval thereof, and recommending the approval of the same by Congress. . . . Washington, Govt. print. off., 1911. 47 p. (61st cong. 3d sess. sen. doc. 835) Referred to the Committee on the territories and ordered printed, Feb. 24, 1911. Includes the certificate of the canvassing board for the constitution, which was submitted to the people of the territory on Jan. 21, 1911. Adopted with 31,742 votes for and 13,399 against

Proceedings of the Constitutional convention of the proposed state of New Mexico held at Santa Fe, October 3rd, 1910, to November 21st, 1910. Albuquerque, Press of the Morning Journal, 1910. 292p.

Procedimientos de la Convención constitucional del propuesto estado de Nuevo México, tenida en Santa Fé, Nuevo México, octubre 3, 1910 hasta Noviembre 21, 1910. East Las Vegas, N. M., The Optic publishing company, 1911. 312p.

New Mexico constitutional convention book; containing photographs and biographical sketches of the members who were elected by the voters of New Mexico and who attended the convention in Santa Fe, N. M. Oct. 3 to Nov. 21, 1910. Peterson, n. d. 98p.

Rules of the Constitutional convention formed for the purpose of framing a constitution for the proposed state of New Mexico. 1910. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing company, 1910. 15p.

Constitution of New Mexico. Full text of the document as finally adopted by the convention. Des Moines, N. M. 1910. (8)p. At head of title: Supplement to the Swastika, Des Moines, N. M., Dec. 2, 1910.

Constitution of the state of New Mexico adopted by the constitutional convention held at Santa Fe, N. M. from Oct. 3 to Nov. 21, 1910. Santa Fe, 1910. 68 leaves. One of a few lithographed copies with facsimile signature of the officers and members of the convention.

Annotated constitution and Enabling act of the state of New Mexico, comprising the Enabling act for the territory of New Mexico, approved June 20, 1910; the constitution of the state of New Mexico, adopted by the Constitutional convention, November 21, 1911, ratified by the people at the election therefor, January 21, 1911; the act of Congress for admission to statehood, approved August 21, 1911. Annotated and indexed, compiler . . . Arthur G. Whittier. Santa Fe, Whittier, 1911. 174p.

The constitution of the state of New Mexico, adopted by the Constitutional convention held at Santa Fe, New Mexico from October 3 to November 21, 1910, and as amended, November 6th, 1911. Prepared for publication, in English and Spanish, by secretary of state. Santa Fe, La Voz del pueblo print, 1912. 105p. In English and Spanish.

- The constitution of the state of New Mexico. Adopted by the constitutional convention . . . 1910, and as amended November 6th, 1911, and November 5, 1912. Prepared for publication, in English and Spanish, by Secretary of state. Santa Fe, 1914. 68p. Inserted: Constitutional amendments . . . 1914.
- Constitution of the state of New Mexico, 1915. Santa Fe, 1915. 79p.
- The constitution of the state of New Mexico. Adopted by the constitutional convention . . . 1910, and amended November 6th, 1911, November 5, 1912, and November 3, 1914. Prepared for publication by the Secretary of state. Santa Fe, 1917. 81p.
- New Mexico constitution, 1931-32. n. p. n. d. 38p.
- The constitution of New Mexico, ratified 1912 and as amended to January 1, 1934. Issued by the secretary of state, Mrs. Marguerite P. Baca. Santa Fe (New Mexican publishing corporation, 1934) 30p.
- The constitution of the state of New Mexico. As amended by the people in general election 1912 to 1936. Prepared under supervision of Mrs. Elizabeth F. Gonzales, secretary of state (Santa Fe; 1936?) 71p.
- The constitution of the state of New Mexico. As amended by the people in general election 1912 to 1939. Prepared under supervision of Mrs. Jessie M. Gonzales, secretary of state (Santa Fe; 1939) 72p.
- The constitution of the state of New Mexico. As amended by the people in general election, 1912 to 1941. Prepared under supervision of Mrs. Jessie M. Gonzales, secretary of state (Santa Fe? 1941?) 70p.
- The constitution of the state of New Mexico. As subsequently amended by the people in general election, 1912 to 1944. Prepared under supervision of Mrs. Cecilia Tafoya Cleveland, Secretary of state (Santa Fe, 1945) 72p.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS OF NEW MEXICO

New Mexico was visited by the Spaniards, 1536; subject to Spain, 1598-1821; part of the Mexican Republic, 1821-1846; ceded by Mexico to U. S. 1848, and under American military rule, 1846-1850; as a state Jan. 6, 1912.

Adjutant general's office.

Appointed by the governor; makes reports as may be required by the governor; issues all orders from the commander-in-chief, has charge of the militia under the governor and serves as quartermaster-general, commissary general and inspector general in time of peace. It is the duty of the Adjutant general and his staff to train, supervise and administer the activities of all military forces in the state and to maintain the records of all men and women who have served in the armed forces from New Mexico. There has been an Adjutant general since 1861, but before 1881 the office had been largely ornamental and social. Max Frost (1881-83) accomplished a little, but nothing of any consequence was in evidence until the appointment of Col. E. L. Bartlett, who served from March 1, 1883, to Nov. 1899.¹ By an act of the Legislature Feb. 12, 1941, the New Mexico State Guard was organized to replace the National guard, which had existed under one name or another since the days of Kearny. They were utilized as a portion of the expedition into Cuba during the Spanish-American War, where the New Mexico volunteers were a part of Roosevelt's Rough Riders, were used in the Mexican border trouble in 1916 and played a notable part in World War I and II.

Report of Edward L. Bartlett . . . March 1, 1882 to Jan. 1, 1884. Santa Fe, 1884. 87p. (E&S) also in Official reports. 1882-83. p. 62-144.

Reporte bial de al Ayudante general, 1887/88 (E. L. Bartlett) Santa Fe, 1890. 17p. (covers Dec. 7, 1886-Dec. 15, 1888)

Biennial report of the adjutant general (E. L. Bartlett) of New Mexico for the years 1887 and 1888; with roster of troops. Santa Fe, 1889. 15p.

Dec. 15, 1888-Dec. 31, 1890 (E. W. Wyncoop)

1. Twitchell, R. E. *Leading facts of New Mexican history* v. 5. p. 363.

- Jan. 1, 1891-Dec. 31, 1892 17p. (W. S. Fletcher)
 Jan. 1, 1892-Dec. 31, 1894 16p. (G. W. Knaebel)
 Jan. 1, 1894-Dec. 31, 1896 25p. (G. W. Knaebel)
 Jan. 1, 1898-Dec. 31, 1898 (W. H. Whiteman) (E&S) 10p. also
 in House and Council Journal, 1899, and in Appendix to Mes-
 sage of Governor M. A. Otero to the 33d legislative assembly,
 1899. "Exhibit" F p. 185-191.
 Jan. 1, 1900-Dec. 31, 1900 (W. H. Whiteman)
 in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th legislative assembly,
 1901 "Exhibit" G p. 155-169.
 Jan. 1, 1902-Dec. 31, 1902 12p. (W. H. Whiteman)
 Also in appendix of Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legis-
 lative assembly, 1903. "Exhibit" K 11p.
 Jan. 1, 1903-Dec. 31, 1904 (W. H. Whiteman)
 Also in appendix to the Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Leg-
 islative assembly, 1905. "Exhibit" K 13p.
 Jan. 1, 1905-Dec. 31, 1906 13p. (A. P. Tarkington)
 Also in appendix to Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th
 Legislative assembly, 1907. "Exhibit 9"
 Nov. 11, 1913-Nov. 30, 1914 47p. (H. T. Herring)
 Nov. 30, 1914-Nov. 30, 1916 41p. (H. T. Herring)
 Nov. 30, 1916-Nov. 30, 1918 72p. (H. T. Herring)
 Nov. 30, 1918-Nov. 30, 1920 (J. B. Baca)
 1920-1921 (J. B. Baca) mimeo
 1921-1922 (H. R. Brown) mimeo
 Dec. 1924-June 30, 1926 16p. (V. J. Jaeger)
 July 1, 1926-Dec. 30, 1928 118p. (W. G. Halthusen)
 Code of military laws of the state of N. M. p. 85-118
 June 30, 1929-June 30, 1930 21p. (W. G. Halthusen) mimeo
 Jan. 31, 1931-Dec. 31, 1931 12p. (O. C. Wood)
 None published 1934-1935
 Jan. 1, 1935-Dec. 31, 1935 27p. (R. C. Charlton) mimeo
 None published 1936-1945
 May 1, 1946-Dec. 31, 1947 6p. (C. G. Sage)
 Title varies slightly. Report year irregular
- Circular June 20, 1865. Santa Fe, 1865
 Circular, 1868. Santa Fe, 1868. 8 nos.
 Circular letter no. 1. Santa Fe, Feb. 1, 1897. 1p.
 Distances from Kansas City to Santa Fe. Santa Fe, 1864. 19p.
 Distribution of troops serving in the District of New Mexico Santa Fe,
 Q. M. print, 1871. Broadside 17¼x12 in.
 General orders 1862-68. Santa Fe, 1862-68, 72 nos.
 Index to general orders, general field orders and circulars of the
 District of New Mexico 1882-83. Santa Fe, Acting assistant
 general's office, 1881-83. 49 leaves
 Military defense map of New Mexico. 1931.

- New Mexico National guard code. Santa Fe, 1941. 40p. mimeo
- New Mexico State guard; its purposes and functions, by Brig. gen. Ray Andrew. 7p.
- Official register of New Mexican volunteers. Santa Fe, John T. Russell, 1862. 3p.
- Organization and minutes of encampments . . . for the years 1883-4-5. Las Vegas, J. A. Carruth, 1885.
- Roster of troops serving in the District of New Mexico. Santa Fe, Acting assistant adjutant general's office, 1872-1881. 10 pams.
- Synopsis of Indian Scouts and their results for the year 1863. Santa Fe, 1864. 16p.
- Table of distances published for the information of the troops, serving in the District of New Mexico . . . Acting assistant Adjutant general's office, headquarters, District of New Mexico. Santa Fe, Jan. 1, 1878. 27p.
- Table of distances; published for the information of the troops serving in the District of New Mexico, with remarks and information necessary for the camping parties. Rev. ed. Santa Fe, 1881. 29p.

Attorney general.

Established in 1846; legal advisor of all state officials and district attorneys; represents the state in all cases before the Supreme court to which the state is a party; prepares forms for contracts, bonds and other legal instruments required for state use. The office was declared vacant from Feb. 14, 1880 to June 22, 1881. The office was abolished and the office of Solicitor general was created Feb. 15, 1889 and was discontinued March 16, 1905, at which time the Office of Attorney general was recreated.

- Informe del procurador general desde marzo 7, 1898, hasta Diciembre 26, 1898. Santa Fe, Compania impresora del Nuevo Mexicana, 1899. 7p. (E. L. Bartlett)
- Biennial report of the Solicitor general.
- March 7, 1898-Dec. 26, 1898 (E. L. Bartlett)
- in Message of M. A. Otero to the 33d Legislative assembly, January 16, 1899. "Exhibit E" p. 181-184.
- in House and Council Journal, 33d session, 1899. "Exhibit E" p. 181-184.
- Dec. 27, 1898-Dec. 27, 1900 (E. L. Bartlett)
- in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly, January 21, 1901. Exhibit "F" p. 149-153.
- Dec. 27, 1900-Dec. 27, 1902 (E. L. Bartlett)
- in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly, January 19, 1903. Exhibit "C" 9p.

Dec. 27, 1902-Dec. 27, 1904 (G. W. Prichard)

in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly, January 16, 1905. Exhibit "C" 6p. (E. L. Bartlett died Oct. 1904; G. W. Prichard appointed March 16, 1905, and held office until June 1, 1906)

Biennial report of Attorney general.

Dec. 27, 1904-Dec. 27, 1906 (W. C. Reid)

in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly, Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 4. 51p.

1907-1908—no report or opinions published.

Report . . . Santa Fe, 1912-1948. 20v.

March 20, 1909-Feb. 15, 1912 241p. (F. W. Clancy)

Feb. 15, 1912-Dec. 31, 1912

contains "Special report on State boundary"

Jan. 15, 1912-Dec. 31, 1913 355p. (F. W. Clancy)

Jan. 1, 1914-Dec. 31, 1914 293p. (F. W. Clancy)

Jan. 1, 1915-Dec. 1, 1916 477p. (F. W. Clancy)

Jan. 1, 1917-Dec. 31, 1918 213p. (H. L. Patton)

Jan. 1, 1919-Dec. 31, 1920 242p. (O. O. Askren)

Jan. 1, 1921-Dec. 31, 1922 248p. (H. S. Bowman)

Jan. 1, 1923-Dec. 31, 1924 174p. (M. J. Helmick)

Jan. 1, 1925-Dec. 31, 1926 91p. (J. W. Armstrong)

(J. W. Armstrong died Jan. 1926; F. E. Wilson appointed by Governor.)

1927-28 never published

Jan. 1, 1929-Dec. 31, 1930 263p. (M. A. Otero, Jr.)

Jan. 1, 1931-Dec. 31, 1932 181p. (E. K. Neumann)

Jan. 1, 1933-Dec. 31, 1934 164p. (E. K. Neumann)

Jan. 1, 1935-Dec. 31, 1936 146p. (F. H. Patton)

Jan. 1, 1937-Dec. 31, 1938 283p. (F. H. Patton)

Jan. 1, 1939-Dec. 31, 1940 150p. (F. M. Sedillo)

Jan. 1, 1941-Dec. 31, 1942 295p. (E. P. Chase)

Jan. 1, 1943-Dec. 31, 1944 383p. (C. C. McCulloh)

Jan. 1, 1945-Dec. 31, 1946 309p. (C. C. McCulloh)

Jan. 1, 1947-Nov. 1, 1948 191p. (C. C. McCulloh)

Title varies: Reports and opinions, 1909-24; Annual report and official opinions, 1925-26; Opinions, 1929-30; Report, 1931 to date.

Opinions of Charles P. Cleaver, Attorney general for New Mexico, upon the question "Whether or not, the Hon. W. F. M. Army is by law the Secretary of New Mexico at this time" given to the House of Representatives now in session Dec. 20, 1866. Santa Fe, Manderfield and Tucker, New Mexican office, 1867 (13p.) also in Journal of the House of Representatives. 1866 p. 95-114.

Auditor.

Established in 1846; the accountant of the state; passes upon the legality of expenditures of various state agencies.

Report

- Nov. 15, 1853-Nov. 15, 1854 (H. L. Dickinson)
in *Diario del Consejo*, 1854/55
- Nov. 15, 1860-Nov. 15, 1861 (A. De Marle)
in *Journal of House*, 1861 p. 23-37
- Nov. 15, 1861-Nov. 15, 1862 (Demetrio Perez)
in *Diario del Consejo*, 1862 p. 157-59
- Nov. 16, 1862-Nov. 15, 1863 (M. E. Pino)
in *Journal of the House*, 1863 p. 28-40
- Nov. 16, 1863-Nov. 15, 1864 (M. E. Pino)
in *Journal of the House*, 1864 p. 32-48
- Nov. 16, 1864-Nov. 15, 1865 (M. E. Pino)
in *Journal of the House*, 1865 p. 325-334
- Nov. 16, 1865-Nov. 15, 1866 (Epifanio Vigil)
in *Journal of House*, 1866 p.
- Nov. 16, 1866-Nov. 15, 1867 (Epifanio Vigil)
- Nov. 16, 1867-Nov. 15, 1868 (Epifanio Vigil)
in *Diario de la Camara*, 1868-69 p. 53
- Dec. 16, 1881-Dec. 31, 1883 (Trinidad Alarid)
in *Official reports*. 1882/83.
- Dec. 16, 1886-Dec. 15, 1888 37p. (Trinidad Alarid)
- Dec. 16, 1888-Dec. 3, 1890 56p. (Trinidad Alarid)
- Dec. 3, 1890-Dec. 3, 1892 50p. (Demetrio Perez)
- Dec. 4, 1892, Dec. 1, 1894 87p. (Demetrio Perez)
- Dec. 2, 1894-Nov. 28, 1896 96p. (Marcelino Garcia)
- Dec. 1, 1896-Dec. 3, 1898 91 p. (Marcelino Garcia)
also in *Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 33d Legislative assembly*, Jan. 16, 1899. Exhibit "A" p. 3-91
- Dec. 5, 1898-Dec. 1, 1900 55p. (L. M. Ortiz)
also in *Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly*, Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "B" p. 59-113
- Dec. 1, 1900-Nov. 30, 1902 63p. (W. G. Sargent)
also in *Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly*, Jan. 19, 1903. Exhibit "B" 63p.
- Dec. 1, 1902-Nov. 30, 1904 58p. (W. G. Sargent)
also in *Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly*, Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "B" 58p.
- Dec. 1, 1904-Nov. 30, 1906 75p. (W. G. Sargent)
also in *Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly*, Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 2. 75p.
- Dec. 1, 1906-Nov. 30, 1908 53p. (W. G. Sargent)
- Dec. 1, 1908-Nov. 30, 1911 39p. (W. G. Sargent)

- Dec. 1, 1911-Nov. 30, 1912 16p. (W. G. Sargent)
 Dec. 1, 1912-Nov. 30, 1914 36p. (W. G. Sargent) 1-2 fiscal year
 Dec. 1, 1914-Nov. 30, 1916 40p. (W. G. Sargent) 3-4 fiscal year
 Dec. 1, 1916-Nov. 30, 1918 40p. (W. G. Sargent) 5-6 fiscal year
 Dec. 1, 1918-Nov. 30, 1920 44 p. (Edward Sargent) 7-8 fiscal year
 Dec. 1, 1920-Nov. 30, 1922 69p. (E. L. Safford) 9-10 fiscal year
 Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1924 84p. (J. N. Vigil) 11-12 fiscal year
 Dec. 1, 1924-June 30, 1926 47p. (M. A. Otero, jr.) 13-14 fiscal year
 July 1, 1926-June 30, 1928 94p. (M. A. Otero, jr.) 15-16 fiscal year
 July 1, 1928-June 30, 1930 145p. (V. Ulibarri) 17-18 fiscal year
 July 1, 1930-June 30, 1932 164p. (A. Velarde) 19-20 fiscal year
 July 1, 1932-June 30, 1934 176p. (A. Velarde) 21-22 fiscal year
 July 1, 1934-June 30, 1936 210p. (J. O. Garcia) 23-24 fiscal year
 July 1, 1936-June 30, 1938 187p. (J. O. Garcia) 25-26 fiscal year
 July 1, 1938-June 30, 1940 235p. (E. D. Trujillo) 27-28 fiscal year
 July 1, 1940-June 30, 1942 245p. (E. D. Trujillo) 29-30 fiscal year
 July 1, 1942-June 30, 1944 286p. (J. D. Hannah) 31-32 fiscal year
 July 1, 1944-June 30, 1946 262p. (J. D. Hannah) 33-34 fiscal year
 Triennial, 1909/11; annual, 1911/12; biennial, 1912/14-Report year
 irregular.
 1936/38 report has Supplement to Auditor's biennial report, 25th
 and 26th fiscal year.

Classification of counties. Santa Fe, 1938.

Informe del intendente territorial . . . 1853/54; 1861/62; 1867/68;
 1881/83; 1886/88.

Board of cosmetology.

Created in 1937 to supervise and regulate the cosmetology and beauty culture industry of the state; may act as a mediator and arbitrator whenever necessary.

An act to regulate the occupation of hairdressers and beauty culturists
 . . . 1937. Santa Fe, 1940. 36p.

Board of dental examiners.

Created in 1893; examines all persons not registered on the books of the Board.

Report

- April 17-18, 1903 1p. (C. N. Lord)
 in Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of
 the Interior. 1903 p. 644
 April 17, 1903-June 4, 1904. 5p. (C. N. Lord)
 in Message of M. A. Otero . . . to the 36th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "A4" 5p.

May 22, 1905-Jan. 1, 1907. (C. N. Lord)

in Message of H. J. Hagerman . . . to the 37th Legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 21. 6p.

Annual minutes of the Board for fiscal year July 1 to July 1. v. p.

1940- typewritten

June 26-29, 1940 Albuquerque

June 23-26, 1941 Santa Fe

June 15-19, 1942 Santa Fe

1943 Santa Fe

June 19-22, 1944 Santa Fe

June 26-29, 1945 Santa Fe

June 24-28, 1946 Santa Fe

April 2-5, 1947 Santa Fe

Each includes the annual report for the fiscal year.

Application for license to practice dentistry in the state. n. p. n. d. (2) p.

Official act creating a Board of Dental examiners, and regulating practices of dentistry in the state of New Mexico. Chapter 37 of 1929

Compiled laws as amended by Chapter 62, Laws of 1937. n. p. n. d.

(11) p.

Official list of dentists registered in New Mexico for the year ending

June, 1915-date.

issued annually

Rules adopted by the Board of dental examiners. Deming, n.d. 3p.

Board of embalmers.

Established 1909; regulates the practices of embalming, issues licenses and renewals.

Circulars no. 1-16; April 1, 1932-May 15, 1947.

Laws, rules and regulations governing embalmers; preparation and transportation of dead human bodies, and a list of embalmers holding a valid license. n. p., 1920. 14p.

1929

1931 44p.

The laws, rules and regulations governing embalmers preparation and transportation of dead human bodies. Regulations of Bureau of public health. n. p., 1935.

1937 40p.

Santa Fe, 1940 43p.

Laws of 1947 for State Board of embalmers and Funeral directors. 17p. (Chap. 71)

New Mexico licensed embalmers valid until April 1, 1941. 8p.

The rules governing embalmers, preparation, and transportation of dead human bodies. Tucumcari, 1920. (18)p.

The rules governing embalmers, preparation, and transportation of dead human bodies. 1929.

The rules governing embalmers, preparation and transportation of dead human bodies and list of embalmers holding a valid license. 1931 (12) p.

Board of equalization.

Created in 1893; classified property for purpose of taxation; had very little power except in the matter of railroads and collateral properties; had been powerless in territorial days to correct the inequalities which had existed for many years.

Report

- 1897-98 (D. C. Hobart, pres., T. Hughes, sec.)
 in Council and House journals, 1899 p. 266-267.
 in Message of M. A. Otero to the 33d Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 16, 1899. "Exhibit M" p. 266-267.
- Jan. 1901 (J. W. Poe, sec. p. t.)
 in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "N" p. 315-18.
- Sept. 1901-Nov. 30, 1902. (J. S. Duncan, pres., V. Jaramillo, sec.)
 in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 19, 1903. Exhibit "F" 8p.
- Jan. 1903-Nov. 30, 1904. (V. Jaramillo, sec.)
 in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "F" 9p.
- Jan. 11-15, 1904 1p. (J. S. Duncan, pres., V. Jaramillo, sec.)
 Sept. 1905 1p. (J. S. Duncan, pres., V. Jaramillo, sec.)
 Sept. 10-14, 1906 1p. (J. S. Duncan, pres., V. Jaramillo, sec.)
 Jan. 8, 1906 1p. (J. S. Duncan, pres., V. Jaramillo, sec.)
 Jan. 14, 1907 1p. (J. S. Duncan, pres., V. Jaramillo, sec.)
 Sept. 9-12, 1907 1p. (J. S. Duncan, pres., R. J. Palen, sec.)
 Sept. 14-17, 1908 1p. (J. F. Hinkle, pres., R. J. Palen, sec.)
 Sept. 13-16, 1909 10p. (J. F. Hinkle, pres., B. Spitz, sec.)
 Jan. 10, 1910 1p. (J. F. Hinkle, pres., J. M. Cunningham, sec.)
 Jan. 9, 1911 1p. (J. F. Hinkle, pres., E. P. Jones, sec. p. t.)
 Sept. 11-12, 1911 1p. (J. F. Hinkle, pres., B. Spitz, sec.)
 Sept. 9-27, 1912 23p. (W. C. McDonald, pres., W. G. Sargent, sec.)
 includes adjourned session for Oct. 7, 21, 1912
- Jan. session, 1913 18p. (F. W. Clancy, pres., Howell Ernest, sec.)
 March session, 1913 (4)p. (F. W. Clancy, pres., Howell Ernest, sec.)
- July session, 1913 78p. (F. W. Clancy, pres., Howell Ernest, sec.)
 Jan. session, 1914 (F. W. Clancy, pres., Howell Ernest, sec.)
 July session, 1914 35p. (F. W. Clancy, pres., Howell Ernest, sec.)
 Title varies: Report 1898-1904; Proceedings, 1904-1914.

- Reporte del cuerpo territorial de igualamiento por los años fiscales 48vo y 49 vo. Enero 14, 1898. Santa Fe, 1899. 5p.
 (Resolutions passed at the January session, 1913) (Santa Fe, 1913) (3) p.
 Values fixed by the board on various classes of property subject to taxation for the ensuing year. Jan. 1899.

Board of examiners for architects.

Created in 1931; issues certificates.

- Annual report of the New Mexico Board of examiners for architects for the examination and registration of architects in the state of New Mexico. Santa Fe, 1932-
 June 25, 1932-August 5, 1933 9p. (W. M. Brittelle) mimeo.
 Contains laws for 1931.
 Aug. 5, 1933-June 20, 1934 4p. (J. G. Meem) mimeo.
 June 30, 1934-Sept. 29, 1935 5p. (J. G. Meem) mimeo.
 Jan. 1937-April 30, 1938 (15) p. (A. W. Boehning)
 Contains By-laws, Rules and regulations, Registration law.
 (Laws of 1931 creating a State Board of examiners for architects. Santa Fe, 1931) 6 leaves (Typewritten)
 Rules and regulations of the State Board of Examiners for architects of New Mexico. (Santa Fe, 1931) 5 leaves (Typewritten)
 New Mexico architectural law; 1941 Statutes annotated. Art. 14. n. p. n. d. 8p.

Board of exposition managers.

Acts of 1897, 1915 provided for maintenance of exhibits.

- Informe de los comisionados por Nuevo Mejico a la exposicion centenaria e internacional de Tennessee, 1899. Santa Fe, Compania Impresora del Nuevo Mexicano, 1899. 8p. (J. J. Leeson, secretary)
 Report
 1897-98 (J. J. Leeson)
 in Message of M. A. Otero to the 33d Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1899. "Exhibit J" p. 251-59)
 (Report on Transmississippi exposition and Tennessee Centennial and international exposition)
 Reporte de los Comisionados de la exposicion Trans-Mississipiana, 1899. Santa Fe, Compania Impresora del Nuevo Mexicano, 1899. 7p.
 New Mexico, the land of opportunity . . . official data on the resources and industries of New Mexico—the sunshine state. (Albuquerque, A. E. Koehler, jr., c1915). 84, 240p.
 Official souvenir of the state of New Mexico at Panama-California exposition, San Diego, 1915.
 New Mexico, the land of opportunity. Official data on the resources and

industries of New Mexico—the Sunshine state. Albuquerque, N. M., Press of the Albuquerque morning journal, c1915. 84, 240p.

Official souvenir of the state of New Mexico at Panama-California exposition, San Diego, 1915. Editor's foreword signed: A. E. Koehler, jr., editor and publisher.

Board of Louisiana purchase exposition managers.

Created in 1901; repealed in 1903; re-established March 19, 1903; discontinued March 4, 1905.

Report

1902 (Thos. Hughes)

in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly. Jan. 19, 1903. Exhibit "J" 5p.

May 18, 1903-Dec. 31, 1904 (W. B. Walton)

in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "J" 7p.

The land of sunshine; a handbook of the resources, products, industries and climate of New Mexico; compiled and edited by Max Frost and Paul A. F. Walter. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1904. 299, (3)p. Cover-title: To the land of sunshine. Originally compiled and published by authority of the territorial Bureau of immigration. To this edition is added an introduction in regard to New Mexico's exhibit at the Louisiana purchase exposition.

Board of optometry.

Established in 1905; gives examinations and issues certificates of registration.

Report

April 17, 1905-Nov. 30, 1906 (O. G. Myhre)

in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 48. 6p.

New Mexico law approved March 11, 1929. n. p. 1929. (17) p.

Reissued 1938 (19) p.

Includes list of optometrists registered to practice in the State of New Mexico; revised August 1, 1936.

Board of osteopathy.

Established in 1905; issues certificates to those eligible to practice osteopathy.

Report

April 3, 1905-Nov. 30, 1906 (G. A. Wheelon)

in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 37. 6p.

Constitution and by-laws of the Board of Osteopathy of New Mexico
n. p. n. d. 8p. (N. M. Laws, statutes, etc. Laws of 1905 chap. 68)

Board of pharmacy.

Established in 1889; registers pharmacists.

March 20, 1898-Dec. 1, 1898 v. 9 (W. C. Porterfield)

in House and Council journal, 1899 "Exhibit O" p. 271-290.

in Message of M. A. Otero to the 33d Legislative assembly

Jan. 16, 1899. "Exhibit O" p. 271-290.

Previous reports have usually been confined to typewritten reports to the governor only.

in Report of the governor of N. M. to the Secretary of the interior. 1899. p. 271-276.

Oct. 17, 1900-Dec. 1, 1900 v. 11 (W. C. Porterfield)

in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly;

Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "Q" p. 339-344.

Jan. 15, 1902-Nov. 30, 1902 (W. C. Porterfield)

in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly.

Jan. 19, 1903. Exhibit "R" 4p.

Oct. 17, 1902-March 10, 1903 (A. J. Fischer)

in Report of the Governor of N. M. to the Secretary of the Interior. 1903 p. 645-46.

Aug. 1902-Nov. 30, 1904 (A. J. Fischer)

in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly.

Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "R" 6p.

July 11, 1904-Jan. 14, 1907 (A. J. Fischer)

in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly.

Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 22. 11p.

Informe anual del Cuerpo de Farmacia de Nuevo Mexico, con abstractos del Registrado; Leyes de farmacia. Hasta Diciembre 1, 1898. Santa Fe, Compania Impresora del Nuevo Mexicano, 1899. 21p.

New Mexico pharmacy and food and drug laws. Albuquerque, N. M. Pharmaceutical association, 1935. 18p.

New Mexico pharmacy and food and drug laws. N. M. State Board of Pharmacy, 1942. 30p.

Board of water commissioners.

Established in 1907; appointed; held hearings and determined appeals from the actions and decisions of the State engineer. Board was abolished in 1923.

Report . . . Nov. 30, 1914. (Santa Fe, 1914) 7p.

Scott Etter, president.

Irrigation laws of the State of New Mexico with an index of decisions of the State board of water commissioners and of opinions ren-

dered by the Attorney general; comp. by the State board of water commissioners, March 1914. . . . Santa Fe, The Eagle print, (1914) 67p.

Scott Etter, chairman.

Irrigation laws of the State of New Mexico, with an index of decisions of the State board of water commissioners and of opinions rendered by the Attorney general; comp. by the State board of water commissioners, March, 1914. . . . Carlsbad, Argus book and job office (1914) 66p.

Bureau of child welfare.

Established in 1921 under Board of public welfare; in 1935 N. M. Relief and Security authority was established to integrate the various forms of relief; this agency administered the welfare program for dependent children, child welfare services, etc. until the passage of the public welfare act of 1937, which created the Department of public welfare.

Biennial report

Dec. 1, 1921-June 30, 1922 v. 1 (M. Reeves)

Dec. 1, 1922-June 30, 1924 v. 2 9p. (M. Reeves) mimeo.

Dec. 1, 1924-June 30, 1926. v. 3 34p. (M. Reeves)

Bulletin

no. 1 The organization of the State child welfare work, by Montana Hastings. Santa Fe, 1921. 32p.

Child welfare news. Santa Fe, 1925-1931?

Bureau of immigration.

Established Feb. 15, 1880; organized April 15, 1880.

Biennial Report

Feb. 27, 1882-Feb. 16, 1884. 16p. (E&S)

also in Official report, 1882/83

in Informes oficiales, 1882/83 p. 3-18

June 12, 1889-Dec. 31, 1890. 12p. (Max Frost)

April 1897-Dec. 31, 1898. (Lorion Miller)

in Message of M. A. Otero to 33d Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1899. "Exhibit K" p. 260-261.

in Council and House Journal, 1899. "Exhibit K" p. 260-261.

Jan. 1, 1899-Dec. 1, 1900. (Max Frost)

in Message of M. A. Otero to 34th Legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "L" p. 298-311.

Dec. 1, 1900-Nov. 30, 1902. (Max Frost)

in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly. Jan. 19, 1903. "Exhibit H" 8p.

- Dec. 1, 1902-Nov. 30, 1904. 8p. (Max Frost)
 also in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "H" 15p.
- Dec. 1, 1904-Nov. 30, 1906. (Max Frost)
 in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 23. 19p.

Informe del Buro de inmigracion desde Abril, 1897, hasta enero 1898. 4p.

Informe del bufete de inmigracion por 1899 y 1900. 14p.

Bulletin

- no. 1
- no. 2 Agriculture and horticulture. 1898. 47p.
- no. 3 Santa Fe county 1901. 43p.
- no. 4
- no. 5
- no. 6
- no. 7
- no. 8 San Miguel county. 1901 39p.
- no. 9 Grant county. 1901 40p.
- no. 10
- no. 11 Socorro county. 1901 24p.
- no. 12
- no. 13 Lincoln county. 1902 30p.
- no. 14 San Juan county. 1902 40p.
- no. 15 Union county. 1902 12p.
- no. 16 Guadalupe county. 1902 24p.
- no. 17 Sierra county. 1902 40p.
- no. 18 Taos county. 1902 39p.
- no. 19 Mora county. 1902 24p.
- no. 20 McKinley county. 1902 12p.
- no. 21 Rio Arriba county. 1902 23p.
- no. 22 Santa Fe county. 1902 55p.
- no. 23 Valencia county. 1902 32p.
- no. 24 Colfax county. 1902 48p.

Bernalillo county, a description of the smallest and richest county of New Mexico. (Santa Fe, N. M.) 1906. 45p.

Bernalillo county, New Mexico. The most populous and wealthiest of New Mexico counties. (Santa Fe) J. S. Duncan (1903?) 32p.

Bernalillo county, New Mexico. The richest and most populous county in the Sunshine territory. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1901. 24p.

The Central Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico, with a sketch of the counties of Bernalillo, Sandoval and Valencia, a magnificent empire of 10,000 square miles, rich beyond estimate in natural resources; by H. B. Hening . . . (Albuquerque? 1908) 48p.

- Chaves County, New Mexico. An imperial domain with a magnificent stock range . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1901. 24p.
- Climatology and mineral spring of New Mexico—health and pleasure resorts. . . . Santa Fe New Mexican printing co., 1900. 100p. Cover-title: Climate is fate; New Mexico, the health resort of the continent.
- Colfax County, New Mexico, known because of its tremendous resources as the kingdom of Colfax. (Albuquerque) 1910. 36p.
- Colfax County, New Mexico. One of the richest counties in the territory of New Mexico. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1902. 48p. (Its Bulletin, no. 24).
- Compilation of facts concerning the Pecos Valley. Resume of the improvement being made in southeastern New Mexico, embracing the magnificent Pecos Valley . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1891. 20p.
- Condensed compilation of facts concerning the territory in answer to numerous inquiries. (Santa Fe, 1880?) 8p.
- Dona Ana County, her people and resources by Albert J. Fountain, commissioner. Las Cruces, Rio Grande Republican print, 1885. 20p.
- Dona Ana County in New Mexico, containing the fertile Mesilla Valley, garden spot of the great Southwest, where modern irrigation is now being brought to its highest development. Comp. by Dr. R. E. McBride. . . . (Albuquerque?) 1908. 54p.
- Dona Ana County, New Mexico. The fertile Mesilla Valley—mineral wealth in the Organ, San Andreas and Black mountains—a magnificent range, ideal climate. The garden spot of New Mexico. . . . (Santa Fe) J. S. Duncan, 1904. 48p.
- Dry farming in New Mexico, by J. D. Tinsley. Albuquerque, 1909. 20p.
- Eddy County, New Mexico. Home of the Carlsbad project of the National reclamation service and of the greatest artesian wells on earth. . . . Santa Fe, 1908. 48p.
- Eddy County, New Mexico. The most southeastern county in the territory. . . . An ideal agricultural, horticultural and stock country. (Santa Fe) J. S. Duncan, (1903?) 55p.
- Epitome of the economic geology of N. M. by Fayette A. Jones. Albuquerque. By Direction of the N. M. Bur. of Immigration, 1908. 47p.
- Facts and figures concerning New Mexico. . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1891. 20p.
- Farming by irrigation in New Mexico. n. p., 1897. 76p.
- Grant County, New Mexico. Rich in gold, silver, copper . . . and other minerals. Thousands of cattle on a thousand hills. Advanced, enterprising, prosperous . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1901. 40p. (Its Bulletin no. 9)
- Guadalupe County, New Mexico. Leads in sheep industry. . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1902. 24p. (Its Bulletin, no. 16)
- Ho! To the land of sunshine, comp. by Max Frost, Santa Fe, n. d. 42p.

- Ho! to the land of sunshine . . . comp. and written by Max Frost and Paul A. F. Walter; 2nd ed. Santa Fe, n. d. 446p. (200 illus.)
- Ho! to the land of sunshine . . . comp. and written by Max Frost and Paul A. F. Walter. Santa Fe, n. d. 46p.
- Ho! to the land of sunshine; a guide to New Mexico for the settler and the immigrant. The public lands and the laws under which they can be obtained—general information for the homeseeker. . . . Max Frost, secretary. 3d rev. ed. (Santa Fe) 1906. 51p.
- Ho! to the land of sunshine: a guide to New Mexico for the settler and the immigrant. The public lands and the laws under which they can be obtained. General information for the homeseeker; 5th rev. ed. Albuquerque, 1907. 54p.
- Ho! to the land of sunshine: a guide to New Mexico for the homeseeker. Public lands and the laws and regulations under which they can be obtained. General information for the settler and immigrant; 7th rev. ed. (Albuquerque?) 1907. 70p.
10th rev. ed. Albuquerque, 1909. 54p.
- Ho! To the land of sunshine; a homeseekers' guide to New Mexico; 12th ed. revised to March 1, 1911. 60p.
- How I cured myself of consumption in New Mexico, by Roscoe C. Bonney; edited by Max Frost. 25p.
- Illustrated New Mexico; Hon. William G. Ritch; 3d ed. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing and publishing co., 1883. 140p.
- Illustrated New Mexico, by Hon. William G. Ritch; 4th ed. Rev. and enl. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing and publishing co., 1883. 140p. with N. M. Ter. Official reports. Santa Fe, 1884.
- Illustrated New Mexico, historical and industrial, by Wm. G. Ritch . . . 5th ed. Rev. and enl. Santa Fe, Bureau of immigration, 1885. 234p.
- The land of sunshine, a handbook of the resources, products, industries and climate of New Mexico. Comp. and ed. by Max Frost and Paul A. F. Walter. Santa Fe, J. S. Duncan (1904) 299p.
- The land of sunshine; a handbook of the resources, products, industries and climate of New Mexico. Comp. and edited by Max Frost and Paul A. F. Walter. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1906. 445p. on cover: 2d ed.
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(To Be Continued)

Notes and Documents

The following letters are a continuation of the Reverend Ashley correspondence printed in the *REVIEW*, January, 1949:

Oct. 5, 1887

I have now entered by 72nd year. I have much to be thankful for. I retain all my senses almost as acute as ever, but soon tire. I do at times a little carpentering work, or painting around my house, but soon tire at it and am not so ready to take long journeys as I was; but I have to take one the last of this week. I shall have to be up on Saturday morning at 2:30 to take the railway to Carthage, a small mining town 96 miles, where there are many English and Scotch miners. I shall not reach there until 10:30, as I have to change roads on my way. That day I shall visit from house to house: and on Sunday preach twice. They have had no preaching for months. I leave there at 4 o'clock on Monday for San Antonio, where I shall have to wait three hours for a train and reach Solono at 8:30 P. M., here to make my way about Mission work etc. I shall leave Solono on Tuesday at 10/45 A. M. for Belen 47 miles, where I am superintending the building of a school house for Mexican children; stay there until noon the next day, then leave for Los Lunas 10 miles to see how the Mexican School is getting along with its new teacher, and leave there for home at 11:45 that night and get home about 12:45. That will end the trip. Our Schools in the Mexican villages are doing good work and we have openings for more than we have funds to support. The priests are bitter against them and it is hard work to get them started, but when we get the children interested, the priest cannot keep them away. It is trying work for the teachers, they cannot live as the Mexicans do on (Chili con Carne) mutton stewed in red pepper, and their bread is hoosed, so they have to teach and board themselves and have no agreeable society. My eldest daughter (Mrs. Rood) has taught 3 years at Los Lunas, she got at last so nervous she had to leave, greatly to the regret of children and people. . . .

Dec. 31, 1887

The first six days of this month, we had Mr. Hammond the revivalist here and since then we have had every day a morning and evening service, and apparently great good has been done, not so much in converting of sinners, as the quickening of all protestant Churches. It has been a saying that New Mexico was beyond the saving grace of God and indeed it has appeared as if it was, for it is the wickedest part of the U. S. A.

The native population with very few exceptions, are all Catholics and they may be guilty of the worst and vilest of sins, if only they pay

their Church dues and the priests are very little better than the people. Worse than many. Then those that come from elsewhere, a large part of them are the worst elements of society, so that there has been a depressing influence on the better ones and that has come as they have to meet and do business with all kinds. But we hope these meetings will have a lasting influence for good. I was obliged to leave here on the 23rd for Carthage. There I married a Scotch lad and lass on the 24th, preached on the 25th and attended and spoke at the Christmas Tree on the 26th, it being put off until that date on account of the wedding and I did not get back here until nearly 1 o'clock on the morning of the 28th and had to preach that evening. On our way up, near midnight an attempt was made to stop and rob our railway train. It was frustrated by the fireman knocking the leading robber off the train by a lump of coal and the engineer putting on steam. This frightened the others and they jumped from the train. We have a great many worthless creatures in this country, unwilling to work and when they are obliged to, they spend what they get on whiskey. No steady industrious man need to idle. There is work to do; next door to me live two men who have recently come from Canada and they both have steady work. It is the worthless only who are tramps here. Yet I am thankful that I came to this Country when my children were young, for they have a better education than they could have had in England and better opportunities and I feel no anxiety about them. Everyone wonders at my holding out so well, think I am only about 60, when I am in my 72nd year. . . .

Feb. 24, 1888

I am afraid you will have but few more letters of my travels. I do not have the ambition to travel, I once had. Last Sunday I got the Presbyterian Minister to go to Carthage 96 miles away to preach and I stayed and preached in his Church, morning and evening. It was a change for him and a rest for me.

As I cannot therefore give you an item of travel, I give you two extracts from the Quarterly report of one of our Missionaries amongst the Mexicans. They send their reports to me, that I may see how they are doing and I then send them with such remarks as I think good to our Home Missionary Society in New York City, as they trust me to look after their Mexican Mission work. I do not think it advisable to change their field, but have just made one, bringing one in from 75 miles W and placing him in Old Albuquerque, and sending one from Old Albuquerque to work out west. These two men are Mexicans, one from Old Mexico. They can speak English, but not enough to preach in it, and you would be amused if you saw some of their efforts to write in English; they put as we say sometimes, the cart before the horse, and use high sounding words that they pick out of the dictionary. They are good sincere Christians and do their best to enlighten their benighted fellow countrymen.

Besides the Mexican Missionaries, I have four schools and with five teachers in the Mexican Villages to look after. These teachers are all well educated ladies from the Eastern States. There are no Mexican women that can teach, not one in twenty can read and write.

We have had beautiful weather ever since Christmas until the last three days, and it has been on these days windy with light showers of rain in the Valley but the Mountains around us have on them several feet of snow and where the clouds lift and the sun shines on them, they are very beautiful to see. We have a Cockney here, so I see a London paper every week.

Extract—

As the mode of celebrating Christmas by the Mexican people is quite different from the people in the East, perhaps a little description of it may be quite interesting to you. For nine nights before Christmas, fires were built in front of most of the houses in town and each night a procession of women marched along the street, the leaders carrying an image which they call the Niños Dios (child God) and as they moved along sung a song about St. Mary asking lodging for her child. On Christmas Eve the procession composed mostly of women carrying lanterns, came up the street, the Niño Dios, lying in a cradle over which was an arch of artificial flowers. As the procession stopped in front of a house a woman came out carrying hot coals of fire on a shovel and knelt down in front of the idol and offered incense to it and then went back into the house; the procession then came up to the door chanting a hymn asking lodging for the Niño Dios, but from within came the response that the house was full and that there was no room for the child. They then proceeded to another house, where the same performance was gone through, until they came to one where they were admitted and the idol was placed on an altar prepared for it and then they all knelt down and worshipped the image. I went then to the Church, where another part of the people were singing praises to Joseph and Mary and the Child. About 10 o'clock a stalwart Mexican in full Commanche Indian dress entered and taking his bow and arrows from his back, threatened to shoot the image of the Child. Several persons told him not to shoot and one young lady knelt down in front of the image, while the leader of the singers explained to the Indian that the Child was the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and that the Angels and Archangels did him reverence. The Indian then kissed the image of the Child and left. I left soon after and had just got home, when I heard a great noise, and going out saw what seemed to be a number of Indians chasing a woman (our next door neighbor) and all of them followed her into the house, the woman had stolen the image from the house I mentioned first, and they had chased her to recover it, and recovering it they had a grand dance. The image was afterward taken back to the house from which it was stolen and then they danced again, I suppose for joy.

Extract 2

About two years ago, the wife of a young Mexican left him. His mother took an idol which she worshipped and hid it and said, she would not bring it out again until her son's wife returned. Perhaps the image did not like to be hid, for about two months since, the wayward wife returned to live with her husband again; then the mother-in-law brought the idol out of its hiding place, and danced through the street with it until she came to the house of an intimate friend, which she entered with the image; the people present then all knelt down with her and gave thanks to the image for bringing back the wayward wife.

Postscript to letter.

You have in these a specimen of the superstition and idolatry of the natives here and the priests keep them so. . . .

June 18, 1888

I do not remember which wrote last you or I, but as you like to hear of my travels, and I have been traveling some the last 3 months, I thought I would write for your entertainment. In March our Home Missionary Society appointed me as its general Missionary and acting superintendent of its Missions in the two territories of New Mexico and Arizona. Either one of them is larger than England, Scotland and Wales put together; so that I have under my care a vast amount of territory, but I am sorry to say not many Mission Stations. We cannot get good men for the work. I sometimes wish I could come to England and pick out a few.

I left here March 24th at 7 A. M. for Carthage 96 miles by railway, preached there twice on the 25th, then on Monday 26th left there about 1 P. M. for White Oaks 90 miles. We had a stage full of passengers. We first crossed a range of low Mountains, then came to a vast shady plain, called the journey of Death, because so many had perished on it for want of water. But 12 miles from Carthage a man has dug a well near 90 ft. deep and here we watered horses and took water ourselves. This was the first place where a human being lived. We had not got more than three miles from there, when it commenced snowing and when we got to the next house 32 miles from Carthage at 9 o'clock at night, the snow was 6 inches deep. At this place we took supply, changed horses and at 10 o'clock were away on our route. The snow and darkness hid everything around us and the driver must have been well acquainted with the road, or he would not have found his way over the Mountains and Lava beds. About 5 in the morning we reached the next stage station being about 7 hours going 30 miles. At that time it was blowing heavy gale and the snow blinding so we got breakfast and waited till 7 o'clock when there appeared a lull in the storm. We had not got more than 5 miles when it awoke again in all its fury. To make it worse, the track was covered with snow

so deep, it was impossible to see where to drive. Remember this is a wild country, where there are no regular roads, and often deep ruts it was so dangerous to get into. Into one of these ruts at last we sank and it did seem as though we should have to remain there until the storm was over, if we lived so long. The gale was furious, the snow blinding, and the cold intense and no house or help for many miles. This was at an altitude of about 8000 ft. above sea level, hence the cold. After about two hours hard work we at last got out of the rut and on our way, and at about 1 o'clock came to the first farm house. Here we had to stop and feed the horses, for they were about worn out. While waiting here the wind went down and the storm cleared off and it became pleasant overhead. The roads, however, were bad and the snowdrift heavy. We rested here until about 4 P. M. and then started for the rest of our journey, 12 miles, which we reached between 7 and 8 P. M. being thus 30 hours on our journey of 90 miles.

It was the hardest and roughest journey, I have ever had in my life. I had intended to start back on Thursday night the 29th. I preached on Wednesday night, but on account of fatigue and bad roads, waited until Monday April 2nd. I preached twice and addressed the Sunday School on Sunday and left for home at 7 A. M. on Monday. It was a very pleasant morning and the evidence of the storm was all gone except water and mud holes here and there. We rode along nicely, saw thousands of cattle grazing here and there, and the Mountain tops in different directions covered with snow which they had been all the winter. Near noon we came to the first stage station. Here we got our dinner and changed horses. Soon we came to a scene, which would have filled you with amazement. At some previous history of the world, a volcano had belched out a black stream of lava, which had flowed down the Valley 30 miles or more and was from two to five mile wide. As it had cooled it had broken up into thousands of fantastic shapes, with deep pits and hollows, with rough rugged edges, that neither man or beast could cross except in one place. There it was so rough that passengers generally preferred to walk the two miles across, rather than ride, for indeed it was dangerous for the stage in places. Having crossed this we had about 15 miles of plain, then came to the Oscuro (dark) Mountains, then it was a climb up and down, thro' narrow passages and steep places such as you in England could not conceive, that it was possible for a stage to go up or through. I must say that even with my experience in some places I was nervous. Well, at about 6 P. M. we reached the end of the days journey and stopped at a stage station, which was hid in the foothills of the Mountain, far from any other house. Here I took the opportunity of cutting some cacti for walking canes. I wish I had the opportunity of sending some to you, they would be a novelty. We stayed there until 7 o'clock the next morning, and for a miserable supper, bed and breakfast paid 6/.

When off, in a few miles we were clear of the Mountains and again upon the "journey of death." For about 12 miles not a living thing to be seen as far as the eye could reach except now and then a bird. We then came to the well 12 miles from Carthage, here after watering our horses and filling our water bottles, we leisurely continued our journey, reaching Carthage in time to take the railway train and reached home at 1 o'clock the next morning.

Except soreness and stiffness I did not seem the worse for the journey there, but I have felt its effects since.

April 8th I preached twice in Albuquerque; on the 15th led the Y. M. C. A. meeting at 4 p. m. and gave an address in its interest in the Presbyterian Church at 8 P. M. Then on the 16th, took the railway to Cubero 72 miles. Was met at the station by one of our Mexican preachers, who took me to the village 5 miles. Here, after enquiring into the progress of the work and ordering an additional room to be built to the Mission Houses, I was ready for the next morning. The next morning, the Mexican preacher taking me in his wagon, we started for San Rafael. For the first 12 miles the road (for natural roads, that is roads, the hand of man has never done anything to) was good. The weather was fine and the scenery all around grand. At the end of the 12 miles, we struck into the spurs of the Mountains and amongst the Lava beds called here Mal Pais (badland) and we were three and a half hours going 13 miles. It was so rough at times, it was pleasanter to walk than ride. At my journey's end I was very tired. The scenery was very attractive and at different places the shepards were attending to the lambing of the sheep, and the antics of the young lambs was often amusing. At the end of the journey we had a pleasant reception from our Missionary and Missionary teachers. They suffer a great deal of persecution from the wicked old Roman priest. We had to go to another house to sleep and the beds were so infested with bugs, that neither my Mexican brother or I got a wink of sleep all night, and in the morning was ill prepared for the 32 mile wagon road before me but had to take it. The first five miles was tolerably good, then 20 very good and at the end of that we expected to find water; but the springs were dry and we had to eat our lunch without drink. The rest of the road was tolerable except where we had to climb up one side of the spur of a Mountain and down the other. Two miles from our journey's end we called on a wealthy Mexican. He was busy attending to his lambing and shearing sheep. He has about 50,000 sheep. He told me that he lost 5,000 by the severity of last winter. The lowest part of his sheep range is over 7,000 ft. above sea level and the Mountains in it run over 12,000 ft., so the winters here are often severe and there are heavy falls of snow. Reaching the village, we made inquiry about the Mission and School work and some arrangements for the future, then had to preach to a full house, headaching for want of sleep the previous night and the fatigues of travel. I was not in fit condition to do it, cut therefore the sermon

short and gave my Mexican time to speak in Spanish. The next day rode 27 miles in the wagon to the railroad. Had to wait there 8 hours for the Cars, then 95 miles on them to Albuquerque, which we reached at 10 o'clock next morning. So ends the second journey.

The third was an uneventful one to Carthage and return 192 miles by railroad; preached there twice April 29th and returned home on the morning of May 1st. May 11th left for my fourth and last journey. Reached Los Lunas 21 miles by railroad at 8:30 A. M. Visited the School, teacher and some friends; left by next train for Belen 10 miles, enquired into School matters, ordered some improvements on the Schoolhouse and left at 8 o'clock next morning for Deming 31³ miles, which we reached at 4 P. M.—Addressed the Sunday School and preached twice at Deming on the 13th. Left on Monday at 3:30 P. M. for Benson 177 miles, reached at 10:30 P. M. Paid here 4/. English for night lodging and 2/. for a very poor breakfast. I then left for Tucson, Arizona 53 miles. Got to our Missionaries, where I got good entertainment. This place is near the borders of old Mexico, one of the oldest places in the United States; about half the population are Mexicans. Preached on Wednesday night and attended a Chinese singing School. They sang gospel hymns, some in Chinese, some in English, and seemed to enjoy it. There were about 15 Chinamen present. Left on Thursday night for Deming, which I reached on Friday morning. It was a hard night's ride, could not get any sleep at all. On the 19th I attended a Sunday School picnic at Deming, addressed the Sunday School and preached there twice on the 20th. I left on Monday 21st at noon for Socorro, on my way home, which I reached at 8 P. M. and then home the next day. On this trip I traveled over 900 miles by railroad. The scenery was not so grand as that described in my previous trips so I have not tried to describe it. In the two months taken for these journeys, I have traveled 1264 miles by railroad, and 270 by stage and wagon. I preached 17 times, gave three Sunday School addresses and attended 8 prayer meetings. This was too hard work for an old man nearly 72 years of age and I have come home worn out. My zeal has outrun my discretion and I have been confined to the house and part of the time in bed, for over 3 weeks. But, I am getting better, but knowing that while I was under commission from the Missionary Society, I should be tempted to enter on other journeys, I have sent in my resignation and intend to try and take it easier the rest of my life.

I therefore consider these journeys will end my travels, so I have given you a full account of them, as I am not likely to have any more such to give you. This is a long letter and I have taken several days to write it and written a piece at a time, as I have been able to sit up to do it.

I have no disease on me, only broken down with travel, exposure

3. Deming is closer to 200 miles from Belen.

and cold. The Doctor thinks that with care, I should gather strength and be good for years to come. But let the Master call me when He may, I trust I shall be found ready. I cannot say that death has any terrors for me, for I have hope beyond the grave. I have nothing to boast of in my 54 years service. I might have been more faithful and true, but I know He will not leave me in my old age. Altho we are not likely to see each other in the flesh, I hope to meet with you and the rest upon the Shining Shore.

Dec. 7th, 1888

I was very sick after I wrote you in June. . . . As you are interested in my travels I will try to describe my journey to Colorado and back. Leaving here at 1:40 A. M. July 11th we reached the Glorieta Divide of the Rocky Mountains at 5:30, altitude 7,537 ft., a deep valley on our left and the Mountains rising several thousand feet higher on our right. Through the valley runs the Pecos River and by it about 20 miles further on, and about 5 from the railroad is the ruins of what is believed to be the oldest Church in America, built nearly 400 years ago. Tradition says that the Pueblo Indians came to this place from the Great Salt Lakes led by Montezuma, he riding on the back of an Eagle. Here the first Spanish explorers found them and compelled them at the point of the sword to be Baptized and to build the church. A tragic scene enacted some time after, a few miles further on, on a high isolated Mountain top. Some Spaniards fled to the top from a band of Indians. The Indians surrounded the Mountain and kept them there, until they starved to death, and this is pointed out to the passengers on the railroad, as Starvation Point.

At 9 A. M. we reached Las Vegas 132 miles from Albuquerque. Here my son Walter's wife met me, with a well filled lunch basket (he had gone on before me to Colorado) for I could not stop off. From Glorieta to Las Vegas we had a down grade of over 1000 ft. and the grade continued to 5,839 ft. Then we began to ascend the Raton Mountains, crossed the line 261 miles from Albuquerque into Colorado, passed through a tunnel into Raton Pass at an altitude of 7,861 ft. Then we descended 1827 ft. in about 20 miles reaching Trinidad at 3:40 P. M. I was by this time so worn out, that I had to leave the train for a rest, which I did until 8 P. M. I then took the Denver and Rio Grande narrow gauge railroad for Denver 251 miles, reaching there at 7:45 the morning of the 12th. This was an all night ride and a miserable one. The coaches were narrow and uncomfortable and full of passengers and I made up my mind I would not return by that railroad.

At 8 A. M. I took the railroad to Golden, 18 miles and there found my daughter waiting for me with carriage and two horses and soon we were on the road to her home 11 miles, reaching there in time for dinner. The scenery was grand the whole way from Albuquerque to Trinidad. The rest of the journey being by night I did not see, but I

am told by those who have travelled over it in the day time, that it is very grand. I came back to Trinidad by another road by night so cannot well describe that country. West of Trinidad are the Spanish Peaks, 3 Mountains over 13,000 ft. high, and other Mountains may be seen from there.

My daughter's home is in the lower Mountains. Where she met me was only 5 miles over the Mountain to her home, but we had to go around the Mountain 11 miles to get there. She had come alone to meet me and it needed an expert driver, to drive on the narrow Mountain road in places, but she was equal to the task. They have a good farm of 160 acres, two mules and two horses to do the work, 6 cows, calf, pigs. The hawks sometimes come after the chickens, then if her husband is not at home, she takes the gun and can shoot them on the wing. I could go to the top of the Mountain, back of their house and see in July snow on the high Mountains beyond and such deep valleys and rocks that you can form no conception of. I enclose you some views of Colorado. My health at present is remarkably good, and it appears as if I was good for some time to come, but I tire out sooner than I used to do and my hearing is not quite so good. . . .

Nov. 3rd, 1889

In some respects this year has been an eventful one to me. Mr. Glaister, my youngest daughter's husband, died in January, and after taking him to Michigan to be buried there in the family vault, she came to live with me, as she rented the farm she owns, for two years. Her trouble with her mother's sickness and death and then her husband's seriously impaired her health, but rest and change has greatly improved it. She has the use of one house on the farm and the 1st of July we went to it, and soon my eldest daughter and my second daughter and her husband and child met us there and we spent several weeks together and had a very pleasant time.

While there I received one of your letters, forwarded to me from here, and I was under the impression I answered it, but I may not have done so, for we were 10 miles from a post office and often neglected to write until we had an opportunity to send it. Some times when we had the opportunity, we had not the letter written and not time to write one. The farm is about 540 miles by railroad from here; 20 from Denver in the State of Colorado. It lies about 7,000 ft. above sea level and is surrounded by Mountains. The scenery all around is very fine and it is much cooler there in the summer than it is here. There are large tall pine trees near the house, and it was pleasant in the middle of the day to go and rest in their shade. With two horses and carriage we could often take a pleasant ride. There is a nice little Church about a mile from the house built by the people in the neighborhood, not belonging to any denomination, for there are not enough members of one denomination to sustain it. I preached in it nine Sundays out of the thirteen we were there. A severe thunderstorm

with rain prevented my doing it one Sunday, and the last Sunday I did not expect to be there so they sent for another preacher.

My daughter and I returned here September 20th. Whether we shall remain here any length of time we do not know. . . . Was with son Walter who was principal of the Academy at Las Vegas, New Mexico, for nine years, building it up from nothing to the finest educational institution in New Mexico. He resigned last July to re-enter the Ministry. He is now pastor of the Congregational Church at Shelbourne Falls, Massachusetts, not far from the Atlantic Shore; so it would not surprise me, if he remains there, if some summer he takes a trip over to England to see you. All the rest of my family are well. . . .

Our Church here is building a very fine House of Worship for this Country and it is going to try them greatly to pay for it. . . .

(The End)

Single copies of the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. II, No. 1, are now available, and can be secured from Mr. Albert G. Ely, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

The *Farmington Times Hustler* for February 11, 1949, carries a brief story on the history of the Navajo Methodist Mission, located at Hogback (Jewett), New Mexico.

Book Reviews

The Exchange Media of Colonial Mexico. Wilbur T. Meek, New York, King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1948. Pp. 114. \$2.50.

The great significance in general economic theory imputed during the last two decades to monetary and related factors, and the dominant influence in economic fluctuations now attributed to monetary and fiscal policy, naturally has directed economic historians to detailed appraisals of price trends, credit policy, and other monetary and fiscal relations of the past. Mr. Wilbur T. Meek indicates that he intended to make "a comprehensive monetary and economic interpretation of New Spain" when he undertook research upon which he based his study, *The Exchange Media of Colonial Mexico*. The climate of ideas within which men of authority in New Spain viewed their environment, however, was markedly different from our own. Their reports and letters apparently refer only casually to price trends, wage rates, and other relations which modern analysts consider fundamental to an understanding of economic and social developments. Mr. Meek concluded, obviously after painstaking review of many original sources, that "no statistics dealing with the economy of the colony as a whole (were) adequate" to fulfil his original purpose.

Instead, he has provided a detailed description of the various exchange media used in the Spanish-American colonies, along with some discussion of the comparative values of these media, and changes in their functions which accompanied the growth of the colonies. Chapter I, "The Colonial Policy of Spain," describes the colonial administrative units and their functions. Chapters II through VII describe "Native Media of Exchange," "Money Media from the Conquest to the Establishment of the Mint," "The Mexico City Mint," "Spanish Silver Coinage in New Spain," "Spanish Gold and Copper Coinage in New Spain," and "Other Media of Exchange." These chapters reflect laborious review of original

source materials. Their detail constitutes the principal contribution of the study. The short concluding Chapter VIII, "An Appraisal," is commented on hereafter.

I am not a student of the history of the Spanish-American colonies, but on the basis of limited acquaintance with sources in English, I believe the central descriptive chapters of Mr. Meek's study contribute significantly by filling in details concerning media of exchange used in New Spain. There are, however, several deficiencies in analysis and presentation in these chapters. The relative importance of the different exchange media and the areas of New Spain in which they were used are not made clear. The chronology of their use also is indefinite. Trends of prices, variations in quantities of exchange media, and effects of these upon the economy of the colony are not considered adequately. Here, perhaps, sources are too sketchy to permit definitive statistical statements, but generalizations might appropriately have been made. In addition, inadequacies in tabular headings and occasional difficulties in prose structure impair the text.

A more important criticism is that the opportunities of the study are not fully exploited. I believe a cogent interpretation of the interrelations of monetary policy and economic trends in New Spain could have been constructed from the materials which Mr. Meek incorporates in his study, despite their inadequacies. Interrelation of the discussion in Chapter I concerning the administrative procedures in New Spain with the comments elsewhere in the study concerning management of the exchange media, would have established more clearly that the monetary chaos in the colony arose largely from uncertain delegation of powers and from incompetence of administrators. A full appraisal of the relations between New Spain and the mother country, between the policy of the Crown and monetary disorder in the colony, and between monetary conditions and general economic developments would seem to have been feasible and undoubtedly highly profitable, although conclusions necessarily would have been qualified, and perhaps tentative. Chapter VIII, "An Appraisal," performs these functions in part, but much

too briefly, barely sketching the dominant influences and relations in the economy of the colony.

Mr. Meek has, of course, anticipated this criticism. His introduction points out, as I have said, that deficiencies in sources prevented comprehensive appraisal of the colony's monetary and related economic functions. But this seems to me an insufficient excuse. The economic historian discovers almost invariably that available sources do not provide exact data upon which a complete appraisal can be based. His problem, therefore, is to synthesize available information and construct a pattern of relations from which the complex story of the past can be generalized. Mr. Meek has not succeeded in this broad purpose. He has, however, presented information which will assist others in doing so. That itself is a commendable contribution.

Southern Methodist University

RICHARD B. JOHNSON

Footprints on the Frontier: A History of the Sisters of Saint Joseph (Concordia, Kansas). Sister M. Evangeline Thomas, C.S.J. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1948. Pp. xiv, 400. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography and index. \$5.00.

In this study Sister M. Evangeline, of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, Concordia, Kansas, presents for the first time an integrated account of the "pioneering effort on the part of five Religious Sisters of the Congregation of Saint Joseph to extend the frontiers of the Kingdom of Christ from New York State into what at the time was the hinterland of Kansas." It is the story of the building and the growth of only one Motherhouse of the Sisters of Saint Joseph and represents only a portion of the history of this Congregation of nearly fifteen thousand members.

Sister Evangeline interprets the term *frontier* of the Turnerian thesis in its broadest sense—as a challenge. Pointing out that the religious phase of the frontier thesis has been neglected, she endeavours to seek out the influences of religion on the frontier and the influence of the frontier

on religion. She does this with creditable success and has produced a volume of merit which could well serve as a model for the study of other religious congregations.

At the conclusion of the preface the author writes: "There will be much attention given, therefore, to historical background and little to the anecdotal and the emotional in this work." However, she places her characters, including the founder of the Congregation, J. P. Medaille, S.J., in Chapter I in front of the richest tapestry of history—that period extending from the religious wars following the Reformation to the end of the French Revolution, a period rich in anecdote and overwhelmingly emotional.

The contents of the book belie the author's statement mentioned above, for in numerous passages in the book there is marked evidence of curious incidents, fragments of interest, brief, detached facts intermingled with the fears, loves, hopes, worries, disappointments and intrigues. All this, when woven together into *Footprints on the Frontier*, produces not only a historical study of this particular Mother-house of the Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph, but also a warm and vital study of courageous women on the frontier.

This book, outstanding in scholarly approach and documentary evidence, is quite different from Sister Blandina's, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail*, which, in relating purely human and personal experiences, might also be used as a model in religious orders. To the layman, Sister Evangeline's volume opens new vistas for understanding the challenges which confronted the religious in an unsettled country and the manner in which these challenges were met and conquered.

The book consists of thirteen chapters, organized in two general divisions. Part I consists of chapters on the European and French background, the Mississippi Valley in the early nineteenth century, and Western New York, with specific references to the cities of Canandaigua, Buffalo, and Rochester, New York. The chapters of Part II treat primarily the Administrations of Reverend Mothers Stanislaus Leary, Antoinette Cuff, Mary Rose Waller, and Mary Chry-

sostom Wynn in Kansas in the late nineteenth century and up to the present day. It also includes an excellent chapter on the problems and efforts in securing Papal Approbation.

Sister Evangeline bases her account on manuscript sources, diligently pursued in diocesan archives and in those of the various motherhouses, and on numerous newspapers, books, articles and interviews. The highest standard of scholarship is maintained throughout the book, which is carefully edited, illustrated, and published in an attractive form.

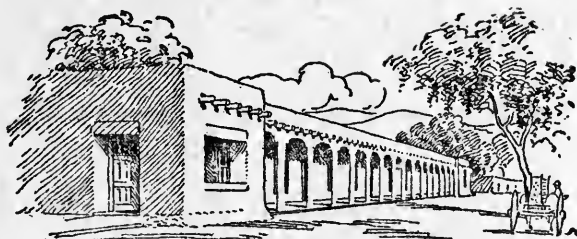
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SPANISH-AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE IN THE GREAT BASIN, 1800-1853

By LELAND HARGRAVE CREER *

GOLD, glory, gospel—the three G's—these were the objectives that lured the Spanish conquistadors across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World beyond. They came at the close of the fifteenth century, more than a hundred years before their English, French and Dutch rivals. By 1600, more than 250,000 Spaniards were in possession of Central America, the West Indies, two-thirds of Mexico and a goodly portion of South America. Beyond Mexico stretched the fabulous Northern Mystery, whither went hundreds of Spanish explorers, chief among whom were De Soto, Cabeza de Vaca, Narvaez, Ponce de León, Coronado, Espejo, Férrelo, Cabrillo and Vizcaino, to mention only a few. They were looking for a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow which, according to Indian legend, was to be found at the Chicora Villages, home of the giant king Datha, or at the fabulous Gran Quivira. They were also searching for the mythical Strait of Anián, a legendary waterway, flowing from east to west, which was supposed to separate the North American Continent, thus affording a shorter and more expeditious route to India.

But the vast wastelands to the North yielded neither gold nor strait and the disappointed Spaniards turned their attention from this area and directed their interests thenceforth almost exclusively to the fabulous treasure houses of Mexico and Peru. And only when their foreign rivals threatened to

* Professor of History, University of Utah.

invade these regions and thus challenge the security of the Spanish claim, did Spain retaliate by occupying the Borderlands as defensive outposts. Thus when the French under Ribaut and Laudonierre attempted to found a Huguenot colony on St. John's River in northern Florida, the Spaniards under Menendez retaliated by founding St. Augustine (1565); when Robert de La Salle projected a Gulf colony at La Bahía, near Galveston, Texas, the excited Spanish officials sent Alonzo de León, Domingo Ramón and the Marquis de Aguayo into far eastern Texas to Los Adaes (1716-1722); when the Spaniard Marino falsely reported that Sir Francis Drake, the great English buccaneer, had discovered the Strait of Anián and had already returned to England by entering that waterway and sailing eastward, Oñate met what appeared to be a real English threat by leading a band of colonists into New Mexico (1598); finally, when the Russians dispatched a number of expeditions down the Pacific Coast in the interests of furs, José de Gálvez, Visitador-General of New Spain, with the king's consent, sent Portolá, governor of Baja California, northward to occupy Alta California, particularly that area about the long-sought-for Bay of Monterey (1769). Thus the sole purpose of Spanish occupancy within the present limits of the United States was defense and the sole result of the Spanish efforts, before the winning of American independence in 1776, was the successful founding and holding of five strategic provinces as defensive outposts—St. Augustine (Florida); Los Adaes and San Antonio (Texas); Santa Fe (New Mexico); Pimeria Alta, south of the Gila River (Arizona); and San Diego and Monterey (California).

Of all these frontiers, California proved to be the most difficult to occupy. It was the most isolated of all the provinces. Great distances separated it from the Mexican frontier. There was no adequate supply route. The direct water route from San Blas was altogether too precarious and the overland route from Baja California was unsatisfactory. To obviate this difficulty, Juan Baptista Anza had opened up a trail directly westward from Tubac on the Sonora border, but this proved even more unsatisfactory than the

other two, principally because of the Apache menace, and within a few years it was discontinued. In 1775, one of Anza's guides, Father Francisco Garcés, attempted to find a better route to Monterey by crossing the country to the south and west of Santa Fe. Going along the Mojave River and through Cajon Pass, he was the first white man to traverse the route through San Joaquin Valley now followed by the Santa Fe Railroad. But the Garcés route proved too long and difficult to compete in usefulness with the Baja California, or even the Anza route, and it was soon discarded.

In 1776, the government of New Spain projected a new expedition in an attempt to find a better route to Monterey. This time an effort was made to discover a route to the north and west of Santa Fe. The expedition was entrusted to two friars, Fathers Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Francisco Atanacio Dominguez. The party, ten in number, left Santa Fe July 29, and after following a circuitous route of approximately eighteen hundred miles through western Colorado, central Utah and northern Arizona, returned to the New Mexican capital on January 2, 1777, without having accomplished its major objective.

Moreover, Spanish officials did nothing to follow up the work of the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition with further efforts to open up a route from Santa Fe to Monterey. Nor did they attempt to establish missions among the Yutah Indians as Escalante had promised the natives he would do. Instead, the government's attention was diverted to complicated European problems, occasioned by the outbreak of the war of American Independence and soon thereafter by the costly French Revolution. It was necessary also, because of complications and involvements with Russia, England, France and the United States, to devote more attention to the important provinces of Texas, Louisiana, Florida and California, for upon the successful defense of these depended the very safety of the Spanish Empire in North America.

But while the government did nothing officially in the interests of the Great Basin after 1776, it was not so with the Spanish traders who knew nothing and were little concerned with international affairs. These unscrupulous

individuals were concerned not primarily with the fur trade but with the inhumane traffic in Indian children, for which they exchanged fire-arms, intoxicating liquors, and California horses. Such trade continued uninterruptedly, although very little documentary evidence until 1805 appears to confirm this assumption. An important letter dated September 1, 1805, written by Joaquín de Real Alencaster, Governor of New Mexico, to the Commandant-General, refers to the trading activities of Manuel Mestas among the Yutahs. It seems that Mestas, spoken of as an interpreter of fifty years experience, had set out for the purpose of recovering horses stolen from the Spaniards by the Comanches and retaken by the Yutahs. A second letter dated November 20, 1805, corroborates this fact and definitely mentions the Timpanogos region as the area visited. These communications suggest more or less continual intercourse between the Spaniards of New Mexico and the Yutahs of the Utah Lake region.¹

Further mention of Spanish traders enroute to Los Angeles, California, from Santa Fe, New Mexico, by way of the Great Basin, is made by David Coyner, western newspaper correspondent, in his book, *The Lost Trappers*. According to Coyner, two English trappers, James Workman and Samuel Spencer, with eighteen others, left St. Louis in the spring of 1807 under the leadership of Ezekiel Williams. They were attacked by the Indians on the Arkansas River: Williams escaped and subsequently reached St. Louis; Workman and Spencer descended the Colorado River in the summer of 1809; all others were killed. *Near Moab, the two lost trappers met with a Spanish caravan, enroute from Santa Fe to Los Angeles over the Old Spanish Trail.*² Says Coyner:

The caravan was going towards Pueblo de los Angeles, a town in Upper California, near the coast of the Pacific, in which region of country they expected to be engaged in trading until the following

1. See Hill, Joseph J., "Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1853," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, III, No. 1, January, 1930, pp. 16-17. The original letters are found in Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II, 478, 487, Nos. 1881 and 1925; photostat copies are filed in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

2. The Old Spanish Trail, according to Hill, before 1830, led to the Great Basin only. "It was developed as a result of the Spanish trade with the Yutahs. . . . It was not until the winter of 1830-31, when Wolfskill led a party to California by this north-

spring, when they expected to return to Santa Fe with horses and mules. Part of the company were men who lived in Upper California, but they had accompanied a caravan the last spring to Santa Fe, and were not returning home. Workman and Spencer determined to join the company and go to California, where they would spend the approaching winter, and in the spring return with them to New Mexico, whence they hoped some opportunity would present itself of getting back to the United States. They were therefore regularly taken into the service of the company, which was under the direction of a captain, and furnished with mules and articles as they needed.³

More significant is the account of an expedition to Utah Lake and southward in 1813. In this year seven men under the command of Mauricio Arze and Lagos García penetrated the very heart of the Great Basin. They were gone four months, leaving Abiquíu on March 16 and returning on July 12. The account gives no particulars as to the route followed. On September 1, the Governor of New Mexico, having received information regarding the affair, ordered the members of the party to appear before Manuel Garcia, Alcalde of the *Villa de Santa Cruz de la Canada*, and file notarized accounts concerning details of the trip. "In the main," says Hill, who claims to have discovered this document filed with the Alcalde, and which is now in the Spanish Archives at Santa Fe,⁴ "these affidavits duplicate each other, with only here and there a unique detail." The company remained at the lake of the Timpanogos three days carrying on a little trade while waiting for the Indians of two rancherías to come together. When all were assembled a council was held, but, if we may rely upon the statement of the Spaniards in

ern trail, that the Old Spanish Trail was thought of as extending to California. But Wolfskill was an American and he led an American expedition. The misnomer, however, was of perfectly normal development. Parties going to California by this northern route set out from New Mexico along the Old Spanish Trail to the Great Basin, and so it was perfectly natural to speak of their having gone to California by way of the Old Spanish Trail. The term, therefore, soon became applied not only to the trail leading to the Great Basin but also to the branch of that trail leading to California." *Ibid.*, p. 3. The reference, however, to Workman and Spencer traversing the trail, all the way to California, seems to imply that Spanish caravans were regularly travelling this route by 1807. The Great Basin, of course, was a part of Alta California.

3. Coyner, David, *The Lost Trappers, passim*; extracts quoted by Alter, J. Cecil, *Utah: The Storied Domain*, I, 10-11.

4. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives* . . . II, 577, No. 2511; photostat copy in the Bancroft Library, University of California.

their affidavits *the Indians would trade nothing but Indian slaves, as "they had done on other occasions."* At this rebuff, the report says, the Indians began killing the horses of the Spaniards. After eight horses and a mule had been killed, the chief succeeded in quieting them. "Warned by this injury," continues Hill, "the Spaniards collected their remaining horses and, after standing guard over them all night, set out on the following day for Rio Sebero (Sevier River)." Here among the Bearded Indians whom Escalante earlier had encountered, they were greeted with the same hostile reception. One evening, "the Spaniards overheard the Indians discussing a plan by which they proposed to kill their visitors." Taking advantage of this information, the traders foiled the redskins by stealing away southward to the Colorado. Here again they met with the same kind of treatment.

This time, however, the commandant, having been informed of the extremity of the resentment of the Indians, called his men together and *gave them permission to purchase the slaves, "in order . . . not to receive another injury like the first one."* As a result of this decision, *twelve slaves were bought*, after which, the Spaniards continued their journey with no other incident worthy of note except the loss of a mule and a horse by drowning in crossing the Colorado. . . . Besides the slaves mentioned above, the Spaniards collected on their trip a total of one hundred and nine pelts. This, however, was stated to be "but a few." None of the statements tell what kind they were. And, concludes Hill: That the country over which the company had traveled was fairly well known seems to be implied from the fact that nothing to the contrary is stated and that no difficulties regarding the route are mentioned. The only place where they speak of having had a guide was from the Rio Sebero to the Bearded Indians. Two members of the party, however, understood the language of these Indians sufficiently well to be referred to as interpreters. These Indians, it was stated, were unknown to the traders, which seems to imply that the traders were at least somewhat acquainted with the others whom they visited.⁵

The Old Spanish Trail became the established route of the Spanish slave trader. Before 1830, the name was applied to the route which led from Santa Fe to the Great Basin only,

5. Hill, "Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1853," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, III, No. 1, January, 1930, pp. 17-19; see also Snow, William J., "Utah Indians and the Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, II, No. 3, 68-69.

Some lines in quotations used in this paper are italicized by the author.

but after that date when the California trade became increasingly popular the Old Spanish Trail was thought of as the established route of trade between Santa Fe and Los Angeles by way of the Great Basin.⁶ The Trail entered Utah near Moab. After crossing the Green River near the modern town of Green River, it extended through Emery County and over the Wasatch Mountains through Salina Canyon to Sevier Valley. Thence it proceeded southward through Marysvale Canyon to the modern town of Spry, where it diverted westward, crossing over the mountains to Paragoonah by way of Bear Valley. From Paragoonah it proceeded southwestwardly by way of the modern towns of Parowan and Cedar City, through the Mountain Meadows to the Santa Clara River. From this point in extreme southwestern Utah the Trail continued southwestwardly to Las Vegas, Nevada, and thence to San Gabriel Mission and the Pueblo of Los Angeles.⁷ It is important to note that the trade was confined mainly to the Indians of the southern part of the state, and chiefly to those of Sevier Valley, a favorite rendezvous of the redskins and the point where the Old Spanish Trail emerged into the valley at Salina. Only occasionally did a caravan divert northward and visit the Indians of the Timpanogos or Utah Lake region. The Arze-Garcia Expedition, already noted above, is a case in point.

In 1830, an American by name of William Wolfskill led a band of trappers over the Old Spanish Trail to California. The party suffered many hardships in Castle and Sevier Valleys, but finally emerged into beautiful Utah Dixieland, which they, through their chroniclers George C. Yount and Orange Clark, enthusiastically describe. Since this is the earliest detailed description of the Indians of the southern part of the State, particularly those of the Pahvant and Sevier valleys,⁸ both traversed by the Old Spanish Trail, and

6. *Supra*, footnote 2.

7. Not all travellers California bound over the Old Spanish Trail crossed the mountains by way of Bear Valley west of Spry. No doubt some crossed through Clear Creek Canyon, the route followed by Jedediah S. Smith in 1826, others by a route still farther south. It is more accurate to say that the route west from Spry to Paragoonah by way of Bear Valley was the most travelled one.

8. The first description of any of the Indians who inhabited Utah of which we have any knowledge is that contained in the journal of Father Escalante. However,

since the aborigines of these areas constituted the tribes with whom the Spaniards plied their inhumane traffic in slaves, a portion of the illuminating report of the chroniclers is deemed important enough to insert in this narrative. After crossing the Green River, the trappers shaped their course in a southwest direction to a place then known as St. Joseph's Valley (perhaps the modern Castle Valley), which they found "to be the most desolate and forlorn dell in the world. Everything about it was repulsive and supremely awful. Unanimously they resolved to abandon so dreary a region and rather than sojourn there, forego the acquisition of any benefit in the world."⁹ Two days march, however, brought them to a place entirely the reverse of it, to which they gave the name of Pleasant Valley (Sevier).

Describing the Indians of Sevier Valley, Clark says:

These people are an anomaly—apparently the lowest species of humanity, approaching the monkey. Nothing but their straight form entitles them to the name of man. They had not a hatchet, or any instrument to cut or perforate the softest wood. One discovery they had made, or had learned it from the more intelligent savage,—they would get fire by rubbing together pieces of hard wood, but it was a long and tedious process. They have but few words and communicate chiefly by signs. They live in little clans scattered over a great extent of country. A traveller who has been among them within a few months informs us that they have now become the most adroit thieves in the world. Their food consists of occasionally a rabbit, with roots and mice, grasshoppers and insects such as flies, spiders and worms of every kind. Where nuts exist, they gather them for food. They also luxuriate and grow fat when they find a patch of clover. On many kinds of grass, they feed like cattle. They love to be covered with lice because they appropriate these for food.¹⁰

That the traffic in Indian slaves was no uncommon or isolated phenomenon along the Old Spanish Trail is attested by various authorities and accredited instances. Uncle Dick Wootton, an old frontiersman of the early nineteenth century, makes this comment: "It was no uncommon thing in

Escalante was more interested in the Indians of the Timpanogos Lake region, far off the route of the Old Spanish Trail.

9. Alter, *Utah: the Storied Domain*, I, 23-24.

10. *Idem*. Alter in turn cites the *California Historical Quarterly*, II, No. 1, April, 1923.

those days (decade of the 30's) to see a party of Mexicans in that country (Great Basin) buying children and while we were trapping there I sent a lot of peltries to Taos by a party of those same slave traders."

Thomas J. Farnum, noted western traveller who visited the territory of southern Utah in 1839, describes the Indians of this area and notes the trading activities of the Spaniards among them. The following citation appears in his illuminating book, published in London, 1843:

Between this river and the Great Salt Lake, there is a stream called Severe River, which rises in the high plateaux to the southeast of the lake, and running some considerable distance in a westerly course, terminates in its own lakes. On the banks of this river there is said to be some vegetation, as grasses, trees, and edible roots. Here live the "Piutes" and "Land Pitches," the most degraded and least intellectual Indians known to the trappers. They wear no clothing of any description—build no shelters. They eat roots, lizards, and snails. Their persons are more disgusting than those of the Hottentots. They provide nothing for future wants. . . . *These poor creatures are hunted in the spring of the year, when weak and helpless, by a certain class of men, and when taken, are fattened, carried to Santa Fé and sold as slaves during their minority.* "A likely girl" in her teens brings oftentimes £60 or £80. The males are valued less.¹²

Similar incidents are recorded by the noted Indian scout and interpreter, Daniel W. Jones. Writing in 1851, he says:

Thus we find that the people of New Mexico . . . were making annual trips, commencing with a few goods, trading on their way with either Navajoes or Utes (generally with the Navajoes) for horses, which they sold very cheap, always retaining their best ones. *These used-up horses were brought through and traded to the poorer Indians for children.* . . . This trading was continued into Lower California, where the children bought on the down trip would be traded to the Mexican-Californians for other horses, goods or cash. . . . All children bought on the return trip would be taken back to New Mexico and then sold, boys fetching on an average \$100, girls from \$150 to \$200. . . . This slave trade gave rise to the cruel wars between the native tribes of this country, from Salt Lake down to the tribes in southern Utah. Walker and his band raided on the weak tribes, taking their children

11. Conrad, Howard Lewis, *Uncle Dick Wootton, the Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountains*, 75ff.

12. Farnum, Thomas Jefferson, "Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Country," in Thwaites, Reuben Gold, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1848*, XXVIII, 248-249.

prisoners and selling them to the Mexicans. Many of the lower classes, inhabiting the southern deserts, would sell their own children for a horse and kill and eat the horse. The Mexicans were as fully established and systematic in this trade as ever were the slavers on the seas and to them it was a very lucrative business.¹³

William J. Snow cites the journal of James G. Bleak as further evidence regarding this shameful traffic conducted by Spaniards. Mr. Bleak, sent as a Mormon missionary to labor among the Indians of southern Utah in 1854, writes:

The first day they (the missionaries) camped on the present site of Toquerville, and had an interview with the Indian chief, Toquer, they found the band very friendly. The following day the missionaries continued their journey south and camped on the Rio Virgin, opposite the present site of Washington. Here they found another camp of Indians. They were very timid. The women and children secreted themselves in the brush while the men approached the newcomers in a very cautious, hesitating manner, trembling as they shook hands with the whites. The cause of their fear it was found arose from the fact that bands of Utes and Mexicans had repeatedly made raids upon them and had taken their children to California and Mexico and sold them for slaves.¹⁴

It is interesting to note from the above testimony, that this nefarious traffic in human beings was not confined solely to the Spaniards or Mexicans, but was conducted by the different tribes of Indians themselves, the stronger tribes preying on the weaker and, if we believe the testimony of Jones, that even the celebrated chief Walker was a leader in this sordid affair. Even an occasional American trapper was sometimes known to engage in this trade. This conclusion is verified by reference to a second quotation from Farnum, who quotes his friend Dr. Lyman of Buffalo, who travelled over the Old Spanish Trail in 1841 and who observed: "The New Mexicans capture the Piutes for slaves; the neighboring Indians do the same; *and even the bold and usually high handed old beaver hunter sometimes descends from his legiti-*

13. Jones, Daniel W., *Forty Years Among the Indians*, 49-50. A small party of slave traders were encountered at Parowan, notice of which appears in the *Deseret News*, December 13, 1851.

14. Bleak, *Journal History of Dixie*, 20. (typewritten MS. in the Brigham Young University Library); cited by Snow, William J., "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, II, July, 1929, No. 3, p. 70.

mate labor among the mountain streams to this mean traffic."¹⁵

The Mormons became aware of this trade as soon as they entered the valley. Bancroft records:

During the winter of 1847-48, some Indian children were brought to the [old Salt Lake] fort to be sold. At first two were offered, but the settlers peremptorily refused to buy them. The Indian in charge said that the children were captured in war, and would be killed at sunset if the white men did not buy them. Thereupon they purchased one of them, and the one not sold was shot. Later, several Indians came in with two more children, using the same threat; they were bought and brought up at the expense of the settlers."¹⁶

Peter Gottfredson adds:

"Soon after the Mormons arrived in the valley, a number of Indians were encamped at Hot Springs, north of Salt Lake City. A little girl whom they had stolen from another tribe was offered for a rifle. The colonists at first refused to buy, whereupon the Indians began to torture her, declaring that they would kill her unless the rifle was forthcoming. In the face of this cruelty and threat, one of the men parted with his only gun."¹⁷

A few years later, about 1853, the noted Mormon scout and interpreter Daniel Jones was an eye-witness to the following incident which occurred near Provo, Utah:

They (Walker's band) were in the habit of raiding on the Pahutes and low tribes, taking their children prisoners and selling them. Next year when they came up and camped on the Provo bench, they had some Indian children for sale. They offered them to the Mormons who declined buying. Arapine, Walker's brother, became enraged saying that the Mormons had stopped the Mexicans from buying these children; that they had no right to do so, unless they bought them themselves. Several of us were present when he took one of these children by the

15. Farnum, Thomas Jefferson, *Life, Adventures, and Travels in California*, 312, 371, 390. On August 16, 1844, John Charles Fremont enroute to the east from California met a band of Utah Indians headed by Chief Walker. "They were journeying slowly towards the Spanish Trail to levy their annual tribute upon the Great California caravan. They were robbers of a higher order than those of the desert. They conducted their depredations with form, and under the color of trade and toll for passing through their country. Instead of attacking and killing, they affect to purchase, taking horses they like and giving something nominal in return." See Fremont, *Report of the Exploring Expeditions to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842, and to Oregon and California in the Years 1843-44*, p. 272.

16. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *History of Utah*, 278.

17. Gottfredson, Peter, *Indian Depredations in Utah*, *passim*; Gottfredson quotes from the *Journal of Solomon Kimball*, 15-16.

heels and dashed its brains out on the hard ground, after which he threw the body toward us, telling us we had no hearts, or we would have bought it and saved its life. This was a strange argument, but it was the argument of an enraged savage. I never heard of any successful attempts to buy children afterwards by the Mexicans. If done at all it was secretly.¹⁸

But the slave trade did continue to exist, at least until 1860, for in that year, Indian agent Garland H. Hurt officially reported:

“So vigorously is it prosecuted that scarcely one-half of the Py-eed children are permitted to grow up in the band; and a large majority of those being males, this and other practices are tending to depopulate their bands very rapidly.¹⁹

The people of Utah were profoundly shocked by the knowledge of these inhumane practices and Brigham Young at once determined to put an end to the whole sordid business. He therefore issued a proclamation, dated April 23, 1853, warning the people of the southern settlements and dispatching a detachment of thirty men “to apprehend all such strolling Mexicans and keep them in custody until further warned.”²⁰

Over a year before, on January 31, 1852, the Utah territorial legislature had attempted to solve the problem by passing a law prohibiting the slave trade entirely, but this the Mexicans with complete indifference had evidently ignored. The law legalized the enforced apprenticeship of Indian children, but “only for the purpose of inducing the brethren to purchase those who would otherwise have been sold or abandoned by their parents.”²¹

The immediate occasion for the above legislation was the arrival of a party under Pedro León in Manti, Sanpete Valley, attempting to trade horses for Indian children.²² León held a license signed by Governor James S. Calhoun and

18. Jones, *Forty Years Among the Indians*, 53.

19. Report of Garland H. Hurt in Simpson, Captain George, *Explorations Across the Great Basin of Utah*, Appendix O.

20. Snow, *op. cit.*, 71-72. See also Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 475-476; also Whitney, *History of Utah*, I, 512.

21. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials* (Salt Lake City, 1855); also *Utah State Historical Quarterly*, II, July, 1929, No. 3, pp. 85-86.

22. *The Deseret News*, November 15, 1851, carried an announcement and editorial about this incident.

dated Santa Fe, August 14, 1851. The arrival of León and his party caused considerable concern and later eight of the group, including León, were arrested and tried before the Justice of the Peace at Manti. Subsequently they came before Judge Zerubbabel Snow in the First District Court at Salt Lake City.

"This was quite a noted case," says Jones. "I was employed as interpreter. George A. Smith defended the prisoners, and Colonel Blair prosecuted with great wisdom and tact, he knowing all about the Mexican character, having been in the Texan War. A good deal of prejudice and bitter feeling was manifested toward the Mexicans. Governor Young, seeing this used all his influence that they might have a fair trial and the law be vindicated in a spirit of justice and not in the spirit of prosecution. The defense made by the Mexicans was that the Indians had stolen a lot of horses from them and they had followed and overtaken them. On coming to camp, they found that the Indians had killed and eaten the horses. The only remuneration they could get was to take some children which the Indians offered in payment, saying they did not mean to break their promise. This defense had some weight, whether true or not."²³

The court decided against the Mexicans and a squaw and eight children were set free. The Mexicans were ordered to leave the territory. They did so but not without avenging themselves by stirring up the savages against the settlers. The resultant Walker War, 1853-1854, can be traced directly to this episode.

It appears perfectly evident from all the facts herewith presented that that part of the Great Basin south of the Sevier River traversed by the Old Spanish Trail was frequently visited during the first half of the nineteenth century by unscrupulous Spanish and Mexican traders who acquired Indian children whom they sold into slavery; that some of the Indians themselves and occasionally also a few avaricious American trappers engaged in this sordid business; and that the trade did not cease until the Mormon colonists passed legislation prohibiting it, and furthermore, the attempt to regulate the trade resulted only in further ingratiating both Spaniard and Indian and therefore served as a pretext for future wars.

23. Jones, *op. cit.*, 50; see also Whitney, *op. cit.*, I, 510-511.

NEW MEXICO IN TRANSITION

By ARNOLD L. RODRÍGUEZ, O.F.M.*

CHAPTER I

The Land and the People

ON December 4, 1852, the Secretary of War of the United States, Charles M. Conrad, in presenting to Congress a plan for administering the newly-acquired territory of New Mexico, said that the region was “. . . so remote and inaccessible, and holds out so little inducement to emigration, that the struggle between the two races [Indians and Whites] is destined, in all probability, to continue there long after it shall have ceased in every other portion of the continent.”¹ He revealed that the annual upkeep of the army in New Mexico alone amounted to one million dollars, and he felt that this was a waste of money, since Indian depredations continued, in spite of military protection. He stated that the total value of the real estate in that region was estimated at about \$2,700,000 and that to protect the small white population of 61,000

. . . we are compelled to maintain a large military force, at an annual expense nearly equal to half the value of the whole real estate of the Territory. Would it not be better to induce the inhabitants to abandon a country which seems hardly fit for the habitation of civilized man, by remunerating them for their property in money or in lands situated in more favored regions? Even if the Government paid for the property quintuple its value, it would still, merely on the score of economy, be largely the gainer by the transaction, and the troops now stationed in New Mexico would be available for the protection of other portions of our own and of the Mexican territory.²

Conrad was led to this expedient by correspondence he had maintained with Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, commander of the New Mexico military department. In a letter dated

* This work was originally done as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Arts in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America.

1. *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., Appendix, p. 6.

2. *Ibid.*

May 27, 1852, for instance, Sumner forwarded a report to Conrad containing a scathing criticism of the people of New Mexico and expressing the conviction that there was no hope of ever bettering their condition.³ The plan of Conrad to give New Mexico back to the Indians might have been well-intentioned, but it evoked protests and severe criticism from various parts of the country. Particularly bitter was the abolitionist newspaper, the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, at the time the only newspaper in the Territory. After refuting the Secretary of War's assertions, one editorial stated: "Mr. Conrad . . . knows almost nothing of our Territory. His . . . policy would not be a bad one for our Territory, provided we did not have to sell out at *his estimate*."⁴ Three weeks later the same paper commented:

When the Secretary was advertising us for sale, generosity should have induced him to state the whole truth, in regard to our condition, bad as it may be. If we are worth but little, we have a personal pride in bringing our full value. He ought at least to have told the world that the census returns show the real and personal estate of this people to be \$5,174,471 in value, and that it would be neither just nor gracious, to take our land away and leave our personal property, supported from our lands, on our hands, to starve.⁵

The attitude of Conrad toward New Mexico was typical of the current feeling in the United States at the time. Contemporary American writers manifested a lack of understanding of the people of the newly-acquired Territory and almost a total ignorance of its topography, resources, and extent. Popular conception of that vast land ranged from a paradise where all sorts of plants grew, to a desert land, unfit for agricultural purposes. One reason for these false views was that for some years after the occupation of New Mexico the Washington government failed to undertake a systematic survey of the region. This neglect was bitterly resented by New Mexicans, as is evidenced by the repeated editorials on the subject which appeared in the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*. One editorial said:

. . . One instance of neglect, to mention no more, consists in leaving

3. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 5, 1853.

4. *Ibid.*, January 29, 1853.

5. *Ibid.*, February 19, 1853.

our country unexplored. . . . The map of New Mexico is but little more than a map of the Rio Grande, for almost all other parts of the vast region are marked with the words, "unknown" or "unexplored." And whilst this gross neglect of our geographical and geological exploration of the very heart and center of our empire, on the part of the General Government, we find her laboriously and expensively engaged in exploring foreign countries and distant seas. Whilst vast regions of our country remain not only unsettled, but unexplored, we find the Government favoring with the public purse the exploration of the valley of the Amazon, in South America. . . .⁶

As late as 1874 the resources of New Mexico were unknown in the United States, and in a testimony before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, General William T. Sherman said that New Mexico was of no value to the Union. The best thing that could be done with it, he added, would be to "prevail on Mexico to take it back."⁷

Only the few Americans who had lived in New Mexico for some years and had attempted to understand the people, held any hopes for the region. They recognized the value of the Territory for its undeveloped resources of a pastoral and mineral character, and regarded the inhabitants as intelligent and capable of becoming loyal American citizens.⁸

In the period under consideration, namely from 1830 to 1860, New Mexico had an area of about 240,000 square miles and included what we now know as New Mexico, Arizona, and the southeastern part of Colorado. It was a land of contrasts, with a variety of climate, topography, and people. Semi-arid for the most part, the region had high mountains, fertile valleys, and vast deserts. Through it ran the Rio Grande which today serves for 1,250 miles as a boundary between Mexico and the United States, and makes agriculture possible in the lowlands.⁹ In certain regions agriculture failed to make progress, not only because of the antiquated methods employed, but also because some bottomlands con-

6. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1853. An account of these explorations may be found in William L. Herndon and Larnier Gibbon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon* (3 vols., Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1854). This work forms part of *House Exec. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 53.

7. *Congressional Record*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 3825-3828.

8. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, February 12, 1853.

9. A. G. Harper, A. R. Córdoba, and K. Oberg, *Man and Resources in the*

tained alluvial deposits which retarded the growth of plants.¹⁰

The population also presented contrasts. There were the Pueblo Indians, who led a sedentary life in their well-organized villages and were devoted to agriculture, sheep-grazing, and weaving; the Spanish and mestizo population, which dwelt for the most part in towns, systematically laid out in the more fertile valleys. Beginning in the second decade of the nineteenth century another group started migrating to New Mexico, small in numbers, but with an important role to play in the development of the region, namely the Anglo-Americans from the United States. By the fourth decade of the century their influence began to be felt in social and economic life, and their dominating influence was to bring New Mexico into the current life in the United States, which was then in its formative period of natural development.

Although the peoples of New Mexico lived in peace among themselves, they were harassed until the second half of the nineteenth century by the plains Indians, nomadic and war-like in character, by whom they were practically surrounded. Prominent among them were the Utes, the Apaches, and the fearful Comanches. These plains tribes were the dread of the white population and the Pueblo Indians alike, upon whom they periodically descended, destroying their crops and stealing their women, children, and cattle.

Both nature and the nomadic marauders of the surrounding area conspired against the work of the white man and the Pueblo Indians. As if this were not enough, New Mexico had a third drawback, namely, distance. For over two centuries New Mexico was the northernmost outpost of New Spain, the capital of which was Mexico City. Between the capital and New Mexico lay a tremendous expanse of high mountains, treacherous arroyos, and arid desert, all of which made communication exceedingly difficult. That the

Middle Rio Grande Valley (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1943), pp. 2-7.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

region survived as a colony of New Spain at all in the midst of these disheartening obstacles is a tribute to the courage of the colonizers. That they had made a certain amount of economic and cultural progress, speaks well for the Spaniards' resourcefulness and their abiding faith in God.

Census-taking in nineteenth century New Mexico was a difficult task. The ruggedness of the country and the isolation of communities were but two of the obstacles. As a result, no one knew with any degree of certainty how many whites and Indians inhabited the country when the Americans arrived. In 1844 it was estimated that there were about 99,204 souls in the territory, of whom roughly a third were plains Indians and about 7,000 were Pueblo Indians;¹¹ the remainder constituted the white and mestizo population. Roughly speaking, then, there were about 60,000 inhabitants of European origin or culture in what we now know as New Mexico when General Stephen W. Kearny took over the region.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it had been the practice of the governors of this northern province of New Spain to make grants of land to individuals and communities for distinguished services to the Spanish Crown, particularly for military services in the campaigns against the plains Indians. Later, when Mexico declared its independence, this practice of land grants was continued with the idea of encouraging agriculture and stock raising.¹² Yet, the tendency of the people, as a protection against the frequent Indian depredations, was to settle in villages and towns.

As early as 1812 Don Pedro Pino, in his report to the Spanish Cortes at Cádiz, mentioned that there were in New Mexico 102 Spanish towns and 22 Indian pueblos.¹³ These

11. L. Bradford Prince, *Historical Sketches of New Mexico from the Earliest Records to the American Occupation* (New York: Leggat Brothers, 1883), p. 239; David Y. Thomas, *A History of Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States*, Vol. XX, *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1904), p. 114.

12. W. F. M. Arny, *Interesting Items Regarding New Mexico: Its Agricultural, Pastoral and Mineral Resources, People, Climate, Soil, Scenery, etc.* (Santa Fe: Manderfield and Tucker, 1873), p. 35.

13. Pedro Bautista Pino, *Noticias históricas y estadísticas de la antigua provincia*

communities were located in the central and southern part of the region, in the fertile Rio Grande Valley. Irrigated by this river, the territory offered many opportunities for various types of agriculture, while at the same time the towns, with their military barracks, offered some security from hostile Indians.¹⁴ Gradually some of these settlements developed into important centers of trade, government, and culture, as, for example, Santa Fe, Taos, and Albuquerque. By the middle of the nineteenth century the white population was predominantly urban, although haciendas and small farms dotted the fertile valleys and mountain sides.

A typical New Mexican town, and the most important in the territory, was the old capital, Santa Fe. Situated near the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, it was built in the traditional Spanish way, over an extensive area of land, with a public square or plaza in the center. Facing the plaza were the principal buildings, such as the Palace of the Governors, the military chapel of Our Lady of Light, and the parish church which later became the cathedral. The rest of the square was taken up with stores and shops of various kinds. These business establishments, according to one writer, consisted of a printing office, twenty-five stores, two tailor shops, two shoemakers, two blacksmith shops, an apothecary, and a bakery.¹⁵ Writing in 1851, an American describes the downtown section of Santa Fe in the following words:

The houses are all built of mud brick, called adobe, and only the churches, the Governor's Palace, and one hotel styled the "Exchange" are higher than one story. The main plaza is the center of the city and is the great market place. Here are to be seen vendors of all kinds of marketable stuff. The sunny side of the streets is crowded with ragged men, women, and children, all asking in the most pitiful tones for alms.

del Nuevo-México presentada por su disputado en Cortes, D. Pedro Bautista Pino en Cádiz el año de 1812, adicionadas por el Lic. D. Antonio Barreiro en 1839; y últimamente anotadas por el Lic. Don José Agustín de Escudero para la Comisión de Estadística Militar de la República Mexicana (México: Imprenta de Lara, 1849), p. 6 (note).

14. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies, or the Journal of a Santa Fe Trader* (2 vols., 4th ed., Philadelphia: J. W. Moore, 1850), I, 144-145.

15. William W. H. Davis, *El Gringo or New Mexico and Her People* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857), p. 167.

I was surprised to see so many objects of distress of both sexes with scarcely their nakedness covered.¹⁶

Scattered around this central portion were the humble homes of the people, all one-story high, with but few exceptions, constructed of adobe or mud brick. Adjacent to the towns were the lands cultivated by the inhabitants.¹⁷ Besides the parish church and the military chapel, there were two other small churches where services were occasionally held, the old Church of San Miguel and the chapel of Our Lady of Guadalupe.¹⁸ The population of Santa Fe in 1846 was estimated at between two and four thousand and in 1866 the number was put at about 5,000.¹⁹

In 1866 the general aspect of the city was still dreary and unattractive. As one traveler wrote:

The houses are . . . flush with the street-naked walls with but one or two openings. Nothing can be more sordid, monotonous, and unarchitectural than the exterior of these buildings. . . . Seen at a distance, they present the general appearance of sliced brick-kilns. Pike's simile is also very good. He says when he first entered Santa Fe, it presented the appearance of a fleet of flat-boats, moored at the foot of the mountain.²⁰

He added: "A refreshing feature of Santa Fe is made by the acequias or streams of running water used for irrigation which pleasantly, and in unexpected places, ripple and babble at your feet as you wander through the town."²¹ But in the twenty years during which the Americans had been in Santa Fe a slight transformation had taken place in the plaza. Instead of the mud and dust which the American army of occupation found, the square was now enclosed with

16. Clinton E. Brooks and Frank D. Reeve, eds., "James A. Bennett: A Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850-1856," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXII (January, 1947), 69. This work has also appeared in book form under the title of *Forts and Forays* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948).

17. Prince, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.

18. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

19. W. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, Including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers, Made in 1846-1847 with the Advanced Guard of the "Army of the West"* (Washington, D. C.: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848), p. 34; James F. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867), p. 151.

20. Meline, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

a railing, planted with grass, and shaded by large cotton-wood trees.²²

As may be expected in a frontier society, New Mexico life was characterized by a certain crudeness and lack of refinement. The hundreds of miles that separated the province from Mexico City, the center of culture, had a depressing effect upon the cultural progress of the New Mexicans. Except among the wealthy, there were few comforts of life because hardly any cultural or commercial bonds existed with the rest of New Spain. Nevertheless, a definite moral and religious program was carried on by the Catholic Church and this was a redeeming point of society, for to the Church was due, in great measure, the stable character of the colony and what little culture it possessed.

Certain evils were inescapable in such an atmosphere. One of these was the vice of gambling. Protected by the laws of the country, this vice was widespread among all classes of people, so much so that even children of ten years of age were often seen playing cards for pennies.²³ A visitor in Santa Fe in 1854 observed that at least \$700,000 were lost and won in half an hour at a gambling place in Santa Fe.²⁴

Chuzza, a card game, was as common among the women as bridge probably is today.²⁵ J. W. Abert was shocked at the prevalence of gambling in 1846, but he was impressed with the temperance in food and drink of New Mexicans. He wrote that to call a man a "drunkard" there was considered one of the worst insults.²⁶ Drunkenness was severely punished by law. For example, the first time a person was found guilty of intoxication he was given two months at hard labor or, in other cases, he might be paroled for five months, during which time he was obliged to work for a private citizen, his wages being used to pay court expenses. If anything remained of his pay it was turned over to his family.²⁷

22. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

23. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

24. Brooks and Reeve, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

25. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, November 15, 1856.

26. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 455.

27. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, February 12, 1853.

Little or nothing was done in the realm of social welfare. A penitentiary, for instance, was unknown until 1882.²⁸ And even then, if a murderer or robber was convicted and confined to jail, he often found some means of escape.²⁹

Orphans and wayward children were always a social problem, for there were no organized agencies to provide for them. Many children of unknown parentage roamed the streets of every town, subsisting on the scanty alms provided by the people. Their number grew to such an alarming proportion that Governor Henry Connelly pleaded with the people in 1863 to help him provide for them, since it was the duty of the entire community, he argued, to provide for the temporal welfare of orphans and other destitute children who lacked parental protection.³⁰

In consequence of this state of affairs, much stealing and robbing were perpetrated. Homes, stores, and individuals were victimized. Even American army camps did not escape, for quantities of food and clothing often disappeared from them.³¹ Apparently thieves were not respecters of persons, for Bishop John J. Lamy and other ecclesiastics were victimized, as appears from the following item in the *Weekly Gazette*:

Bishop Lamy was robbed of a considerable amount of money a few nights ago. It would seem that the light-fingered gentry are determined to bleed the Bishop pretty freely as this is the second or third time, we believe, that we have heard of his having been lanced since he first came to this Territory. These predatory excursions upon the domains of the Bishop, together with the robbery of the Methodist Chapel, last summer, seem to indicate that gentlemen of the profes-

28. Lansing B. Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican administration," *Old Santa Fe*, II (January, 1915), 201-205.

29. Arie Poldervaart, "Black-robed Justice in New Mexico, 1846-1912," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXII (April, 1947), 123-125.

This story has been reprinted in book form by the University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

30. Henry Connelly, *El segundo mensaje anual de S.E.D. Enrique Connelly a la Asamblea Legislativa del Territorio de Nuevo México, pronunciado diciembre de 1863* (Santa Fe: Oficina del "Nuevo Mejicano," 1863), p. 5.

31. Thomas Falconer, *Letters and Notes on the Texas Santa Fe Expedition, 1841-1842* (New York: Dauber and Pine, Inc., 1930), p. 117; Brooks and Reeve, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175.

sion are not at all particular about the character of their victims. We advise the Bishop and all others to do as we do—keep no money.³²

Occasionally the tables were turned on the New Mexicans as the Americans emulated some of their thievish tendencies. In such cases it was not unusual for the New Mexicans to take the matter rather stoically and to make the best of it. On one occasion American soldiers despoiled a priest of considerable grain supplies and, instead of protesting, he offered them a drink as they left the house.³³ On another occasion the Americans made a raid on a farm and escaped with a fair supply of beans—a precious staple in that country. The owner caught up with the thieves but he took the matter graciously, for as one witness tells the story:

We had gone but a short distance until we camped and the boys put the beans on the boil. Pretty soon the Mexican came up and we looked for trouble. He sat around and said nothing. When the beans were cooked, we offered him a dish and he ate heartily. We were much delighted to see how he relished his beans.³⁴

The condition of women was characteristic of any frontier settlement. Some contemporary writers praise their virtues, while others write of the prevalence of immorality. The custom of keeping indoors and avoiding strangers was characteristic.³⁵

Women lived in constant fear of Indian raids, for on those occasions they were often made the prizes of war, being carried into captivity. To ransom them was extremely difficult and costly. These war captives were usually bartered or sold into slavery among the Indians or were retained as concubines. In 1851 one case particularly caused great indignation among the Americans in Santa Fe. The

32. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, January 8, 1853.

33. Frank S. Edwards, *A Campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1848), pp. 72-73.

34. James A. Little, *What I Saw on the Santa Fe Trail* (Plainfield: Friends Press, 1904), pp. 50-51.

35. John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition; Containing an Account of the Conquest of New Mexico; General Kearney's Overland Expedition to California; Doniphan's Campaign against the Navajos; His Unparalleled March upon Chihuahua and Durango; and the Operations of General Price at Santa Fe; with a Sketch of the Life of Col. Doniphan* (Cincinnati: U. P. James, 1847), p. 41; Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 35; *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, June 17, 1854; Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Brooks and Reeve, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

nomad Indians murdered a trader by the name of White in that city, and abducted his wife, child and Negro maid. A group of American soldiers started after the raiders, and reached their camp after several days. Mrs. White was still with the Indians, bedraggled and bruised from the rough treatment she had received. But, just as the Americans reached her, the squaw, in whose custody she was, drew her bow and arrow and pierced Mrs. White through the heart. An eyewitness, describing the tragedy, concludes:

For this act the squaw paid dearly with her own life. Of the Negro girl or the child we found no trace. The Indians were all gone. We searched the scene of action, found 8 bodies lying dead on the ground and at least 3 more were shot in the water after they had sought refuge in the river. . . . Over her corpse we swore vengeance upon her persecutors.³⁶

Retaliation was also a standing policy among the Spanish Americans. They would raid the settlements of the plains Indians and carry away their girls and women. In the marketplace at Santa Fe these captives brought anywhere from \$100 to \$300.³⁷ Well-to-do families would buy them and keep them as slaves for the rest of their lives. Indian children, captured by the Spanish Americans, were sold into domestic servitude.³⁸ About twenty-five years after the American occupation of the Territory, this practice was outlawed, and in the decade of the 1870's, as one author observes, "a great many Indians were ordered returned to their families in the Navajo Country. Those that had been reared from childhood and couldn't be identified by their Indian relatives remained with their Spanish-American parents [*sic*]."³⁹

As a general rule, New Mexican girls received no formal education during all of the Spanish and part of the Mexican periods. It was only in the second quarter of the nineteenth century that they began to attend school. Nevertheless, they were not ignorant for, prior to that time, they received their training at home. One traveler noted that the women of

36. Brooks and Reeve, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

37. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (July, 1913), 32.

38. Poldervaart, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

39. B. C. Hernandez, "A Pioneer Story: The Death of Dr. J. M. Whitlock," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVI (January, 1941), 106.

New Mexico, “. . . as in many parts of the world, appear to be much before the men in refinement, intelligence, and knowledge of the useful arts.”⁴⁰

The styles of dress of the higher class were much like those in vogue in the United States, except that instead of a hat the women wore a shawl over the head, and this even in the home.⁴¹ That New Mexican women had a taste for fine clothes is attested by an old Santa Fe merchant who declared that more silk goods were sold in that territory than in any country population in the United States of equal number.⁴² Women of the lower classes wore simple clothes, with a *reboso* (large scarf) over their heads and shoulders, and generally they preferred gay colors. Bartlett remarks that much attention was paid to costume and that the *senoritas* fully appreciated the effect of particular colors on their complexion.⁴³ A century ago in New Mexico the women smoked cigarettes,⁴⁴ played cards, and, as a cosmetic, used a preparation made from the *alegría* plant. As one writer put it:

The women had their faces besmeared with the crimson juice of the *alegría* plant, and looked most frightful and disgusting. A thick coating covered the whole face, which gave them the appearance of wearing masks, with the eyes, nose, and mouth uncovered. . . . It is done for the purpose of protecting the skin from the sun, and they will remain in this repulsive condition two or three weeks upon the eve of a grand baile or feast at which they may desire to appear in all their freshness and beauty.⁴⁵

New Mexican women were generally good cooks, and impressed the American soldiers with their finely prepared meals and tasty bread and sponge cake.⁴⁶ Even in the poor homes the meals were well prepared.⁴⁷

40. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, June 17, 1854.

43. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua During 1850-1853* (2 vols., London: George Routledge and Co., 1854), I, 147.

44. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

45. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

46. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 38; *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 455.

47. Regarding table manners among the humble classes, Josiah Gregg writes as follows: "The *rancheros*, and all the humbler classes of people, very seldom use any table for their meals, an inconvenience which is very little felt as the dishes are

Up to the time of Mexican independence, Spanish creoles of Mexico monopolized commerce and held most positions of influence in the Church as well as in the civil government.⁴⁸ But by 1846 this condition had disappeared, leaving the native New Mexicans in posts of honor and trust.

One disagreeable feature of society which persisted throughout the entire period was the practice of peonage, a system of servitude in which debtors were bound to work for their creditors until they paid what they owed. In practice, the workers received from three to five dollars a month in wages and out of this they were obliged to purchase their food and clothing in the proprietor's commissary.⁴⁹ It was thus simple to keep the workers, and even their families, in virtual slavery all their lives. Some Americans, as well as New Mexicans, engaged in this practice.⁵⁰

Strictly speaking, the system of peonage was regulated by law during the period of Mexican rule, since a statute specified the conditions of the working contract to be signed by both the master and the peon. But for the most part the law was a dead letter, for the odds were against the peon.⁵¹ He sometimes tried to purchase his freedom, but his efforts were invariably thwarted by his master.⁵² An American

generally served out from the kitchen in courses of a single plate to each guest, who usually takes it upon his knees. Knives and forks are equally dispensed with, the viands being mostly hashed or boiled so very soft as to be eaten with a spoon. This is frequently supplied with the *tortilla*, a piece of which is ingeniously doubled between the fingers, so as to assist in the disposal of anything, be it ever so rare or liquid. Thus it may well be said, as in the story of the Oriental monarch, that these rancheros employ a new spoon for every mouthful; for each fold of the *tortilla* is devoured with the substance it conveys to the mouth. . . . The very singular custom of abstaining from all sorts of beverage during meals, has frequently afforded me a great deal of amusement. Although a large cup of water is set before each guest, it is not customary to drink it off till the repast is finished. Should any one take it up in his hand while in the act of eating, the host is apt to cry out, 'Hold, hold! there is yet more to come.'" (*Commerce of the Prairies*, *op. cit.*, I, 155).

48. John B. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross, Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado* (Banning: St. Boniface Industrial School, 1898), p. 110.

49. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

50. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

51. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-233.

52. George Wilkins Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition Comprising a Description of a Tour Through Texas, and also the Great Southwestern Prairies, the Comanche and Gaygua Hunting-Grounds, with an Account of the Sufferings from Want of Food, Losses from Hostile Indians, and Final Capture of*

officer, familiar with Negro slavery in the southern States, was of the opinion that in New Mexico "The major portion of the people live not one bit better than the negroes on a plantation in our southern states; and the rico of the village, like the planter, possesses everything; no one else owns a single sheep."⁵³

It was in view of these conditions that Hugh N. Smith, New Mexico's delegate to Congress, when asked by Daniel Webster about the practicability of introducing Negro slavery into the Territory, replied on April 9, 1850: "New Mexico . . . is entirely unsuited for slave labor. Labor is exceedingly abundant and cheap. It may be hired for three or four dollars a month, in quantity quite sufficient for carrying on all the agriculture of the territory."⁵⁴ Lt. Col. William H. Emory, an American officer in New Mexico in 1846, expressed his opinion on the introduction of Negro slavery in these terms:

The profits of labor are too inadequate for the existence of negro slavery. Slavery, as practiced by the Mexicans, under the form of peonage, which enables their master to get the service of the adult while in the prime of life, without the obligations of rearing him in infancy, supporting him in old age, or maintaining his family, affords no data for estimating the profits of slave labor, as it exists in the United States.⁵⁵

Peonage was abolished by an Act of Congress on March 2, 1867. This Act stated in part:

. . . The voluntary or involuntary service or labor of any persons as peons, in liquidating of any debt or obligation, or otherwise . . . is hereby declared null and void; and any person who shall hold, arrest, or return . . . to a condition of peonage, shall upon conviction, be punished by fine not less than one thousand nor more than five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not less than one nor more than five years, or both, at the discretion of the court.⁵⁶

the Texans, and their March, as Prisoners, to the City of Mexico (New York: 2 vols., Harper and Brothers, 1844), II, 113; Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

53. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 482.

54. Fletcher Webster, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (18 vols., Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1903), XII, 223.

55. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

56. George P. Sanger, ed., *Statutes at Large, Treaties and Proclamations of the U. S. A., from December, 1865 to March, 1867* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1868), p. 546.

Ever since the first known Anglo-Americans arrived in Santa Fe, about the year 1805, friendly relations existed between them and the people of New Mexico.⁵⁷ In due time a small number of Americans engaged in trade with the region, some of whom became prominent residents. To these newcomers the New Mexicans showed themselves hospitable and kind.⁵⁸ Some of these American merchants settled in New Mexico and married local women.⁵⁹ By the time the American army entered the country, many of these settlers had been there twenty or more years, living harmoniously with the native people. Some of them had become wealthy through land grants obtained from the Spanish government, as Ceran St. Vrain, who owned a track of land one hundred square miles.⁶⁰ By 1866 one of these Americans, Lucien B. Maxwell, had developed the largest farm in New Mexico, employing over 500 workers on his ten square miles of property near the Cimarron River.⁶¹ Other permanent settlers of note were the subsequent Governor of the Territory, Charles Bent, Thomas Bridger, and Kit Carson. By the second half of the nineteenth century Santa Fe alone counted about twenty-five American families.⁶²

But the arrival of the "Army of West" in 1846 injected a discordant note into the complacent life of New Mexico. Conquerors of a weak people, the soldiers and officers often assumed an air of superiority and disdain toward the New Mexicans, as they regarded themselves "citizens of a model Republic."⁶³ This attitude was naturally resented by the natives. Furthermore, being transients, many of the soldiers and American visitors made no attempt to understand

57. One of the first Americans in Santa Fe was James Pursley, a trapper from Kentucky. Having heard of the Spanish settlement to the south, he set out in search of it, reaching the capital of New Mexico in 1805. There he spent the remainder of his life. William G. Ritch, *Aztlan, the History, Resources and Attractions of New Mexico* (6th ed., Boston: D. Lothrop and Co., 1885), p. 245.

58. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Archer B. Hulbert, ed., *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail, Vol. II of Overland to the Pacific* (Denver: Stewart Commission of Colorado College and Denver Public Library, 1933), 85-86.

59. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116; Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 31; *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 5, 1853.

60. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

63. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

the New Mexicans, with the result that relations between the two nationalities became strained and antipathy soon manifested itself on both sides. Each was critical of the other and apparently with good reasons. Some Americans were not entirely innocent; an English observer described them as "the dirtiest, roughest [*sic*] crew I have ever seen collected together."⁶⁴ The political revolt of 1847 and other acts of violence only served to deepen the gulf between the two parties. On one occasion, for instance, the New Mexicans maliciously destroyed an American flag that belonged to the governor.⁶⁵ In view of these events, it is easy to understand why some Americans became alarmed and gave expression to their concern in letters to the editor of the *Weekly Gazette*. One of them was particularly pessimistic in tone. It read in part:

I have been for many years a close and careful observer of men and things around me; and I have watched the mental oscillations of my Mexican neighbors with the greatest anxiety, knowing as I did that many of them entertained a hostile feeling to the Americans.⁶⁶

Other Americans held more hope for better relations and hastened to assure the public that the previous "impenetrable barrier between the two races, is perceptibly crumbling into decay, and upon those ruins a more favorable edifice will ere long be raised."⁶⁷ How true these reassuring words proved to be may be gleaned from the statement of another American twenty years later. The people of New Mexico, he said, "both native and emigrants . . . are well disposed, patriotic and liberty-loving."⁶⁸

As to the relations of the Americans with the Catholic clergy, in general they seem to have been cordial from the very beginning. The priests were regarded as courteous and the most intelligent persons in the country. Whenever American officers entered a town, they made it a point to visit the priest first. Undoubtedly this was a diplomatic ges-

64. George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London: John Murray, 1847), p. 189.

65. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, February 19, 1853.

66. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1853.

67. *Ibid.*

68. Ritch, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

ture. The priests, on their part, welcomed them and made their visit enjoyable, often sharing with them a little of their treasured wines and liquor.⁶⁹ Some of the rectories were described as neat and often elegantly furnished. One writer said that the priests were "the best-to-do in the world, and when the good people wish to put their best foot foremost, the padre's wines, bed, and couches have to suffer."⁷⁰ Except in a few instances, resentment of the clergy at the presence of a foreign army of occupation seems to have been slight. Without protest they accepted the new form of government. The pastor at Santo Domingo, not without forethought, delighted in showing the Americans through his well-appointed rectory where the window drapes were stamped with the pictures of all the Presidents of the United States.⁷¹

Occasionally scathing criticism of the Catholic clergy appeared in contemporary writings. This was not altogether without foundation, for some of the clergy were not true to their religious calling. This was particularly true in the first years of the American occupation. A Catholic historian who spent many years in the region, following the American occupation, wrote that when Bishop Lamy entered the Territory there were but fifteen Catholic priests, of whom ". . . six are worn out by age and have no energy. The others have not a spark of zeal, and their lives are scandalous beyond description."⁷² Contemporary writers rarely failed to contrast the status and character of the clergy before and after the American occupation. One author, writing in 1866, after alluding to the laxity of some of the former Mexican priests, added that "with the advent of *los Americanos* came a changed state of things in the Church. . . . Irregularities have disappeared, and the New Mexicans now have a learned, pious, laborious and edifying priesthood."⁷³

Yankee impressions of Roman Catholic customs and

69. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 38; *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 465.

70. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

71. *Ibid.*

72. W. J. Howlett, *Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D.D.* (Pueblo: Franklin Press, 1908), p. 164.

73. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

religious services generally revealed the traditional Protestant view toward things Catholic. Most of the writers of that period attach the word "superstitious" to almost all religious ceremonies, and many revealed that they had never before been aware of what took place during Mass in Catholic churches in the States. For example, of the veneration of saints one author stated:

They have an abiding faith in saints and images, and with the mass of the inhabitants their worship appears no more than a blind adoration of these insensible objects. Some of the most intelligent of the better class look upon these bits of wood as all-powerful in every emergency; and upon the occasion of a fire in Santa Fe a few years ago, a prominent Mexican gentleman was anxious that one of the wooden saints should be brought from the church to quench the flames.⁷⁴

Of religious processions Lieutenant-Colonel Emory wrote in 1846:

A strange sight presented itself. In a sedan chair, borne by four men, was seated a wax figure nearly as large as life, extravagantly dressed; following immediately were three or four priests, with long tallow candles, a full yard in length. Some American officers followed, each holding a candle. Unfortunately I emerged just as this group was passing; there was no escape, and the moment I joined a grave Mexican (apparently a man in authority) thrust a candle into my hand. I thought of my only coat, the coat which was on my back, and which must take me to California, and back again into the interior of Mexico! Suddenly there was a halt without any word of command, and in the confusion we jostled against each other and distributed the tallow in great profusion.⁷⁵

After attending high Mass in the parish church of Santa Fe, this same writer observed that the priest did not preach from the pulpit, but

kept his back to the congregation the whole time, repeating prayers and incantations. The band, the identical one used at the fandango, and strumming the same tunes, played without intermission. . . . When a favorite air was struck up, the young women, whom we recognized as having figured at the fandango, counted their beads, tossed their heads, and crossed themselves to the time of the music.⁷⁶

74. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

75. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

Twenty years later, in 1866, referring to the above statement of Emory, Meline, after attending Mass in the same church, wrote as follows:

A sermon was so far from wanting that we had one an hour long, in which the preacher, in the best Castilian, talked to the people in what we called at home "plain English," and made them "walk Spanish" on the subject of temptation and sin. Fandango music was not there; none, in fact, but the severest plain chant, in whose intonations the Church Gallican was plainly perceptible. . . . I saw at church a very different style of female physiognomy. . . . The women sit, or kneel, to the right; the men, to the left. . . . A few pews in the upper part of the church had the appearance of a concession to American custom, and I remarked some three or four of the few American ladies in the places who appeared to be members of the congregation.⁷⁷

The arrival, in the summer of 1851, of the first resident bishop, John B. Lamy, Vicar Apostolic of New Mexico, marked the beginning of a new era in the moral and spiritual life of New Mexico. With a zeal and energy that were difficult to match, this pioneer bishop rallied all the forces at his command and succeeded, in a short time, to improve the lot of the people. His influence in the Territory forms part of a later chapter.

CHAPTER II

Economic Life

ONE of the most acute economic problems which confronted the first Americans in New Mexico was the sad state of agriculture. In the eighteenth century the Spaniards had utilized to good advantage the fertile lands of the country and engaged in agriculture and sheep grazing. They had even developed a small tobacco industry, but the officials put an end to it by forbidding the planting of tobacco in the province.¹ Not content with curtailing production, the Spanish government also discouraged trade with all provinces, except Sonora to the south. Trade with Louisiana and

⁷⁷. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

1. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (3 vols., San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1883), III, 613.

Texas was not known until the year 1800.² Trading *ferias* took place with various Indian tribes and among the Spanish themselves, but this brought little prosperity to the colony.³ In general the personal initiative of the people had been stifled and it was difficult for the American government to arouse enthusiasm for farming. Twelve years before the American occupation a Spanish official in New Mexico expressed great concern for the state of agriculture in these words: "Agriculture is completely neglected. The inhabitants of this country do not engage in large-scale farming, from which they would doubtless derive much profit. They plant what they consider barely sufficient to support themselves part of the year, leaving themselves victims of the greatest misery the rest of the year."⁴

Some sections of the region were well adapted to agriculture and stock raising, but for various reasons full advantage was never taken of nature's liberality. First of all, the Spanish methods of agriculture were obsolete and crop rotation was hardly thought of.⁵ Farming implements were primitive and ill adapted to large-scale production. The principal tool was a clumsy hoe and the few ploughs in use were rudely constructed. One writer described such a plough as

. . . a monumental affair, with woodwork enough in it to furnish the rafters of a small house, and worthily and ponderously matches the Mexican cart. Before they pass away—there is no hurry though, you will have time enough, for your Mexican has not yet begun to move rapidly—a specimen of each should be preserved, and handed down to posterity, duly certified by credible witnesses. Their agricultural use and employment might otherwise be disputed by coming generations.⁶

Secondly, since the cultivated plots were not enclosed with fences, they were always subject to devastation by large

2. Hubert H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*, Vol. XIII of *History of the Pacific States of North America* (San Francisco: The History Co., 1888), 277.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 302-303.

4. Antonio Barreiro, *Ojeada sobre Nuevo México que da una idea de sus producciones naturales, y de algunas otras cosas que se consideran oportunas para mejorar su estado, e ir proporcionando su futura felicidad* (Puebla: Imprenta de José María Campos, 1832), pp. 22-23.

5. Arny, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

6. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

flocks of roaming sheep or goats. Adobe or rail fences were extremely rare.⁷ A final factor that discouraged agriculture was Indian raids. Oftentimes what the Spaniards sowed the Indians reaped. Tired of seeing their crops harvested by the Indians, the Spaniards often preferred to let their fertile lands lie idle.⁸ These obstacles were gradually overcome with American aid.

In one respect it may be said that the coming of the American made the lot of the New Mexican farmer more difficult, for the Americans began to acquire riparian rights in the principal streams and left many farmers without irrigation.⁹ In general, however, the Americans made a considerable contribution to agriculture. They introduced new methods and implements of farming, and thus improved the quantity and quality of such products as vegetables and fruits.¹⁰ In lectures and in the press they constantly fought against the prevalent notion that farming was a degrading profession, and they called the attention of the people to its nobility, its importance and its absolute necessity for the economic structure of New Mexico.¹¹ Newspaper editorials repeatedly emphasized the need of introducing new farm equipment as a means for greater production, and they even encouraged the formation of an agricultural society where the farmers could pool their knowledge and resources.¹² That much good came out of these efforts is apparent from the editorial comments of the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*. It remarked, in part:

. . . Where formerly the New Mexican farmer used a rude stick to scratch his fields, we find that many of them now, since they have visited the States, have introduced, and now use the American plow, altho' they require a land transportation of a thousand miles. What better spirit, what more could be expected of a farmer of any nation?¹³

7. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 150.

8. Barreiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

9. Stephen B. Weeks, "The Spaniards in the South and Southwest," *Publications of the Southern Historical Association*, VI (May, 1902), 244.

10. Charles P. Clever, *New Mexico: Her Resources, Her Necessities for Railroad Communication with the Atlantic and Pacific states; Her Great Future* (Washington, D. C.: McGill and Witherow, 1868), pp. 6-7.

11. Army, *op. cit.*, p. 109; *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 17, 1855; *Ibid.*, November 3, 1855.

12. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 17, 1855; *Ibid.*, March 15, 1856.

13. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1853.

Nevertheless, agriculture, though improved, still left much to be desired. The Pueblo Indians, who continued to cultivate extensive fields of maize and to raise most of the fruit of the region, and who owned large herds of sheep, were affected very little by these developments.¹⁴ Governor William Carr Lane deplored this situation in his address to the territorial legislature in December, 1852. He said: "Agriculture and stock raising, the two great interests of the Territory, are depressed for want of a certain market for the produce of the soil and for the want of protection for flocks and herds."¹⁵

An interesting chapter in the history of agriculture of that epoch was the hope of developing a large-scale grape industry in New Mexico. In many parts of that land, we are told, soil and climate were suitable for grape vines. This was true especially of places like Socorro, Isleta, Albuquerque, and Bernalillo, where, as a result, extensive vineyards were cultivated.¹⁶ In some places the average annual yield of a healthy vine was from three to four bushels of grapes. Since an acre of land contained about 272 vines, the annual yield per acre of land was not inconsiderable.¹⁷ During the grape harvest countless burros would be seen along the narrow, dusty roads of the countryside, loaded high with crates of grapes, on their way to market.¹⁸ One contemporary writer stated that the wine produced in New Mexico compared favorably with French wines. He added: "The time is rapidly approaching when the wines of New Mexico will be recognized in the wine catalogues of the country. In no section of the United States does the vine attain a greater degree of perfection, California not excepted."¹⁹ So profuse were the vineyards, that another writer styled the Rio Grande Valley the "Rhine of America," predicting,

14. Falconer, *op. cit.*, p. 117; *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 460.

15. *Journal of the Honorable Council of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1 Legislative Assembly, 2 Sess., December 6, 1852, p. 79. This publication is often referred to as the New Mexico Council Journal.

16. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, November 19, 1853; Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

17. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, November 26, 1853.

18. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1853.

19. Ritch, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

though rashly, that some day the area would be an immense wine producing community.²⁰

Manufacturing in New Mexico was equally primitive and undeveloped. From the day the first colonists arrived in the sixteenth century, every settler had to be an artisan through sheer necessity. Forced by frontier life to make their own articles of household and farm use, the Spaniards developed an artisanship along certain lines that was, indeed, admirable. The majority of household goods manufactured were made out of wood. Carved doors, chests, and other furniture were the work of local artisans. Wood was indispensable even for such objects as hoes, spades and other tools. Their *carretas*, indispensable vehicles of transportation, were also entirely of wood, with wheels that were made out of one solid piece. Yet, all the lumber was sawed by hand. Sawmills, even the most primitive, were unknown up to the time of the American occupation.²¹ Other materials used in domestic manufacturing were hides, pelts, tin, copper, and wool. From wool came serapes (blankets) and a kind of rug called *gerga*. An American living in Santa Fe in the mid-nineteenth century remarked in regard to weaving:

The few articles that are made are of a coarse texture and are manufactured in families. The leading fabric is a coarse woollen blanket called *serape*, which is made to some extent for domestic use and sale. At times a considerable trade is carried on in it with the neighboring Mexican States and Indian tribes. It forms an important article of clothing among the peasantry, and many of the better classes use it instead of cloaks and overcoats. A few of finer texture, in imitation of the *serape saltillero*, are also manufactured, some of which sell for forty and fifty dollars each.²²

The *gerga* was a coarse woollen blanket of a checked pattern. It was cheaply made, sold at about twenty-five to forty cents a yard, and was generally used for carpets, although for some it constituted the only article of clothing, together with buckskin, until the trade with the United States brought fabrics within reach of the poor.²³ Some cotton goods were

20. Arny, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

21. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

23. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 210; Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

manufactured at home on a crude spinning apparatus commonly known as the *huso* or *malacate*. 'Gregg admired this spindle, and says that "the dexterity with which the female spins with this simple apparatus is truly astonishing."²⁴ However, it was difficult then for the New Mexicans to make their own clothing and still more difficult, in their poverty, to purchase imported goods at the exorbitant prices demanded by merchants from Chihuahua during the Mexican period and from the United States after 1846.²⁵ As late as 1857 Governor Abraham Rencher, referring to this problem, said that it was true that "we are too remote from commerce . . . but surely we should not continue to buy of them [the United States] at five times the price for which we could manufacture a better article at home."²⁶

As in the case of tobacco and other crops, domestic manufacturing had been discouraged by the Spanish government in many ways. One means was by imposing high custom duties on various articles. Custom-houses were located at the entrance to every province of Mexico to exact payment for all goods imported. Upon certain items higher duties were imposed in order to maintain their monopoly.²⁷ The natural consequence of this regimentation of industry was a rapid decline in home manufacturing, so that it practically died out in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In 1812, for instance, Pedro Pino, the first delegate of New Mexico to the Spanish Cortes, reported in Cádiz that industry had reached its lowest level. "There is no manufacturing in the province," he said, "other than that of wool and cotton. Necessity has compelled the people to weave baize, serge, blankets, quilts, zarapes . . . sackcloth, coarse frieze, cotton hose."²⁸ The situation reached such a perilous stage that it seems to have engaged the interest of the home government in Spain in sending an artisan to instruct the inhab-

24. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 210.

25. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (July, 1913), 40.

26. Santa Fe *Weekly Gazette*, December 12, 1857.

27. Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Spanish Tobacco Monopoly in New Mexico, 1766-1767," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXI (October, 1946), 328-331; Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 302.

28. Pino, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

itants in the use of more modern methods. As Pino subsequently wrote:

Within recent years we have witnessed the introduction of fine looms for cotton by an expert sent there by the government. He has given instruction to many people in a remarkable short time. . . . But the production of these articles, together with wine, hardly furnishes a favorable balance for the province, barely exceeding sixty thousand duros annually.²⁹

James Ohio Pattie, who for four years (1824-1828) traveled within the area of the present State of New Mexico, wrote that in Santa Fe "the principal articles of commerce are sheep, blankets, buffalo hides and sometimes their meat and tallow, peltry, salt and the common productions of agriculture, as corn, wheat, beans, onions, etc."³⁰ In the census of 1827 it was found that the entire Province of New Mexico had a total of 1,237 artisans for a white population of about 43,439.³¹ A quarter of a century later another writer spoke of the condition of the trades in these words:

The state of mechanic arts among New Mexicans is very low and apparently without improvement since the earliest times. There are few carpenters, blacksmiths and jewelers among the natives, but if ever so well skilled it would be impossible for them to accomplish much with the rough tools they use. The gold and silver smiths excel all the other workmen and some of their specimens, in point of ingenuity and skill, would do credit to the craft in any part of the world.³²

In treating of manufacturing under American rule, it is enlightening to read the reports of various governors to the legislative assemblies. For example, Governor Henry Connelly, in a speech delivered in December, 1861, declared that

New Mexico depends entirely on foreign markets for the purchase of all manufactured goods, iron, nails, steel, leather, woolen fabrics, everything indeed, is brought away from home and transported over the Plains. . . . Thousands of hides are yearly thrown away as worthless because there is no market for them. Our people depend upon the States for leather. . . . The wool is almost inexhaustible in quantity

29. *Ibid.*

30. James O. Pattie, *The Personal Narrative*, ed. Timothy Flint (Cincinnati: E. H. Flint, 1833), p. 275.

31. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (July, 1913), 36.

32. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

and could be bought for a nominal price. Tens of thousands of sheep are now left to get clear of their wooly coats as best they can because their owners can obtain no compensation for clipping it from their backs.³³

Three years later Governor Connelly, in an effort, no doubt, to encourage local industry, told the legislature that the day was not too distant when all the citizens of the Territory would be able to purchase products of domestic manufacture, such as clothing and household goods. "Even our horses," he promised, "will be shod with iron from our mines."³⁴

There was, however, one form of manufacturing of the period under consideration that is worthy of special notice. That was the *santos* industry. To supply the Catholic population that was deeply religious in spirit, with images, largely for private devotions, a class of artisans called *santeros* arose. To these craftsmen the making of religious pictures, statues, and tryptics was a profitable trade. As in the case of other forms of home-manufacturing in New Mexico, the craft of the *santero* was greatly determined by the environment. In a land where priests and physicians were few, if any, the *santos* gave the people a sense of security that was otherwise lacking. Often a *santo* was the only decoration that enhanced the adobe walls of a peasant's home.³⁵

The *santero* knew the kinds of *santos* his customers wanted and he made them. During the winter he would sit at home and make his statues and paintings. Early in the spring, as soon as the roads were clear, he would set out for the mountains and valleys with a large supply of his wares.³⁶ The materials he used included wood, such as pine and cottonwood, which abounded in the country; gypsum or *yeso* mixed with glue. The completed work was finally given a coat of paint made from vegetable dyes.³⁷ The artistic work

33. Henry Connelly, *The First Annual Message Delivered before the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico, December 4, 1861* (Santa Fe: Gazette Office, 1861), pp. 9-10.

34. Henry Connelly, *El segundo mensaje anual, op. cit.*, p. 9.

35. James McMillan, *Fifteen New Mexico Santos* (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1941), introd., n. p.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Charles D. Carroll, "Miguel Aragón, a Great Santero," *El Palacio*, L (March, 1943), 55.

of the *santero* included large altar panels, called *reredos*, some of which still exist and may be seen in various parts of New Mexico, as at Chimayó; smaller paintings of saints on wood, called *retablos*; and individual or group statues styled *bultos*.

Undoubtedly the carving of religious statues and the painting of religious pictures goes back to the early days of Franciscan missionary activity in New Mexico. It was traditional in all Franciscan missions to teach religion to the natives by means of illustrations and pictures. Isolated as they were in New Mexico from the usual centers of trade and supply, the friars taught the people to produce their own religious art. Under the guidance of the Franciscans were produced the early religious paintings on hide which were used to decorate the remote mission churches.³⁸ Most of the early works of religious art produced in New Mexico are believed to have been destroyed in the Pueblo Indian Rebellion of 1680, but the tradition did not die out. In the period from 1700 to 1835 the work of at least thirty professional *santeros* can be identified.³⁹ The craft of the *santero* received an impetus in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries. As peace between the Spanish and the Indians was consolidated, and New Mexicans sought means of livelihood in the country, they moved from the towns to the valleys where land was more abundant and more fertile. In moving away from centers of settlement they separated themselves from their parish churches and their few priests. Partly to make up for this loss, they set up their own chapels and shrines where Mass could be occasionally celebrated and where people could gather daily for prayers. It was the duty of the *santero* to decorate the rough adobe walls of these shrines and to supply the religious statues.

Unfortunately, the religious folk art of New Mexico did not survive the American occupation. By the middle of the nineteenth century the craft of the *santero* had all but disappeared. Of the many factors that contributed to its

38. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

39. McMillan, *op. cit.*, introd., n. p.

decline, one was commerce with the United States. When the first oxcarts arrived in Santa Fe from the East, the work of the *santero* was doomed. Another factor in the decline of this art was the arrival of French missionaries. These found little that appealed in the grim features of the locally-produced *santos*, and they gave little or no encouragement. The market was soon flooded with lithographed images which immediately appealed to the people. Among the first to sense this demand for religious prints, and to profit from it, were the enterprising Currier and Ives.⁴⁰

If New Mexico was not a manufacturing region, it was at least endowed by nature with fine lands for grazing and agriculture. Under the Spanish regime this frontier colony had been able to export its surplus cattle and wool. The annual caravans which brought supplies to Santa Fe would make the return trip to Mexico City loaded with pelts, furs, wool and blankets.⁴¹ New Mexicans also bartered with the plains Indians and held annual fairs for this purpose, especially in Santa Fe and Taos. But this trade was so strictly regulated by the Spanish government that it brought New Mexico little financial benefit. In 1788, for instance, the total exports of the province were estimated at \$30,000, and in 1804 at \$60,000, while in this same year the imports amounted to \$112,000.⁴² Referring to the limitations on trade as applied to the entire vice-royalty of New Spain, Herbert I. Priestley states:

Through exclusive control of the import and export trade at the southern ports, and through central regulation by the government, the vice-royalty was held firmly in the grip of the mother country; but the centralization of commerce caused extremely high rates for overland freight, to which were added regional sales taxes increasing in amount in direct ratio with the distance, so that trade was always backward.⁴³

Except for this trade with the provinces to the south, there was little or no trade with other regions, as Spanish policy

40. Mitchell A. Wilder, *Santos, the Religious Folk Art of New Mexico* (Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 1943), pp. 23, 31.

41. Herbert I. Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848*, Vol. I of *A History of American Life* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930), 58.

42. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 277, 302.

43. Priestley, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

discouraged and even forbade business contacts with Louisiana, Texas, and the American colonies. In 1805, William Morrison, an enterprising merchant from Kaskaskia, Illinois, made an effort to establish trade with Santa Fe. He outfitted a Frenchman, Baptiste Lalande, with a stock of merchandise and sent him off by boat and pack train. Morrison lost out on the deal, for Lalande sold the goods and settled in Taos as a successful merchant, without ever reimbursing him. Thus this early American attempt to open the markets of New Mexico to American goods failed.⁴⁴

The declaration of Mexican independence in 1821 opened New Mexico to American trade, and from 1824, when Bartolomé Baca first engaged in prairie commerce, there was a steady increase in business with the Anglo-American frontier towns. At first this trade was mostly in the hands of American and French traders, but gradually New Mexicans entered the field and by 1843 they had all but monopolized it.⁴⁵

The importance of trade with New Mexico and the possibilities for its growth were first envisioned in 1824 by Senator Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri. In the United States Senate he often prophesied the great future of the West, and he urged the President to appoint a commission to survey a road from Missouri to New Mexico.⁴⁶ That same year a group of Missourians, eight in number, set out for New Mexico with merchandise loaded on pack mules and on twenty-five wagons. This marked a new era in the commerce with the Southwest, for it was the first time that vehicles were used to transport goods across the plains. As the roads were improved, wagons proved a boon to the growing American-Mexican commerce.⁴⁷ At first clumsy carts were used, but in a short time lighter wagons were introduced. Soon even stage coaches followed the trail to Santa Fe. The trip from Independence, Missouri, to Santa

44. Ritch, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

45. Prince, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-278; Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (3 vols., New York: Francis P. Harper, 1902), II, 509 ff.

46. Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail, the Story of a Great Highway* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1897), p. 44.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 51

Fe was usually made in seventy days, and the return trip, with comparatively lighter loads (one thousand to two thousand pounds per wagon), took about forty days.⁴⁸

It must be noted that this early commerce with New Mexico was always a private enterprise. Usually a group of small businessmen formed a group, each providing his own wagons, horses, and equipment, the whole investment amounting to perhaps one thousand dollars a partner. One historian remarks that "frequently the traders took with them all that they possessed. Often they would secure credits by mortgages upon their property until their return in the fall."⁴⁹ It was customary to place the entire caravan of wagons under the supreme command of one man who knew the roads and was capable of handling men. The other members of the caravan were obliged to follow his orders and to observe strict discipline from the time they left their starting point (usually Independence, Missouri), until they reached their destination.⁵⁰

Excitement prevailed whenever a caravan arrived in Santa Fe. Merchandise booths were prepared on the plaza, and rented to traders; dance halls were readied for the fandangos. That the caravans were important in the life of Santa Feans may be gathered from a description left by one of the merchants:

The arrival produced a great deal of bustle and excitement among the natives. "Los Americanos!—Los carros!—La entrada de la caravana," were to be heard in every direction; and crowds of women and

48. Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

49. Bloom, *op. cit.*, II (October, 1914), 122. A letter from Ceran St. Vrain, one of the traders who later became prominent in New Mexico, reveals the plight of the merchants if unable to sell their goods at market price. The letter was written at San Fernando del Taos, September 14, 1830, and was addressed to B. Pratte and Co.:

"Gentlemen: It is with pleasure that I inform you of my last arrival at Santafe [*sic*] which was the 4th of August. we [*sic*] were met at Red river [*sic*] by General Biscusa [*Viscarra*] the custom house officer and a few soldiers. the [*sic*] object in coming out so far to meet us was to prevent smuggling and it had the desired effect [*sic*], there was a guard placed around our wagons until we entered Santafe [*sic*], we had to pay dutys [*sic*] which amounts to about 60% on cost. I was the first that put goods in the Custom house and I opened immediately, but goods sold very slow, so slow that it was discouraging. I found that it was impossible to meet my payments if I continued retailing. I therefore thought it best to hole Saile [*sic*] and I have done so . . ." Bloom, *op. cit.*, II (January, 1914), 275-6.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 251; *Ibid.*, II (October, 1914), 122.

boys flocked around to see the newcomers; while crowds of *leperos* hung about as usual to see what they could pilfer. The wagoners were by no means free from excitement on this occasion. Informed of the 'ordeal' they had to pass, they had spent the previous morning in 'rubbing up'; and now they were prepared, with clean faces, sleek combed hair, and their choicest Sunday suit, to meet the 'fair eyes' of glistening clack that were sure to stare at them as they passed. There was yet another preparation to be made in order to 'show off' to advantage. Each wagoner must tie a brand new 'cracker' to the lack of his whip; for, on driving through the streets and the *plaza publica*, every one strived to outvie his comrades in the dexterity with which he flourished this favorite badge of his authority. . . . The arrival of a caravan at Santa Fe changes the aspect of the place at once. Instead of the idleness and stagnation which its streets exhibited before, one now sees everywhere the bustle, noise and activity of a lively market town.⁵¹

Another trader said that the people were very kind to the Americans and could not do enough for them:

When a train was expected, they would arrange to have a great fandango in token of respect to Americans. . . . Fandangos seemed to be free, no door fee. Waltzes seemed to be the popular style of dancing. There was a great mixture in the dancing-soldiers, Mexicans and negroes. The negroes were more popular with the Mexican and Spanish ladies than the Mexicans. Some of our boys took part, but it was a little tough on our Missourians to waltz with negroes, but they had to comply with the custom of the country."⁵²

The caravans transported articles of every description to New Mexico, including household goods, wearing apparel, and groceries. In the 1840's the net profit on these goods averaged about forty per cent.⁵³ Governor Rencher repeatedly reminded the people of this unnecessary drain upon the financial resources of the region.⁵⁴ Common calicoes and plain cotton goods sold at from two to three dollars a yard;⁵⁵ potatoes sold for five dollars a bushel, sugar for as much as seventy-five cents a pound.⁵⁶ Twenty years after the American occupation food was still high, with butter selling at a dollar a pound, milk at twenty-five cents a quart and eggs at

51. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 67-69.

52. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

53. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, II, 519.

54. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, December 12, 1857.

55. Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

56. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, December 26, 1857.

from seventy-five cents to a dollar a dozen.⁵⁷ Under Mexican rule, when it was customary to charge an import duty of \$500 on each wagon, regardless of its contents,⁵⁸ this high cost of commodities was understandable, but, as Colonel Emory suggested in 1846, "a great reduction must take place now in the price of dry goods and groceries, twenty per cent at least, for this was about the rate of duty charged by Armijo, which is now, of course, taken off."⁵⁹

While it is true that Yankee ingenuity occasionally circumvented this excessive custom duty by transferring, near the first port of entry, the freight of two or three wagons into one and burning the empty carriages,⁶⁰ the fact remains that, according to Gregg who was no friend of the Mexican officials, between fifty and eighty thousand dollars were collected as duty during the first year of the trade.⁶¹

The growth and profit of the caravan trade may be gauged from the following figures :

<i>Year</i>	<i>Value of Merchandise Carried</i>
1822 -----	\$15,000
1823 -----	12,000
1843 -----	450,000
1846 -----	1,750,000 ⁶²
1876 -----	2,108,000 ⁶³

Available data for the year 1844 show that New Mexico exports amounted to \$400,000 *in specie*, and that other exports, consisting mostly of buffalo robes, furs, etc., amounted to \$50,000. In that year the value of merchandise sent to Santa Fe was estimated at \$300,000.⁶⁴

As the caravans we have just described were wending their way across the prairies weighed down with valuable merchandise, another no less enterprising group of Americans were penetrating the remote mountains of New Mexico.

57. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156.

58. Inman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

59. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

60. Inman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

61. Gregg, *op. cit.*, II, 165.

62. Bloom, *op. cit.*, II (October, 1914), 121.

63. Ritch, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

64. Bloom, *op. cit.*, II (October, 1914), 124; Freeman Hunt, *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, XI (November, 1844), 475.

These men were the fur traders, and they also influenced the economy of the region. Concerned particularly with beaver hunting, early in the nineteenth century they penetrated as far as the Gila and Colorado Rivers, and even beyond to California.⁶⁵ While the caravan trade to Santa Fe was financed for the most part by individuals with limited capital, the fur trade was in the hands of wealthy companies.⁶⁶ The profits accruing to these companies were tremendous, for the hunters themselves received a mere pittance for their hard labor and the exporting of furs was not taxed by the Mexican government. Barreiro, writing his *Ojeada* in 1832, stated that

Since exports of beaver are not taxed by the national government, American merchants try to take back on their return trip, instead of money, beaver skins. Thus they gain two advantages: that of not having to pay duty on the export of money, and that of taking back to their country an article which is of great value there, and on which there is no duty in Mexico.⁶⁷

On April 14, 1831, a complaint was sent in to the secretary of state in Mexico City with the hope of limiting the number of hunting licenses being issued in Santa Fe. The letter said, in part:

The Anglo-Americans, well provided with arms and hunting apparatus, especially that for beaver-trapping, buy from citizens of Santa Fe the license which they take out from the *Gefe* of that Capital, allowing them to hunt for a certain time in certain places designated by the *Gefe*, many leagues distant in the mountains and plains bathed by the Rio Bravo. With the subterfuge of such license, the Anglo-Americans attack the species without limit or consideration, and secure enormous quantities of skins, many times without paying even an eighth of the duties to the treasury.⁶⁸

In a few years the fur-bearing animals were virtually exterminated. Although the fur traders added little to the finances of the Territory, their penetration into Mexican

65. Eleanor Lawrence, "Mexican Trade Between Santa Fe and Los Angeles, 1830-1848," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, X (March, 1931), 27; James J. Hill, "Old Spanish Trails," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, IV (August, 1921), 464.

66. Inman, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

67. Barreiro, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

68. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (January, 1914), 260.

domain constitutes an important chapter in the economic and political history of the Southwest.

Another phase of economic life in New Mexico was the trade with California. The medium of exchange in this case was sheep. In the first decades of the nineteenth century there was such an abundance of sheep in the land that it was not unusual to export as many as a half-million head a year, principally to markets south of New Mexico.⁶⁹ Encouraged by Governor José Antonio Chávez, New Mexicans first engaged in trade with California in 1829. "On November 8, 1829," as Chávez informed the Minister of the Interior in Mexico City, "sixteen men left for California to trade the products of New Mexico for mules. Indians are no obstacle. The traders use no maps or compasses. The Supreme Government should promote this commerce."⁷⁰ For a time this trade proved very profitable for the New Mexicans. In exchange for their sheep and woolen products they received horses and mules, valuable in eastern markets for the caravan trade. But, unrestrained as some of the traders were, they began to perpetrate crimes and robberies and to lead the California mission Indians astray, especially by selling them liquor. In 1832 the friars of the missions complained to the Mexican authorities against this lawlessness, and two years later Fray Ramón Abella asked that a law be passed permitting these traders to remain but three days in California, except in case of illness. After this law was passed New Mexicans were carefully watched in California and they were virtually regarded as foreigners. To discourage their trade an attempt was made in 1834 to collect duty on all goods which they sold in California. They were also required to have a passport and a testimonial of good conduct before they were permitted to enter the province. Despite these barriers, however, the trade proved highly profitable for New Mexicans.⁷¹

The gold rush to California increased the demand for New Mexico cattle and sheep, and prices were raised tre-

69. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 189.

70. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, 39.

mendously. In 1853, for example, sheep were sold in California for \$8 to \$16 a head, bringing the ranchers a profit of from 400 to 800 per cent.⁷² This trade proved so lucrative that New Mexico was almost depleted of its flocks. The *Weekly Gazette* said that "the enormous demand for sheep in California has drained New Mexico already very greatly, without, however, meeting the demand to any appreciable extent."⁷³

The trails of the packmules from the United States to Santa Fe and from Santa Fe to California gradually gave way to wagon roads, over which Americans began to travel, heading for Santa Fe and the west coast. American trade with New Mexico affected the fortunes of the region in another and more subtle way. Through trade the winning of the West was being accomplished by the Anglo-Americans. Naturally, the shifting of the balance of trade from Mexico to the United States was viewed with alarm by the home government in Mexico. But little did it realize that in the not too distant future the pendulum of political power would also swing from the south to the north and that commerce was inevitably paving the way for this change.

For the greater part of the nineteenth century poor communications constituted one of the perplexing problems of New Mexico, and it was one of the contributing factors toward isolation and illiteracy. Barreiro, writing in 1832, observed that for the most part the few roads in New Mexico were adequate.⁷⁴ But however good the roads might have been, communication with the Mexican capital and with the United States left much to be desired. Mail service was particularly slow, even during the period of American occupation. It usually took at least thirty-five days for a letter to reach Santa Fe from Mexico City by the fastest means, which was twice the speed of ordinary travel.⁷⁵ In 1852 Governor Lane, in his message to the legislative assembly in Santa Fe, expressed the hope that the monthly mail to Missouri would soon be bi-monthly and that mail service to

72. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 26, 1853.

73. *Ibid.*

74. Barreiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11, 29.

75. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (July, 1914), 15-16; Gregg, *op. cit.*, II, 67.

Texas and Utah would also be established.⁷⁶ Three years later, Acting Governor William W. H. Davis bitterly complained that in the most pressing emergency three months were required before a reply could be received from Washington.⁷⁷ In view of these conditions, it is not surprising that Governor Lane advocated so strongly the introduction of the railroad into New Mexico. In his mind, it was the only way in which the Territory could advance culturally and economically. In a message to the legislative assembly in 1852 he said: "From public and private necessity, the continent must soon be crossed, from east to west, by railroads and telegraphic lines, and in all probability, one or more of these railroads and telegraphic lines will traverse New Mexico. And when they do, what a mighty change will be the result!"⁷⁸

As may be surmised, the development of new avenues of trade and commerce did little to improve the financial status of the common people. In 1860 there still existed, as in 1830, a society composed for the most part of two classes only, the wealthy and the poor; a middle class still undeveloped. The lot of the poor was hard, for while prices rose, wages remained extremely low. In 1846 common laborers received three *reales* (about thirty-seven cents) for a day's work, a sum hardly sufficient to sustain a family, even on the poorest fare. In 1853 the wages of miners were fifty cents a day and more skilled workers, such as smelters and refiners, received \$1.50.⁷⁹ It was little wonder that in the first year of the occupation an American officer should write that "the major portion of the people live not one bit better than the negroes on a plantation in our southern States and the rico of the village, like the planter, possesses everything; no one else owns a single sheep."⁸⁰

Contemporary writings indicate that a program of relief to aid the New Mexicans was started in the early years

76. *Journal of the Hon. Council of the Territory of New Mexico, op. cit.*, p. 84.

77. W. W. H. Davis, *Message to the Legislative Assembly, December 3, 1855* (Santa Fe: *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, 1855), p. 7.

78. *Journal of the Hon. Council of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1852, p. 81.

79. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, July 16, 1853.

80. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 482.

of the occupation. Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, the commanding officer in New Mexico, insinuated this, in his customary caustic way, in a report to Secretary of War Charles Conrad. "Before we took the country," he wrote, "a considerable part of the population earned a scanty livelihood at the mines; but this work was abandoned directly when the Government money was scattered broadcast among them."⁸¹ In the same report he added that "as a conquered people, they feel a natural dislike toward us; but so long as we kept them supplied with money, and they had nothing to do but revel in their vices, they were content to stifle their patriotism."⁸²

The Territory's treasury seems to have been virtually bankrupt most of the time. For example, during the fiscal year 1854-1855 the net income amounted to \$8,735.34 while the expenditures were \$11,668.75.⁸³ In his message to the legislature in 1854, Acting Governor Davis revealed the plight of the treasury in these terms:

The treasury is without funds and the credit of the Territory is nearly bankrupt. The officers of the Government are many months in arrears, in their salaries, and no present prospect of their being paid. New warrants are issued from time to time, which the holders hawk about for sale, and many are willing to sell them at almost any price, rather than wait the uncertainty of their being paid from the territorial treasury. It is often the case, for a considerable length of time, that there is not a dollar in the treasury, and the officers are obliged to ask credit for the necessary office expenses.⁸⁴

Bad as were the finances of New Mexico in the late 1850's, they did not compare unfavorably with those of the United States, then in the grips of a depression. While the panic of 1857 brought untold misery to the rest of the country, New Mexico, having neither banks nor great investments, suffered little in consequence of the panic. The *Weekly Gazette* commented on this editorially:

We have no other currency than gold and silver. A bank note is never seen in this part of the country. The good old democratic doc-

81. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 5, 1853.

82. *Ibid.*

83. Davis, *Message*, p. 11.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

trine of specie currency is practiced by this people, and hence we are beyond the reach of the panics created by the suspension and failure of insolvent and irresponsible manufactories of shiplaster and wild cat money. Let the states and Territories of the Union follow the example of New Mexico in this respect and we will hear no more of pecuniary panics.⁸⁵

Willy-nilly, New Mexico was undergoing economic changes that would leave a lasting imprint on its character. In a gradual way this transformation had begun with the declaration of Mexican independence, when the people were given more freedom to participate in industry and trade. But more important were the changes that took place under the American form of government. The Americans introduced a broader concept of social democracy into New Mexico, which was accompanied by untold economic advantages. New roads were opened over which rolled not only trade caravans from Missouri, bringing needed supplies and new comforts of life, but also stage coaches with tourists from the East, who admired the natural beauty of the Southwest, now open to them for the first time.⁸⁶ Monthly mail to and from the States gradually gave way to bi-monthly and later weekly service.⁸⁷ The new postal law of September 30, 1851, reduced the postage on newspapers threefold to one cent an ounce up to 3,000 miles. This obviously expedited the exchange of ideas and the transaction of business with the States.⁸⁸

New Mexico was clearly passing through a period of transition. Great changes had taken place, and still more were to come with the introduction of the railroad. Reflecting the happy mood of the people who looked forward with eager anticipation to the day when a train would pull into New Mexico from the East, a local enthusiast penned the following lines:

We're a peculiar people; we
Don't change with every wind;

85. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, November 5, 1857.

86. The fare from St. Louis, Missouri, to Santa Fe was \$125 in the summer and \$150 in the winter, with forty pounds of personal baggage. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1852.

87. *Journal of the Hon. Council of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1852, p. 84.

88. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, November 20, 1852.

We don't run after Kossuth; we
Don't worship Jenny Lind.
We don't "blow up" in steamboats; we
Don't *fillibustering* go;
The Railroad cars are coming humming
Through New Mexico.

Then go it Progress, go it boots,
And Young America,
And rush the cars of destiny
To Cal-i-for-ni-a.
We'll sacrifice our hat, we will—
Four dollar hat, bran new—
The Railroad cars are coming humming
Through New Mexico.⁸⁹

89. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1853.

(To be continued)

CHECKLIST OF NEW MEXICO PUBLICATIONS

By WILMA LOY SHELTON

(Continued)

Bureau of Revenue.

Created in 1935; given power and duty to administer laws with respect to automobiles and licensing, collection and disposition of taxes on gasoline, motor vehicles, alcoholic liquors, taxation of incomes, collection of school tax.

Report

-Feb. 16, 1942 unpub. (J. O. Gallegos)

July 1, 1944-June 30, 1946 38p. (R. L. Ormsbee)

New Mexico oleomargarine excise tax effective June 11, 1937. Santa Fe, (1937) (4)p. (Session laws of 1937. chap. 160)

New Mexico revenue and tax code annotated; 1937 compilation. . . comp. and ed. by Henry C. Allen. Denver, Colo., W. H. Courtright pub. co., 1937. 285p.

New Mexico severance tax act. Santa Fe (1937) 10p.

Rules and regulations; N. M. School tax laws; N. M. Compensating tax act; comments on Sec. 201, chap. 73, Laws 1935 amended; excerpts from Severance, Luxury, Oil conservation and Oleomargarine tax laws. Santa Fe, 1945. 53p.

Succession tax law. Santa Fe (1937) 13p.

Bureau of revenue. Compensating tax division.

Act was passed in 1939 imposing tax against tangible personal property purchased from a retailer; created for the purpose of protecting merchants, dealers and manufacturers of the state.

Compensating tax act, 1939; petroleum industry special rules and regulations. Pub. July 1, 1939. 12p. mimeo.

General rules and regulations covering the administration of the New Mexico compensation tax law; issued by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner on New Mexico Bureau of revenue, G. S. Carter, Director compensating tax division, July 1, 1939. (Santa Fe, 1939) 11p.

New Mexico compensating tax act of 1939, chapter 95, Session laws 1939. Santa Fe (1941) 16p.

An outline of New Mexico compensating tax law; general rules and

regulations covering administration; issued May, 1947. (Santa Fe, 1947) 12p.

Bureau of revenue. Division of liquor control.

Established in 1935; formerly State board of liquor control; chief of division appointed by Commissioner of revenue; prescribes and establishes forms of applications, licenses, permits and regulations.

Biennial report

July 1, 1934-June 30, 1936. 25p. v. 1 (Wm. G. Johnson) 23-24 fis. yr.

July 1, 1936-June 30, 1938. 23p. v. 2 (W. R. Meador) 25-26 fis. yr.

July 1, 1938-June 30, 1940. 20p. v. 3 (S. J. Jernigan) 27-28 fis. yr.

July 1, 1940-June 30, 1942. 15p. v. 4 (S. T. Jernigan) 29-30 fis. yr.

July 1, 1942-June 30, 1944. 14p. v. 5 (Victor Salazar) 31-32 fis. yr.

Report for 1934/36 reproduced from type-written copy.

Chap. 159, 1933 Laws of New Mexico and Rules and regulations thereunder. Santa Fe (1933) 32p.

Chap. 30 Laws of New Mexico, 1934; Special session and Rules and regulations under chap. 159, 1933 Laws and chap. 30, 1934 Laws; issued by State Board of Liquor control and the state treasurer. (Santa Fe, 1934) 22p.

Circular letter to all non-resident and wholesale liquor licenses (dated Jan. 9, 1946) 1 leaf. (mimeo)

Contents of a case of alcoholic liquors effective Feb. 15, 1946. (Santa Fe, 1946) 1 leaf. (Amendment to Regulation no. 24) mimeo.

Defining minimum standards for contents of whisky blends and requiring proper labeling of such blends and unaged whiskies. (Santa Fe, 1945) 1 leaf (Regulation no. 37 amended, Dec. 17, 1945) mimeo.

Liquor control act; chap. 112, 1935 Laws of New Mexico effective May 26, 1935. Santa Fe (1935) 24p.

Liquor control act; chap. 112, 1935. Laws of New Mexico; and rules and regulations effective May 27, 1935. (Santa Fe, Quality press, 1935) 27p.

New Mexico Division of Liquor control act; chap. 130, Session laws of 1937; effective March 15, 1937. Santa Fe, 1937. 29p.

New Mexico Division of Liquor control act; chap. 236, Session laws of 1939; effective June 10, 1939. Santa Fe, 1939. 47p.

New Mexico liquor laws; a combination of chap. 236, Session laws of 1939 and chap. 4, 80 and 193 of the Session laws of 1941 as amended by Laws of 1945 (with subject index) Santa Fe, 1945. 55p.

New Mexico liquor laws and regulations as amended through 1947 (with subject index) Santa Fe, 1948. 94p.

- New Mexico liquor laws . . . as amended by laws of 1945 (with subject index) Santa Fe (1945) 55p.
- Official list of licensed liquor dealers and registered common carriers . . . Santa Fe, 1939- monthly.
- Regulations no. 1, 1945. mimeo.
- Rules and regulations for the enforcement of the New Mexico liquor law . . . effective June 10, 1939. Santa Fe (1939) 26p.
- Semi annual statement of receipts and expenditures for State board of liquor control and Liquor stamp tax department of Bureau of revenue for the period July 1, 1936 to Dec. 31, 1936. Santa Fe, 1936. 2p. (mimeo)
- Statistical memorandum. no. 1- ; Nov. 1943- monthly.
- [Text of] New Mexico division of liquor control act. Santa Fe (1941) 41p.

Bureau of revenue. Driver's license division.

Created in 1937; provides for the examining and licensing of operators and chauffeurs of motor vehicles; for the revocation and suspension of licenses, for the collection and disposition of fees and for a penalty for the violation of the provisions.

- Summary of Motor vehicle traffic accidents. Santa Fe, 1941-monthly.
- Suspensions and revocations. Santa Fe, 1946- mimeo. quarterly.

Bureau of revenue. Gasoline tax division.

Gasoline tax levied since July 1919; the division has charge of motor fuel taxes, correct measurement of all dispensing equipment, sale of petroleum products and enforcement of tax refund laws.

Annual report

- July 1, 1930-June 30, 1931. (5) p. (A. H. Hill)
- Gasoline excise tax laws as comp. from 1929 compilation; also chap. 31, Laws of 1931 as passed by the tenth legislature; comp. under supervision of Adolph P. Hill. 20p.
- New Mexico gasoline and/or motor fuel excise tax acts; effective March 1, 1935. Santa Fe (1935) 35p.
- New Mexico gasoline and/or motor fuel excise tax acts. Santa Fe (1937) 36p.
- New Mexico gasoline and/or motor fuel excise tax acts, including additions and amendments passed by the 14th legislature, 1939. Santa Fe (1939) 42p.

New Mexico gasoline and/or motor fuel excise tax acts, including additions and amendments passed by the fifteenth legislature, 1941. Santa Fe (1941) 37p.

Specifications, tolerances and regulations for dispensing devices of refined petroleum products. Santa Fe (1937) 38p.

Bureau of revenue. Income tax division.

Created in 1933; transferred from State tax commission in 1935 to Bureau of Revenue.

An analytical and chronological record of the financial operations of the Income tax division.

Mar. 14, 1933-June 30, 1942. 30th fiscal yr. (Earle Kerr) 7p.

Annual analytical report

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1943 (13) p. 22-31st fis. yr. (Earle Kerr)

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1944 (11) p. 22-32 " " (J. L. Miller)

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1945 (11) p. 22-33 " " "

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1946 (11) p. 22-34 " " "

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1947 16p. 22-35 " " "

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1948 (14) p. 22-36 " " "

Income tax act amended; the provisions and penalties of this act are effective on and after March 14th, 1933. Santa Fe (1933) 32p.

Regulation no. 1 (Santa Fe, 1934)

Regulation no. 2 relating to the Income tax act of 1933 of the state of New Mexico. (Santa Fe) 1939. 115p.

Regulation no. 3 relating to the Income tax act; Victor Salazar, Commissioner of revenue, J. Leon Miller, Director, Income tax division, Ray M. Hall, chief auditor; pub. Jan. 1, 1948. (Santa Fe) 1948. 109p.

Bureau of revenue. Motor vehicle division.

Created in 1913 as a branch of the office of the Secretary of state, transferred in 1923 to Office of State comptroller and in 1933 to the Bureau of Revenue. The department now consists of four divisions: Registration, Title, Inspection and Liens.

Annual report: Auto license receipts and distributions for the year. 1929. (Santa Fe, 1930) (3)p.

Automobile laws of New Mexico; in effect March 11, 1913. (Santa Fe, 1913) 12p.

Motor vehicle law passed by fourth state legislature, 1919 session; effective, Jan. 1, 1920. Santa Fe (1920) 14p.

- Motor vehicle laws of New Mexico 1931-32, rev. and pub. by J. M. Lujan, state comptroller, under direction of M. A. Gallegos, Motor vehicle commissioner. (Santa Fe, n. d.) 81, 10p.
- Motor vehicle laws of New Mexico 1933-34, rev. and pub. by J. N. Vigil, state comptroller, under direction of Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner, n. p. n. d. 87, 10p.
- Motor vehicle laws of New Mexico 1935-36, rev. and pub. by J. D. Bingaman, commissioner of revenue, under direction of Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. (Santa Fe, n. d.) 121, 11p.
- Motor vehicle laws of New Mexico 1939-40, rev. and pub. by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, under direction of J. O. Garcia, Motor vehicle commissioner. (Santa Fe, n. d.) 90p.
- Suggestions for Motor vehicle registration procedure; comp. and issued by Mike Gallegos, Motor vehicle commissioner. (Santa Fe) 1947. 55p.
- The Zia Book; New Mexico Automobile license directory . . . furnished by Juan N. Vigil, state comptroller, comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1934. 3v.
- The Zia Book; New Mexico Automobile license directory . . . pub. by Juan N. Vigil, state comptroller, comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1934. 3v.
- The Zia Book, New Mexico Automobile license directory . . . pub. by J. J. Connelley, Commissioner of revenue, comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1935. 3v. and supp.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by John D. Bingaman . . . comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1936. 4v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by John D. Bingaman, commissioner of revenue, comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1937. 3v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by John D. Bingaman . . . comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1938. 3v.
- The Zia Book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by John D. Bingaman . . . comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner, Santa Fe, 1939. 3v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by John D. Bingaman, commissioner of revenue, comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1940. 3v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, comp. by J. O. Garcia, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1941. 4v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, comp. by J. O. Garcia, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1942. 4v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished

- by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, comp. by M. A. Romero, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1943. 3v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, comp. by M. A. Romero, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1944. 4v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, comp. by M. A. Romero, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1945. 3v.
no more published

Bureau of revenue. Port of entry division.

Created in 1935; aids in regulation of use of public highways, in collection of taxes and enforcement of police and health laws.

New Mexico port of entry laws. chap. 136; Session laws of 1935. (Santa Fe, 1935) 14p.

Bureau of revenue. School tax division.

Passed in 1935; superceded the 1934 act; tax is levied against persons exercising business privileges in the state; all proceeds in excess of administrative cost are distributed to the State school equalization fund and apportioned to the various counties for elementary and high school purposes.

New Mexico emergency school tax act effective July 1, 1935 . . . (Santa Fe, 1935) 24p. (Session laws of 1935 chap. 73)

New Mexico emergency school tax laws, chap. 73 Session laws of 1935 as amended by chap. 192 Session laws of 1937; chap. 73 Laws of 1935 superceded chap. 7 special session act 1934 on July 1, 1935. Santa Fe (1937) 28p.

New Mexico school tax laws; chap. 73 Laws 1935 as amended by chap. 192 Laws 1937; chap. 94 Laws 1939; chap. 144 Laws 1939. (Santa Fe, 1939) 28p.

New Mexico school tax laws; chap. 73 Laws 1935 as amended by chap. 192 Laws 1937; chap. 94 Laws 1939; chap. 144 Laws 1939; chap. 33 Laws 1941; chap. 77 Laws 1941; chap. 133 Laws 1941. (Santa Fe, 1941) 22p.

Official rules and regulations; New Mexico school tax law; chap. 73 Laws 1935 amended; Field auditor's handbook July 1947; Victor Salazar commissioner, Joe Callaway, Director School tax division. (Santa Fe, 1947) 44p.

Capitol custodian committee.

Established 1899; abolished in 1935; all duties formerly exercised by the committee were vested in the Governor, Secretary of state and Capitol custodian.

Report

May, 1899-Dec. 1, 1900. (Sol Spiegelberg) in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly Jan. 21, 1901. p. 357-362. Exhibit "S"

Dec. 1, 1900-Nov. 30, 1902. (A. A. Keen) in message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly. Jan. 19, 1903. Exhibit "AI" 14p.

Dec. 1, 1902-Nov. 30, 1904. (A. A. Keen) in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "AI" 18p.

Dec. 1, 1904-Nov. 30, 1906. (A. A. Keen) in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 24. 16p.

Report of the Capital committee of the House of Representatives of the 30th Legislative assembly. Santa Fe, 1893. 39p.

Capitol rebuilding board.

Established Feb. 1895; discontinued 1901.

(The capitol was completed in 1886; on May 12, 1892 the capitol building burned and many public documents were completely destroyed; new capitol was completed and dedicated on June 4, 1900.)

Report

March 2, 1895-Jan. 1, 1899 (F. M. Manzanares, pres. W. H. Pope, sec.) in Message of M. A. Otero to the 33d Legislative assembly Jan. 16, 1899. "Exhibit P" p. 291-305) in Council and House journal, 1899. "Exhibit P" p. 291-305.

March 1, 1900-Jan. 21, 1901. (W. H. Pope, sec.) in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "R" p. 345-356.

Informe del cuerpo de redeficar el capitolio del territorio de Nuevo Mejico finalizado Diciembre 31, 1898. Santa Fe, 1899. 18p.

Carey act land board.

Established 1909, had jurisdiction over reclamation, settlements and occupation of certain lands.

Annual report

Dec. 1, 1917-Nov. 30, 1918 (Fred Muller)

Act of Congress commonly called the Carey act, and amendments thereto, with regulations and forms prescribed by the secretary of the Interior, April 19, 1900 . . . Statute of New Mexico with regulations and forms adopted by the Carey act land board, May 15, 1909. (Santa Fe? 1910?) 73p.

Cattle Sanitary Board.

Established in 1887; exercises all general supervision over livestock interests of the state.

Annual report

Apr. 6, 1887-Feb. 4, 1888 14p. v.1

Feb. 4, 1888-Dec. 8, 1888 15p. v. 2 (J. D. Warner)

Dec. 8, 1888-Dec. 14, 1889 15p. v. 3 (L. Lutz)
1890 v. 4

Jan. 1, 1891-Dec. 31, 1891 v. 5

Jan. 1, 1892-Dec. 31, 1892 v. 6

Dec. 31, 1895-Dec. 31, 1896 25p. (J. A. LaRue)

Jan. 1, 1898-Dec. 31, 1898 (J. A. LaRue)

Also in Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 33rd Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1899. "Exhibit I" p. 246-250.

Also in Council and House Journal, 1899. "Exhibit I" p. 246-250.

Dec. 31, 1898-Jan. 1, 1900

Jan. 1, 1900-Dec. 31, 1900 (J. A. LaRue)

Also in Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1901 Exhibit "J" p. 283-288.

Dec. 1, 1901-Nov. 30, 1902 (J. A. LaRue)

Also in Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly. Jan. 19, 1903. "Exhibit O" 7p.

July 1, 1904-Nov. 30, 1904 (W. C. Barnes)

Also in Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1905. "Exhibit O" 17p.

Dec. 1, 1904-Nov. 30, 1906 (W. C. Barnes)

Also in Message of Gov. H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 19. 9p.

Dec. 1, 1906-Nov. 30, 1908 (E. G. Austen) (Typew.)

Dec. 1, 1908-Dec. 31, 1911 (W. J. Linwood) (Typew.)

Jan. 1, 1912--Nov. 30, 1912 25th fis. yr. (W. J. Linwood) (Typew.)

Dec. 1, 1912-Nov. 30, 1913 26th fis. yr. (W. J. Linwood) "

Dec. 1, 1913-Nov. 30, 1914 27th fis. yr. (W. J. Linwood) "

Dec. 1, 1914-Nov. 30, 1915 28th fis yr. (W. J. Linwood) "

Dec. 1, 1915-Nov. 30, 1916 29th fis. yr. (W. J. Linwood) "

Dec. 1, 1916-Nov. 30, 1917 30th fis. yr. (T. D. Allen) "

- Dec. 1, 1917-Nov. 30, 1918 31st fis. yr. (T. D. Allen) ”
- Dec. 1, 1918-Nov. 30, 1919 32nd fis. yr. (W. J. Linwood) ”
- Dec. 1, 1919-Nov. 30, 1920 33rd fis. yr. (W. J. Linwood) ”
- Dec. 1, 1920-Nov. 30, 1921 34th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- Dec. 1, 1921-Nov. 30, 1922 35th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1923 36th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- Dec. 1, 1923-Nov. 30, 1924 37th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- Dec. 1, 1924-Nov. 30, 1925 38th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1925-Jne. 30, 1926 14th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1926-Jne. 30, 1927 15th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1927-June 30, 1928 16th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1928-June 30, 1929 17th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1929-June 30, 1930 18th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1930-June 30, 1931 19th fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1931-June 30, 1932 20th fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1932-June 30, 1933 21 fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1933-June 30, 1934 22 fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1934-June 30, 1935 (25) p. 23 fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1935-June 30, 1936 24 fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1936-June 30, 1937 25 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1937-June 30, 1938 (15) p. 26 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1938-June 30, 1939 (12) p. 27 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1939-June 30, 1940 (14) p. 28 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1940-June 30, 1941 (13) p. 29 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1941-June 30, 1942 (13) p. 30 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1942-June 30, 1943 (14) p. 31 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1943-June 30, 1944 (14) p. 32 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1944-June 30, 1945 (14) p. 33 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1945-June 30, 1946 (15) p. 34 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1946-June 30, 1947 (14) p. 35 fis. yr. (Charline Irvan) ”
- July 1, 1947-June 30, 1948 (17) p. 36 fis. yr. (Charline Irvan) ”
- Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses, re-recorded under the provisions of the Act, approved Feb. 16th, 1899 and other brands recorded since May 1st, 1899. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1900. 358p. and supps. no. 1-3.
- Supplement no. 1 to the Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses recorded and re-recorded since July 1st 1900, to Jan. 1st 1902. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1902. 133p.
- Supplement no. 2 to the Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses, recorded and re-recorded since Jan. 1st 1902 to Jan. 1st 1903. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1903. 91p.
- Supplement no. 3 to the Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules, and asses, re-

- corded and re-recorded since Jan. 1st 1903 to Jan. 1st 1904. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1904. 91p.
- Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses, recorded under the provisions of the Act, approved February 16th, 1889, and other brands recorded since May 1st, 1899, up to December 31st, 1906. Las Vegas? 1907? 536, 109p.
- Supplement to Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses recorded since January 1st 1907, up to Dec. 31st, 1908 . . . Las Vegas, n. d. v. p.
- Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses, re-recorded under the provisions of the act approved February 16, 1889, and other brands recorded up to December 31, 1914. (Albuquerque, 1915) 508, 115, 32p.
- Contains Live stock laws of the state of New Mexico relating to cattle, horses, mules and asses. Albuquerque, 1915. 32p.
- Supplement no. 1 to 1915 Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands of cattle, horses, mules and asses, from close of 1915 Brand book Dec. 31, 1914 to July 1, 1917 . . . Albuquerque (1917) 107, 55p.
- Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses, registered at close of books July 1 1934 . . . Albuquerque (1935) 223, 139p.
- includes Supplement no. 1 to the 1934 Brand book. (9)p.
- 1936 supplement no. 2 to the 1934 Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses registered at close of books July 28, 1936. Albuquerque (1936) 52, 38, 5p.
- Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands registered for cattle, horses, mules and asses, at close of books June 1, 1941 . . . Albuquerque, (1941) 478, 130p.
- 1942 supplement to 1941 Brand book, showing all the brands registered for cattle, horses, mules and asses, from June 1, 1941 to the close of books June 30, 1942. Albuquerque (1942) 66, 18p.
- 1943 supplement to 1941 Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands registered for cattle, horses, mules and asses, from June 1, 1942 to the close of books June 30, 1943 . . . Albuquerque, (1943) 65, 18p.
- 1945 supplement to 1941 Brand book, showing all the brands registered for cattle, horses, mules and asses from July 1, 1943 to the close of books June 1, 1945. Albuquerque (1945) 98, 27p.
- An act making it unlawful to transport stolen or unlawfully possessed livestock or game animals or game birds illegally captured, killed or taken, prescribing penalties therefor and providing for the forfeiture and sale of any property used in such unlawful transportation. (Albuquerque, 1935) (3)p.

- Excerpts from live stock laws of the state of New Mexico relating to cattle, horses, mules and asses . . . instructions to inspectors in their performance of their duties. Albuquerque, (1941) 52p.
- Live stock laws of the territory of New Mexico; quarantine regulations, instructions to inspectors; compiled and issued by the Cattle sanitary board August 1, 1905. Las Vegas (1905) 127p.
- Livestock laws of the state of New Mexico relating to cattle, horses, mules and asses . . . Albuquerque, 1915. 32p.
- Livestock stock laws of the state of New Mexico relating to cattle, horses, mules and asses; also containing list of members of Board, Brand and health inspectors, their postoffice address and districts, with list of recognized state veterinarians and instructions to inspectors in the performance of their duties. Albuquerque, 1922. 87p.
- Live stock laws, 1933. (Albuquerque, 1933) (10) p.
- Livestock regulations of the Cattle sanitary board of New Mexico, 1935. (Albuquerque, 1935) 16p.
- New Mexico cattle sanitary laws issued by the Cattle sanitary board March 15, 1891. Las Vegas, 1891. 23p.
- Order no. 3 Cancels previous regulations, quarantine and general regulations, governing admission, transportation and inspection of cattle, horses, mules, asses, hogs and hides . . . effective July 1st, 1917. n. p. n. d. 8p.
- Proclamation Aug. 12, 1887. Prohibiting the importation of bovine cattle (E. G. Ross)
- Quarantine proclamation Aug. 16, 1887 (E. G. Ross)
- Quarantine proclamation March 16, 1888.
- Quarantine proclamation Dec. 30, 1889. (L. B. Prince)
- Regulations of the Cattle Sanitary Board adopted 7th April, 1887.
- Regulations of the Cattle Sanitary Board adopted April 17, 1888.
- Resolutions adopted . . . June 11, 1902.
- Rules and regulations . . . adopted Mar. 2, 1889. (3) p.

Coal oil inspector.

Established 1895; abolished Feb. 1903; reestablished March 1905; repealed, 1939.

Report

- April 6-Dec. 31, 1898 (J. S. Clark)
in Message of M. A. Otero to the 33d Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1899. "Exhibit N" p. 268-270.
In Council and House journal, 1899. "Exhibit N" p. 268-270.
- Jan. 1, 1900-Dec. 31, 1900 (J. S. Clark)
in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly.
Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "O" p. 319-338.

- Jan. 1, 1902-Dec. 31, 1902 (J. S. Clark)
 in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 19, 1903. Exhibit "N" 31p.
- Jan. 1, 1906-Dec. 31, 1906 (Eugenio Romero)
 in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit II 18p.
- Informe del inspector de aceite de carbon desde April 6, 1898 hasta
 Diciembre 31, 1898. Santa Fe, Compania Impresora del Nuevo
 Mexicano, 1899. (5) p. (J. S. Clark)
- Rules and regulations for the guidance of Deputy Coal oil inspectors;
 prepared under the supervision of Coal oil inspector Eugenio
 Romero and with the approval of the governor, by Deputy Coal
 oil inspector Harold Hurd. May 1906. n. p. (1906) 9p.

Commissioner of public lands.

Established 1899; administers the State institutional and
 common school lands granted to the state or territory by the
 Federal government.

Report

- March 27, 1899-Dec., 1900. 44p. v. 1 (A. A. Keen)
 also in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly,
 Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "D" p. 123-139.
 includes Act of Congress, June 21, 1898; Rules and regulations
 of the Interior department; Act of the Legislative assembly
 establishing a Board of public lands. Also included in vols. 2-9.
- April 1, 1902-Dec. 15, 1902. v. 3 (A. A. Keen)
 also in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly.
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- Dec. 1, 1912-Nov. 30, 1914. 30p. v. 13-14 (R. P. Ervien)
 *volume number incorrect; should be v. 14-15.
- Dec. 1, 1914-Nov. 30, 1916. 36p. v. 16-17 (R. P. Ervien)
- Dec. 1, 1916-Nov. 30, 1916. 58p. v. 18 (R. P. Ervien) 5th fis. yr.

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 Dec. 1, 1918-Nov. 30, 1920. 16p. (N. A. Field) 7th-8th fis. yrs.
 Dec. 1, 1920-Nov. 30, 1922. 22p. (N. A. Field) 9-10th fis. yrs.
 Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1923. 7p. (Justiniano Baca) 11th fis. yr.
 Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1924. 30p. (Justiniano Baca) 11-12th fis. yrs.
 Dec. 1, 1924-June 30, 1926. 24p. (E. B. Swope) 13-14th fis. yrs.
 July 1, 1926-June 30, 1928. 29p. (B. F. Pankey) 15-16th fis. yrs.
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 July 1, 1946-June 30, 1946 not published
 July 1, 1946-June 30, 1947. 16p. (J. E. Miles) 35th fis. yr.
 Annual, 1900-1917/18, 1934/35- biennial, 1918/20-1932/34.
 Report year irregular

(To be continued)

* Fourth-Fifth; Eighth-Ninth; Fourteenth-Fifteenth, Sixteenth-Seventeenth reports issued in combined form.

First-Twelfth annual report, 1900-1911, by the commissioner of public lands of the territory of New Mexico.

History of the State land grants in v. 18 p. 37-41

Carey act land board. Annual report for fiscal year ending Nov. 30, 1918 in v. 19 p. 35-38.

Report of the Capitol custodian commission for the Sixth fiscal year in v. 19, p. 33.

Notes and Documents

The practice of having governors and viceroys leave an account of the affairs of their jurisdictions and instructions for the benefit of their successors was a fortunate one from the standpoint of modern historians. Much valuable information was recorded in these memorials: appraisals of economic and political conditions; military affairs; and matters of a religious or social nature.

Colonel Don Fernando de la Concha became governor of the province of New Mexico in 1789, and held the office for five years. His predecessor, Juan Bautista de Anza, famed for his expeditions to northern California, added to his reputation by his astuteness in the management of Indian affairs in New Mexico.¹ Concha's successor, to whom his *Instrucción* was directed, governed during the remaining years of the eighteenth century.

In his instructions to Chacón, Concha recommended that his successor's attention be concentrated upon three branches of provincial administration. First was the matter of relations with the warlike heathen Indian tribes. The second concerned internal administration, and the third was in reference to the management of presidial troops. He covered the basic matters of administration, regarding which the new governor needed to formulate a policy, as well as those which contained the greatest pitfalls.

ADVICE ON GOVERNING NEW MEXICO, 1794*

Instructions drawn up by Colonel Don Fernando de la Concha, former governor of the Province of New Mexico, so that his successor, the Lieutenant Colonel Don Fernando Chacón, may adapt what part of it that may seem to him suitable for the advantage, tranquility, and development of the aforesaid province.

1. Rarely or never can measures be taken with certainty when one is ignorant of the conditions of the territory occupied by the peoples of the country which he intends to govern. In order to obtain this neces-

1. See Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Outpost of Empire* (New York, 1931), and Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, Okla., 1932).

*Translated and edited by Donald E. Worcester, Department of History, University of Florida. The original ms. is in the archives of New Mexico.

sary knowledge of the Province of New Mexico, it appears to me very conducent that the present Governor, from the time that he enters the first town of it, named Savinal, endeavors to conduct his journey slowly and carefully, inspecting and examining the settlements which there are on both banks of the Río Grande del Norte until he reaches the capital city [Santa Fé].

Once arrived in it, and after having rested the necessary time, he should begin a like process in the same regions and with similar examinations until he reaches the town of Taos, which is the last one to the north of it.

In order that the new aide to the Governor also acquires this information, it will be advisable for him to accompany the Governor, and to acquire an understanding of the terrain in order to enable him to discharge completely any duty which may be put under his authority.

The Governor, having returned to his place of residence, it will be very easy for him to comprehend the places from which the communications from the justices are sent, which he will frequently receive. He will be able to prescribe his decisions without confusion, according to what the cases demand, and the nature of the affairs they deal with, dispatching his orders through the cordilleras where they are located, or varying these if it may appear possible to improve them.

2. Being possessed of this knowledge he should apply all of his attention to the three critical aspects of the province; 1) understanding the character, customs, dispositions, and interests of the barbarous tribes which surround it; 2) the discipline with which the inhabitants ought to be treated; 3) and finally, the management of the presidial company: for his benefit I will transcribe the knowledge that the practice of seven years of administration has provided me.

First Part

3. There are five tribes adjoining the province, situated in different directions about it. The first four are looked upon and treated as friends and allies, and the last ordinarily is, and has been on many occasions, in the same condition as the others, but at present, according to unofficial information, I understand it has suffered some change in its friendship. Let us consider them in detail.

The Comanche Tribe

4. This tribe inhabits the frontier lands from the northeast to the southeast. It is the most powerful, and consequently the most to be feared because of its proximity and numbers. It is composed of four divisions known by the names of Cuchanticas, Jupes, Yamparicas, and Orientales. All are governed by a head chief and a lieutenant named by the majority among their compatriots and approved by

himself. The first is named Encaguané, and is a Cuchantica; and the second, Paruaranimuco, who is a Jupe. All the other chiefs, and all of the members of this tribe, recognize them as such and obey them in their fashion, (that is to say, expressing myself as they do), they listen to their counsel and follow it in good faith.

In this tribe one finds faith in the treaties that it acknowledges, true constancy, good hospitality, and modest customs. In warfare it is intrepid, and exceedingly dashing in its undertakings. It has no treaties with any nation other than the Spanish, and maintains an incessant war with all the others which approach it. They agree among themselves perfectly, and the internal quarrels never exceed the limits of the petty disputes which arise between individuals. All four of the divisions live in a close union, and it frequently happens that those of one go to live among the others, so that their interests are common, and they share a common destiny. At the present the first three are almost united for the purpose of aiding one another reciprocally in the active warfare which they sustain with the Pawnees.

This union, far from being harmful to the province, should be looked upon as advantageous. The need for which we make them liberal grants of arms and ammunition makes them recognize a certain dependence upon us.

The Ute Tribe

5. This is also composed of various divisions which are distinguished by name only, for in everything else they live in a perfect union like the Comanches. Those nearest to the province, and those who many times occupy lands within it, are called Moachis, Payuchis, Tabiachis, and Sogupp. Formerly all four were numerous, but today their number is considerably diminished.

Behind them, and at a distance of almost two hundred leagues from the villa of Santa Fé live other Utes called Sahuahuanas, whose number is very considerable. These, like the first, have for many years followed the destiny of the Province, and are the oldest allies of it.

The dealing or commerce that they maintain with the neighboring people is in furs, which, by repeated edicts issued by virtue of orders of higher officials, is prohibited to the latter to go to carry it out in the land of the former, in order to prevent the deceit and bad faith with which they have performed it, and of which this tribe has given various complaints; for that which they are accustomed to, and which is commanded, is for them to come to make their ransoms² on the banks of the Río del Norte, and near to the town of Santa Clara, where the alcalde mayor of the district presides in order to preserve justice, equity, and good order.

2. "Ransoming" Indian captives by the nomadic tribes in New Mexico provided the chief source of slaves for the Spaniards and Pueblo Indians.

The Sahuahuanes usually come once a year in the month of October to the same place and for the same purpose as the other Utes, and they remain in the province until the following May, when the melting of the snows in the mountains allows their return.

The Navajo Tribe

6. This tribe lives in the southwest part of the province. Their settlements have a rather regular form, and most of them are very near to our Indian towns located in this direction. They possess much cattle and sheep, and a proportionate number of horses. In general they occupy rough mesas of difficult access, and pasture their livestock on the borders of the Río Puerco and in the Canyon de Chelly. They cultivate their lands with careful attention. They always sow seasonally because of the scarcity of water which occurs in their lands, but despite this inconvenience, they reap generally abundant harvests, and enjoy some commodities which are not known to the other barbarous Indians.

Their origin is Apache, and as such they have always been allied and united with the bands of this group which inhabit the Sierras of Gila and Mimbres, destroying and assaulting the provinces of New Mexico, Vizcaya, and Sonora,³ until the year 1788, when I attained their separation and also set them against their former allies in such a manner that in the present time they wage incessant war against them.

This tribe is not unaware of the fact that in order to enjoy tranquility and the advantages of its industry, our friendship and alliance with us, are very suitable. For which reason I do not find a great obstacle to its continued existence on the same footing as it is today, which is equally advantageous to all of our settlements.

The Apache Tribe

Jicarillas

7. After this tribe was driven by the Comanches from Jicarilla mountain, which is thirty leagues distant from the Pueblo of Taos, it has always lived between this mountain and that of the Pecuriés, planting in the ravines of the mountain which divides the two, and seeking the shelter of our towns, where they leave their families when the men go to hunt buffalo.

These Apaches differ very little from all the others known by the same name, being superior to them only in the industry of cultivating the land and curing hides.

The people of the Province usually attribute to them some unfaithfulness, but this must be very rare, or imagined, with respect to my time, none of them having been justified, and the sources of these complaints always having been doubtful.

3. See Thomas, *op. cit.*, for an account of the Navajo-Gileño raids.

Tribe Known Simply as Apache

8. The frontiers of the Province from the Pecos river to the land occupied by the Navajos are known under the names of different bands, as the Natagés, Faraones, Mimbrenos, and Gileños, but their conduct is inconsistent and their customs are perverse. Despite these bad qualities, I managed to reduce and place in a peaceful condition in the vicinity of Sabinal a large portion of this tribe. In the month of last December there were located at that place almost three hundred persons of all of the above-mentioned bands, who were aided with a short weekly ration of maize and meat at the King's expense. Today, I believe, according to unofficial information, that there has been some change and that if any families remain they must be few in number.

General Remarks

9. In order to understand and deal with the Comanches the King has and pays four interpreters. Of these two must reside in the Pueblo of Taos, which is in communication with the tribe, the nearest to the lands which they occupy to the northeast of the Province, and consequently suitable for transmitting to them by means of the interpreters whatever information or news that concerns them. The other two should live in the capital city in order to treat with and speak to the Comanches who come to it; and at the same time to be assigned to the Pueblo of Pecos when they assemble there, which is also nearest to the Comanches who inhabit the eastern part. It is well understood that one of them must always live among the tribe in order to observe them and to give an account of their movements. He should be relieved as soon as his tour of duty is concluded, but his relief cannot take place until he shall have returned and given account of the stopping place in which the bands were residing at the time of his departure; and what place they are going to occupy next, since they are wanderers and never have a fixed residence.

For the same purpose the King supports two other interpreters with the duty of keeping the Navajos peaceful, who must also have their residence in the villa, alternating between them, so that there will always be one with the tribe.

The Utes do not have an interpreter paid by the King like the others, but the *genízaro*,⁴ Manuel Mestas, resident of Cuchilla, performs this duty and serves as such. He is known to all of them, and has sufficient influence over them. For this he is rewarded with fifty pesos annually from the funds assigned to the extraordinary expenses of the Province; having imposed upon him the exact duty of

4. *Genízaro* (Janissary) was a term used in New Mexico to designate Indians who had been captured while young and who consequently lacked a feeling for their tribes.

always meeting with them in the capital city, and also that of going to their camps (which regularly are located near the post of his residence) when circumstances demand it.

The Jicarillas also do not have an interpreter assigned to them, but as it is very unusual to find among them anyone who cannot speak some Castilian, it is not difficult for one to understand them and to clear up anything which may occur, without the necessity of that kind of assistance. Neither do the other Apaches, Natagés, Gileños, and Mimbrenos who have been and are able to be peaceful have a paid interpreter assigned; but the resident of Sabinal, Lereto Tores, has been considered as such, and also the *genízaro* of Belén named Matías. The latter has always been recompensed in the same manner as the interpreter of the Utes; but the former never has been officially appointed nor given anything despite his having worked incessantly and fruitfully, for which reason I deem that you should reward him to the best of your ability.

10. Among the above tribes distinct interests prevail. The Utes and Jicarillas are on friendly terms, and both hate the Comanches because of their present friendship with us. This prohibits them from making their thefts, as they were accustomed to doing under the cloak of our alliance when the latter were at war with the government of the Province. Notwithstanding this situation they are accustomed to work together in making their hostilities against them. As the location of the former provides them with immediate shelter and with access into the Province for stolen goods, it is necessary to manage this matter in such a way that the Comanches never suspect that we aid this design. In order to attain this end I announced to the one as well as to the other that always when any of them go through the Province with stolen animals bound for their camps I would have the transgressors caught up and delivered to the offended party. In fact I have done this on various occasions which have occurred; but in order to succeed in it in the future much vigor and activity is necessary, because the neighboring people on the frontiers, for the immediate advantage of buying a horse cheaply, or to avoid being punished for some complicity in the robbery, habitually disregard these edicts and refuse to invoke the law, which repeated times has prevented detaining the transgressors, depriving them of the animals, and giving an account to the government so that it could carry out the prescribed measures which are found just conforming to that which had been stipulated to the same tribes. By this method one succeeds, a sort of superior authority is achieved, and at the same time an abuse which may be very prejudicial to the Province is checked.

The Navajo tribe also has a close friendship with the Utes. From this no harm results to our settlements nor jealousy toward the Comanches. The location of any of them would oblige them unavoidably in case of committing hostilities, to travel across the

Province, which would not be permitted to them under any circumstance. Besides which the Navajos would never be disposed to leave their families and possessions to the discretion and fury of the Gileño Apaches.

These, and the other bands of their kind, do not have friendship nor alliance with any of the four related tribes, and they are always experiencing persecution and castigation on the part of the Comanches and Navajos. In order that the latter never return to their former alliance with them it is necessary not to spare any means. This is the only way in which not only to protect the district called Río Abajo against their invasions, but that lacking such that they fail to commit them in Sonora and Vizcaya. In order to attain so important an aim and to preserve in them the same good order which they have preserved in my time, there are various Navajo chiefs, such as Carlos and Vicente, who are able to facilitate the management of the others. The names and qualities of others who can be employed for the same purpose the Alcalde Mayor, Don Antonio Joseph Ortiz, will impart in full to the new Governor.

In case some of the bands of the said Apaches present themselves in peace, he will be able, in the same way, to throw sufficient light on managing and controlling them, since he accompanied me on various occasions when I have gone to pacify them and admit them to peace in the post of Sabinal. It will be appropriate to indicate the methods I have used. But in this event it is absolutely necessary to work at first hand, according to events and circumstances, and in accordance with superior orders.

As the five tribes referred to frequently meet in the capital city, and as there are various occasions in which they customarily are assembled, it is necessary to apply the greatest attention to their entertainment and gratification on their return.

One should have some person entrusted with their maintenance and meals, to whom should be credited two *reales* for each day during the time of their residence there. Equal care should be taken that they are not lodged together, and that they are distributed about according to and in the manner which has been prescribed.

As soon as they are disposed to return to their camps, it is customary to regale them with some clothing, hats, mirrors, orange paint, indigo, knives, cigars, sugarloaves, and so forth. In these gifts the Comanches must be preferred provided they are not in attendance with the other tribes, for in this case the distribution must be equal in order that no preference may be noticed and result in jealousies among them.

The outlay should be made by the hand of the governor himself, in order that they may be more pleased. It must be effected with discretion and knowledge of the merits and qualities of the individual who is being rewarded. In a word, it must be with so much

prudence that, without losing sight of economy, it will succeed in passing as magnanimous. Bearing in mind that the good treatment and generosity in these expressions is the principal axis upon which must revolve and has revolved in my time the good harmony which has been preserved and must be preserved with them.

As these expenses are to be charged to the King's account, it is necessary to issue at the appropriate time the corresponding orders for payment in favor of the individual in charge of such matters, so that by means of them, one can draw up the report which must be rendered annually to the authorities, and so that the proper payment may be authorized.

At the time of remitting it funds will be requested for the future, preceded by an estimate or calculation with figures of the expenses which may occur.

Second Point

11. Nothing is so difficult as knowing man, and only the practice of observing his conduct closely provided on occasions helps form some idea of his character. The knowledge which experience has given me in general of the inhabitants of the Province of New Mexico (excepting the Indians of the towns) is of little value. Under a simulated appearance of ignorance or rusticity they conceal the most refined malice. He is a rare one in whom the vices of robbing and lying do not occur together. Because of the dispersion of their settlements, the bad upbringing resulting from this, the proximity and trade of the barbarous tribes in which they are involved, the removal of more than two thousand laborers to another area would be very useful to society and the state. It is the environment that remains and every day propagates similar vices. These cannot be checked except under a new set of regulations and by means of a complete change in the actual system of control. This important task is not in the Governor's hands, and therefore it is necessary that he take pains in minimizing the damages wherever it may be possible: for which purpose I will expound to him the means prescribed to me by prudence, reason, justice, and the practice of about seven years during which time I have governed the Province.

12. Vigilance regarding the conduct of the *alcaldes mayores*, their lieutenants, and the commissaries of the troops nearly always assures the administration of justice and good order. Upholding these employees in all that they do that is just and maintaining them always in their offices when their management corresponds to the indicated purposes must be the first attention of the Governor. Almost all of them in office today were occupying these positions when I entered the Province. The people have made repeated unfounded accusations against them. All of these I have examined with the greatest care, and they have never been able to prove those which have been made. Seeking the source of these I have discovered easily that they do not

spring from anything but the lack of obedience, wilfulness, and desire to live without subjection and in a complete liberty, in imitation of the wild tribes which they see nearby.

13. With the desire of making distinctions and promoting some mode of emulation among these people, who, with very little difference are each other's equals in fortune and birth, my predecessor, Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Anza, organized three companies of militia, naming the officers, sergeants, and corporals from among this same group. For the same purpose and desire, not only have I continued it, but increased the number of individuals by adding a fourth company. Far from achieving the advantages which we had proposed, this organization resulted in enabling certain men, by using their official positions, to arouse everyone and to form parties, always disturbing the Province whenever it suited them in the purpose of gaining their own ends. Adding to this evil that of withdrawing themselves from participating in the various tasks which the police must necessarily practice, and to which people respond who are not adorned with official character.

I am in favor of abolishing this order of militia, and of placing the citizens on the same footing in which they were found previously. That is, the companies to be governed, commanded, and conducted by the *alcaldes mayores* and their lieutenants, who must enjoy a distinction under the names of captains and lieutenants, without there being any pretext of amplifying similar titles to other citizens.

As the high command approved the establishment of this militia, it is necessary to solicit the approval of the Commanding General in order to abolish it.

14. In whatever fashion the above-mentioned matter is arranged, the selection of the residents and Indians who are to participate in the campaigns must be accomplished with complete justice; the former should be indicated by name and surname, and the latter by number. In order to achieve this without confusion, and not to leave these nominations to the judgment of the *alcaldes* of the districts, the new Governor must immediately arrange to have begun the taking of a general census of all the men who are in the jurisdictions, with statement of age and fitness for warfare, by which means it will be possible to form the lists of those who are to be taken, and to pass them along to the respective *alcaldes*, in order that these advise those who are chosen of the day, place, and circumstances where they must assemble. It is supposed that for this operation a general list is needed on which the sorties of each one may be noted in order that this type of service may be made with fairness. The practice of naming substitutes must be abolished, that is, of some serving in place of others. This condescension is absolutely prejudicial because the well-to-do make a small gift to the worst vagabonds in order that they serve in their places. The equipment and provisions of the lat-

ter corresponds in every way to their conduct, and far from our being able to take any advantage of that kind of men, their presence is harmful, for from the first day they begin to fail in the performance of their duty, to delay the marches, and to cause the failure of the campaigns. All of these difficulties, along with some other serious ones, occurred on the first campaign which went out immediately after I took charge of the government, and the only means of preventing them is to limit the substitution to sons for fathers and brothers for one another.

15. Those chosen to attend the campaign must not be furnished with anything but munitions, which the commander of the party should receive in order to make a distribution in the necessary cases. The Indians of the towns never solicit anything else except the things which please them, but the lazy settlers, and those of bad conduct, make many importunities, asking for horses or supplies.

Neither the former nor the latter contribute anything to the King, who has spent from his exchequer since the time of the reconquest, with the idea of sustaining them, more than five and a half million pesos, without now or at any other time having any hope of being reimbursed. The sorties which are prepared never have any other object than that of protecting and preserving their own property, and each considers the concurrence of all an obligation, as a matter of their own interest.

The six Queres pueblos nor the residents of Vallecito and Cañada de Cochití must not be depended upon for this service. These are employed in maintaining the detachment at the foot of the Sierra de San Pedro, which covers the entrance of the Apaches in their territory into that of the adjacent villa and ranches. No caution nor vigilance has sufficed to free themselves from the dangers that these enemies occasion in the places mentioned, even to the precaution of assigning the said detachment, which is composed of fifteen Indians, a resident of Vallecito or of la Cañada according to whose turn it is, and a carbineer of the presidial company, who commands the whole group.

According to the scale and arrangement which is formed with the total force of Indians and citizenry, each of the former receives fifteen days of fatigue every two years, and the latter an equal number of days every six years. In this way, being exempt from the monthly campaigns, they remain, with very little difference, on the same footing as the other inhabitants.

In the hands of the carbineer commander of the detachment shall be orders which were arranged effectively for the service that must be performed on this station, taking into account the lands assigned in the same document, describing the trails and others matters which are noted, and so forth.

16. The supply of horses which has always been held in the Province at the King's expense should not be used for any other purpose than

to aid the allied wild tribes who voluntarily present themselves in order to cooperate with our forces ordered on campaigns. In order to fulfil this object the number never should exceed one hundred horses and ten mules, for if it is greater all that will result will be constant losses, without achieving anything at all.

17. Whenever the Comanches and Utes announce that within so many days the former will arrive in the towns of Taos and Pecos, and the latter in the vicinity of Santa Clara in order to carry on their exchanges, the Governor will send the information to all the districts in order that the desired individuals may respond, and also so that the respective alcalde mayor may attend this species of fair. In it the alcalde mayor must see that the greatest harmony is preserved exactly; without permitting any injuries or prejudice to these allies who constantly proceed with the greatest trust. He should not part company from them up to the time he is certain of their departure, and always must be extremely vigilant that they are not robbed nor that a single animal is seized. If, despite this caution, it proves (as has happened many times) that some irresponsible residents steal some animals, an account must be given to the government immediately so that a search for them may be made, and the thieves punished according to the circumstances.

It will be very suitable for the Governor to attend in person the first time that the trading occurs in his administration. This way he will facilitate his recognizing personally the greater number of the chiefs of the said tribes, and also the method and rule with which the fair can be improved if by chance it should be unfair.

18. In consequence of the various supreme orders, the government has issued various edicts prohibiting the inhabitants of the Province from going to the land of the Utes to trade. Despite these reasonable measures that have been taken with the object of depriving the former of the facility with which they cheat the latter in their dealings, it has not been possible to eradicate entirely that kind of vice. In order to prevent this abuse in the future, it is necessary to repeat the same edicts, and to sustain vigorously and firmly that which is prescribed in them, without listening in these cases to the clamors and importunities which the infractors make and declare.

19. Immediately after peace with the Comanches was achieved, I permitted the residents and Indians who solicited their commerce to go to their lands. I granted this liberty with the idea of acquiring a complete knowledge of the waterholes and lands in which they are situated, in order to wage war with this advantage in case they suffer some alteration in the established peace. This liberty lasted for two years, at the end of which it was necessary to modify it, as much as to prevent the inconveniences which have occurred with the Utes as well as the incidents that resulted which were always contrary to the desired good harmony.

For these reasons it was decided formerly that few of these visits should be made; and most of them were solicited by the Comanches themselves. But licenses were always granted, with the precaution that one of the interpreters or another trusted person must be responsible for the conduct and intercourse of the individuals who go to the camps, who must take charge of governing them, and who must give me an account of what happened upon their return. It appears to me that this is the method which must be followed in order to preserve with genuineness so valuable a peace.

20. An inveterate custom of the people of this Province is, upon the arrival of a new Governor, to renew disputes and petitions begun in very remote times. For knowledge today in this business it is necessary for him to take note of the fact that all the matters of that nature have been determined in writing and verbally in the *visita general* which his predecessors have executed, in which act the parties generally have been advised that if they are not satisfied, and consider themselves wronged, they may present themselves to the *Audiencia* of the district to produce the statements that they have in their power: consequently, he does not have to understand anything nor to take part in these affairs, except to facilitate them and to advise them of the procedure which they must follow in their appeals.

21. It is no less common for the residents of the districts remote from the villa to resort directly to the Governor, declaring injuries, damages, and so forth. These presentations are all made in unison, in spite of the edicts issued against this practice. They never make them before the territorial judicial authorities who are the ones who should enforce the edict according to their own judgment, without which requisite it is impossible for the Governor to prescribe his decision with certainty. Nothing has sufficed to attain this obvious improvement, and the only method which I found for checking such disorder is not admitting it, nor changing a decision for any petition which lacks the required formalities.

22. In order to determine the problems and cases which arise, after being preceded by the necessary statements, there is no other way for the Governor to evaluate them except by prudence, wise judgment, and good reason. This is what has been favored by all your predecessors for lack of a lawyer with whom to consult: but at the present he must understand that never, or rarely, is the first person who makes demands right, and that from anyone whomsoever he receives with the greatest ease and without any gratification the false testimonies which he needs.

23. This does not follow with the Indians of the towns, whose procedure in this matter is diametrically opposed to that of the residents. In them one always finds the truth, they are easily persuaded by good advice, and they never are involved in nor contribute to any thieving. Despite these fine qualities, they constantly promote various requests

that their doctrinary ministers be removed, or the judicial authorities who govern them. They do not usually have any other object for this claim except that of accommodating the priests who solicit that result, joining with the neighboring citizens and with the administrative authorities of the same towns, for which reason some make suppositions and allegations against them, which generally prove false, that they are responsible for a number of wrongdoings. For this reason great care is necessary in order to take action in the matter. It is necessary to make a minute examination and to take separate account of the interests which motivate the religious and the citizenry in this kind of conduct. A frank confession always results from this step, if managed with prudence, which will bring out the truth and uncover the ideas which promote the recommendation. Neither these circumstances nor their reticence is sufficient to check this, nor intimidating the promoters, who, the first proceedings over, after a short calm repeat the same requests.

24. In no country is it more difficult than in New Mexico to remove the *alcaldes mayores*, because of the impossibility of replacing them. There are few inhabitants who know how to write and to inform, and even less to discharge a duty of such consideration, that few or none are useful; to which must be added that the equality of fortunes which is the rule in the Province disposes the spirits of the people to obey with violence and repugnancy an individual who a short time before was not their superior in anything. The continuation in office, and the invariable custom of obedience at all times to the same individual, eventually reaches a certain point of giving him some ascendancy over the others, and provides his actions with respect and consideration in their eyes.

Despite these difficulties no one should be kept on whose conduct is not in keeping with the object to which he is dedicated. Those whom I left in the districts at the time of my departure have fulfilled their obligations. The only one of the earlier group who had bad intentions, and who finally began to abuse his powers, is the one in the district of Alameda, for which I judged it very suitable to remove him from the office, putting in his place another person of ability and honorable method of procedure. I do not remember at the present who may be fit for it, but the *alcalde mayor* of the capital, Don Antonio Joseph Ortiz, in whom resides the necessary knowledge of the inhabitants, will be able to indicate to the new Governor a person suitable for this trust.

The same Ortiz has formerly given me notice of having deposed the contingent commandant, the *alcalde mayor* of Laguna, Don Juan Cristoval Sanchez, as a result of some complaints given by the Navajos. It is very difficult to understand what the *alcalde* may have supposed to be untrue acts on our part against that tribe which he has so near him, and that only his friendship and reciprocal good harmony is able to afford them any advantages and assistance. This matter requires

a new examination to clarify the things which to my understanding were invented by the interpreters with the Navajos. Whatever may be the result, it is never wise that the person who has been removed from office should go on living in the same place. His assistant having served in the grade of lieutenant in that district, and being of bad conduct and disorderly, I prohibited either of these two from ever going to the said towns.

25. No affair in that place entails so many difficulties as checking the bad habits which govern the priests of the *custodia*. The greater part of them live in concubinage. Interest directs their maxims. They have many ways of insinuating malice to upset or destroy the good measures prescribed by the Governor, always directed toward checking their excesses. They have an absolute sway over the inhabitants. It is impossible to realize how far their effrontery and boldness goes with which they control every kind of affair, nor yet the facility with which they upset the same inhabitants, always meditating upon their own particular ends. In a word, their influence upon every one is such that the general expression used in the country is "If the padre says it is so, there can be no doubt."

That the injuries may be less (supposing it impossible to eradicate the vices) I am of the opinion the methods which during my administration have produced good results must be followed. These have been to ignore and to take no part in the disputes and strife which originate among them. Never yield to their annoying petitions to improve their offices. Oppose with firmness the actions which they constantly take to destroy good order, and keep on harmonious relations with their prelate, if this person is less vigilant. Add to these means that of intimidating them by means of threats that they may be removed from the Province as prejudicial persons provided they do not improve their behavior. In order to effect this measure if the circumstances require it, it is necessary to go along in accord with the prelate, as the law provides, and above all that the superior government may sustain the measure to the end that the Governor does not find himself exposed nor his honor questioned.

It is extremely difficult to indicate in detail the incidents which can occur with the religious, through the variety of affairs which animate and govern them, but watching them under the aspect which I have indicated, managing them with tact, firmness, understanding, and prudence, and resorting to opportunities to check them in your just duty, you will attain without doubt the appreciable object of quietude and tranquility within the interior of the Province.

26. The new Governor must apply his entire attention to effecting the complete consolidation of the capital city. In the year 1789 an executive order from the higher authorities was passed to me in order that I should put it into effect without delay or without listening to petitions. Knowing the difficulties which attended it in that time, I stated

the methods which to me appeared opportune for accomplishing it without serious damage on the part of the inhabitants, which was adopting the prudent means of not permitting rebuilding, repairing, or mending of the establishments which are widely dispersed. The chief officers approved, and in consequence I issued an edict which expounded this prohibition, under pain of the infractors incurring the penalty noted in it. From these measures already it has been given a regular form, but the work will never be completed if the least negligence is permitted, and if you are not vigilant and do not sustain the measure which is the dominant factor. The inhabitants are indolent. They love distance which makes them independent; and if they recognize the advantages of union, they pretend not to understand them, in order to adapt the liberty and slovenliness which they see and note in their neighbors the wild Indians.

As fast as the establishments are deteriorating and becoming useless, the aforesaid proprietors will find themselves in the situation of soliciting new land in the place which is indicated, in order to construct with regularity new habitations. This has happened to various ones ever since the measure was put into effect. But I repeat that without complete vigilance and sternness, the object never will be achieved.

27. The preservation of the newly built bridges across the Río Grande del Norte, as well as the roads which have just been completed and opened, is no less important. There is no fund nor any municipal fees which can be applied to these two projects, so useful, so necessary. In order that they may always be kept in good condition, there is no other means than personal labor. At these the citizens and Indians must concur without distinction, according to and in the district which will be the least inconvenient for them; and as it is desirable for all to enjoy the fruits of the benefit, no one must be excused from the work, in conformance with the judicial notice made by the government.

Provided that these same repairs do not require many persons, it can be practiced by means of assignment to them. By use of the prisoners, of whom there generally are some in the jail, who, conducted by a corporal or carbineer of the company, and maintained with the aid of some small fines against other delinquents, this public utility can be improved.

In order to attend immediately to similar projects, if they should be necessary, there are at present eighty-odd pesos in the hands of the official paymaster held for the purposes of this branch of policy; its distribution must be in virtue of orders which the Governor will issue.

Third and Final Matter

28. The strength of the presidial company amounts to one hundred and twenty men. Three officers also pass on review with them, and a retired sergeant with corresponding pay; and also eighteen soldiers

on the sick list. Some few must be enlisted for the necessary quota of corporals, and all must be liable, even those living under the penal laws, in virtue of Royal orders.

The condition of debts and credits which have just been turned over to the new Governor, and which were put in final form at the end of December, 1793, show the legal balance credited to the company at that time.

In order that it may always subsist on the same footing, the Governor should not permit the providing for any individual of any quantity not in accordance with his warrant. In order to carry out this in the cases which require it, he must always have at hand the referred conditions, to the end that he will be able to execute it without confusion, and with knowledge of the condition of the balance in which the applicant is found.

29. Every first of the month all of the individuals indicated pass in review, and corresponding lists are drawn up, completing at the same time the journal of events which occurred in the company, and the condition of the mounted force, and everything accordingly, and in the manner in keeping with the original records that are located in the archives.

These documents are to be sent on the first opportunity with security to the Commanding General.

In addition to the said review, others may be held when necessary; if another general comes through, such as the Sub-Inspector, who is of that command, in order to inform himself thoroughly as to the condition in which the individuals are found, to check on the abuses which may have been introduced, and to establish rules of economy which will appear to him suitable.

30. The second lieutenant Don Pablo Sandoval is charged with furnishing remounts within the Province, according to needs, and without assigning special time for it. If the few things required of this officer are not completely satisfactory in that kind of duty, you can give the commission to some sergeant or corporal who will perform it promptly.

The only way to acquire horses of good quality cheaply is that of charging the paymaster to provide the things which the Pueblo Indians use, and that with them they visit all the districts. In them there are many horses; and in that of Taos and Pecos there is a considerable number, which the natives barter from the Comanches. In addition there is no difficulty in the agent passing to the camps of this tribe in company with an interpreter, and exchanging similar goods, buying them also personally.

Since the year 1791 the remount has been made within the Province, and accordingly entered in the record books of the soldiers, the cost of each horse having been eight pesos, more or less. This information will be useful as a guide in the future.

In spite of the published edicts, in virtue of higher orders, that prohibit it to them and impose punishment on the soldiers who trade or sell horses, and that subject equal penalties upon the buyers, it has not been possible to check this abuse. The connivance of the sergeants and corporals, the lack of discipline—difficult to establish completely in this country—and the liaisons which individuals have with the rest of the citizens, prevent the chief officer from acquiring the necessary information in order to proceed vigorously in this matter. Despite these difficulties, no means should be overlooked in order to correct this disorder. Nothing will be so effective, provided that the fraud be proven, as punishing the purchaser in the manner provided in the edicts, and dismissing from the service the delinquent or seller.

Nothing is so desirable in that Province as obtaining a place in the company, and nothing is so mortifying to those who possess one, as to see himself expelled from it. Under this concept, that removal can be accomplished, not only in this case but in any of that kind which occur, it is not difficult to achieve obedience and subordination.

31. The troops of the company are generally of good quality. The officers who have been left in charge do not correspond to it, but the material merit that some have acquired, and the age of others, makes them deserving despite the fact that they have some trifling shortcomings; but under no circumstances should certain vices be tolerated, for which they are prosecuted.

32. The present paymaster does not have the best inclination for his office. He suffers frequent negligence, the greater part of it proceeding from some disorderliness. In order to prevent his malversion of the interests which are carried in his accounts, I assigned Don Joseph Griego, under my direction, so that they should be distributed, carrying a formal account of the receipts at opportune times, and keeping current all the operations attached to that commission. This lad is of good character, was reared in the house of Don Francisco Manuel Elguea, and is of unblemished conduct; these qualities give some suggestion of the said paymaster, who, in order to work arbitrarily naturally tries to keep him from his side, putting in his place even such as Don Antonio Ruiz, his companion in the excesses, and who is more stupid and ignorant than the paymaster himself. In no way is any change desirable because of the unfortunate consequences which can result from it; and thus it is necessary that these matters be kept upon the same footing which they are established.

You must effect a balance sheet which will verify the condition in which the office of the paymaster was found at the time of the arrival of the new Governor. If this operation results in shortages, through faulty method or malversion, the paymaster must be suspended from the army, treating him as is prescribed in a former general order which can be found in the archive.

None of the other officers is fit for being paymaster; and thus the

only recourse which remains (in case the accounts which are presented are not in order) is that of naming one of the three sergeants as aide, and, managed by the said Garcia, with a little attention to this branch on the part of the Governor, it is not possible for any shortage to take place.

In order to obviate unfounded complaints which the soldiers constantly make, about the weight of their rations, their orders for payment, and so forth, I established separate pay orders corresponding to each branch. In these are recorded the drafts and the time they were given. They are always in the possession of the interested person; and by means of them it is easy to remove whatever doubt that occurs at the time of settling the account.

33. The service in which the company is employed is confined to the horse guard, composed of thirty men, whose command is confided to one of the three sergeants alternatively. If by chance this number should become diminished, it is necessary that it be again reconstituted, as much as is required for the security of the horse herd, for its increased number constantly exceeds two thousand animals, because without it the soldiers will live in enervating idleness.

The officers do not have other duties than making war against the Apaches; and, because of the climate, this cannot be carried on except during four months of the year, so they live in complete comfort and almost total inaction.

I am of the opinion that provided the said Apaches return to seek peace in Sabinal an officer and a detachment of twenty men should be put at that post, to preserve order, to administer, to dispense rations, and for other occurrences which take place among them: all in conformance with the instructions which the Governor gives it. This detachment may be relieved each month or every two months, as seems suitable to the senior officer's knowledge of extra duties of a similar nature, never depriving the troops of the pleasure of time for rest in the capital, where a guard of [word missing] is maintained, composed of a corporal and five men.

34. With the desire that the field forces should be in the best condition to operate effectively, it was arranged to leave the horse guard with a sergeant and four soldiers, to which were added forty or fifty of the poorest equipped citizens, who were ordered to coöperate with them. This method I consider advantageous in order not to duplicate work, and to fulfil perfectly the two objectives.

35. In order to maintain the neatness and attractiveness of the company barracks, it is necessary not to excuse the slightest fault. Each officer has a copy of the instructions which I drew up relative to this matter. In them is detailed an account of the conduct which each individual is to observe in his home and on his respective post; and the same vigilance with which he must proceed in order that the officers, sergeants, and corporals achieve it. Nothing is sufficient to achieve

this effect if the senior officer does not inspect and examine it frequently in person.

36. In the month of November the annual expedition leaves this city, composed of many and various individuals of the Province. With it goes the paymaster in order to put in the corresponding memorial of the presidio. This officer takes general command over all the persons who compose it. He is accompanied by fifteen soldiers and a sergeant in order to safeguard the said report. The services which they and the civilians must perform during the marches going and returning, is explained in the orders which I gave to the present paymaster, so that by its use it will be easy to enact similar instructions in the years to come.

Chihuahua, June 28, 1794. Fernando dela Concha.

A copy of the instructions which Colonel Don Fernando dela Concha gave to his successor as Governor of the Province of New Mexico, and of which a copy was submitted to the Secretary of the Commandancy General of my command. Chihuahua, June 22, 1797.

MANUEL MERINO
[Rúbrica]

[This copy is in the Mexican archives, and is listed in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington, D. C., 1913), p. 34.]

Book Reviews

The Valley Below. Alice Marriott. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. 243. \$3.00.

In *Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso*, Alice Marriott wrote sensitively and often beautifully of the life of a people alien to her. In order to be near her work at the pueblo, she set up housekeeping with Margaret Lefranc, artist and creator of fine illustrations for *Maria* and this present book, in a Spanish-American valley community nearby. *The Valley Below* is an account of their life in that community, the humorous approach dominant, the serious present too, to make an interesting blend. To say all this so solemnly is a little foolish and foolhardy, for Miss Marriott, in having a thoroughly witty time, has thrust now and then at the solemnities, even those of her profession, ethnography.

In the first part of the book she takes us humorously, even hilariously at times, through the discomforts and mishaps of refurbishing an old 'dobe house, dealing with an earnest but inept handyman, controlling a houseful of irrational Siamese cats, getting water out of a perverse well and equally perverse well experts, battling the eccentricities of a coal and wood stove, negotiating the intricacies and doubts of house-buying, getting peace and sleep during the nocturnal debates of rights to irrigation water, the purse-emptying, house-crowding mania for pottery, the trials of building an addition to the house. There has been some method in this approach. Chapter XIII begins: "Now I seem to have reached the point, according to ethnological custom, where I must go beyond the household and its dwelling, and define and describe the surrounding community in relation to the specific unit." So the latter half of the book, maintaining the humorous approach, though with less dominance, deals with the social life of Indians and Spanish-Americans, ending in a series of well-told little stories of the neighboring Maclovio Salazars, and a sensitively felt story of the Penitentes. Thus the book that began "with the idea of an orderly description of a society" became one "about a house and its being lived

in, and about some of the people who came and went there." It traced also a change in the two women. "The impersonality of being moderately successful, urban, professional women was gone from us. We were women, and our neighbors came to us for help because they knew we would understand and would give it."

There are some things one regrets about this book, regrets them because Alice Marriott writes so well. Despite her own denials of success in portraying a society, a good deal of understanding does come through, but it has to make its way through the convention that controls the book. The convention goes something like this. An urbanite, feeling decay in the city, indeed in his own culture in general, turns to "the simple life." He does not do it with the whole-hearted romanticism of, say, a St. John de Crèvecoeur. He sees some of the lighter ironies and laughs at his own discomfiture. The *Atlantic* used to run sketches of this sort for its urban readers, and still does occasionally. And *slick* humor uses the idea. The convention has many extensions. Sometimes the adventurer not only finds the natives inept, costly, but lovable, but is himself a competent, self-reliant person who may with ingenuity control the situation. As long as this happens, we get more of the narrator than of the native. Miss Marriott's first chapter starts off so thoughtfully, in such finely-woven prose, that one expects more objectivity than he gets. The humor, as I said, is lively, and understanding comes through. But the enigmas of alien ways, that we would like to solve rather carefully, remain incompletely penetrated. One would like to see Miss Marriott try a serious approach in fiction, something like that of Katherine Anne Porter.

University of New Mexico

E. W. TEDLOCK, JR.

Apron Full of Gold. Edited by Rupert Glass Cleland. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1949. Pp. IX, 99. \$3.50.

The book consists of a series of letters, between 1849 and 1856 during the gold rush period, written mostly by Mrs.

Mary Jane Megquier to her children back in Maine. Her husband was a physician wishing to improve his financial position. Mrs. Megquier decided to accompany him, having heard that in California there were opportunities for women also to acquire large incomes. Her husband and two others invested \$10,000 in galvanized iron sheets for a building 26 x 40 together with drugs and other goods, all to be shipped around Cape Horn.

The Doctor and his wife took the shorter route by way of Panama. The details of the trip, as related in the letters, are most interesting. They left New York by boat March 1, 1849, and reached Chagres by March 13. In a few hours after their arrival they started up the Chagres river in a small steamboat with thirty canoes attached. After a few miles by steamboat, they were to make the rest of the water trip in these native boats. Three of the tourists with a native crew got in one boat twenty feet long and two feet wide to go to Gorgona. From here they went on horses to Panama, where they arrived March 24.

By May 20, 1849, they were still in Panama together with about 2,000 others waiting for transportation to California. The doctor practiced medicine here, making almost enough to pay their expenses. They arrived at San Francisco June 16.

By September of the same year they had accumulated as much as they would have made in Maine in two years. The doctor practiced medicine and ran his store, while his wife kept from sixteen to twenty roomers and boarders.

For a period of eight years after their arrival, these letters describe the life in San Francisco as seen by a couple not interested in the adventure of gold mining. The conditions, such as the types of people, cost of living, nature of amusements, and the social life are presented by a hard working and intelligent woman. The reader gets a presentation of the reaction of a new arrival in a wild frontier mining town; at first there was a feeling of loneliness and homesickness, later a sense of satisfaction and enjoyment. While she missed her children back in New England, there

were frequent statements that the locality was no place for children.

The book is another snapshot picture of a most interesting period, and a work valuable to the historian as a bit of source material for a larger view of an important national event. The general reader will certainly enjoy the letters, so real, so vivid, and so unpretentious.

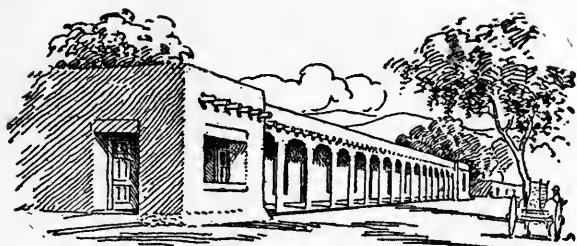
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H. A. HUBBARD

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A SOLDIER'S EXPERIENCE IN NEW MEXICO

By JOHN AYERS

Santa Fe, 1884

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MAJOR JOHN AYERS was born in New York City, 1827, spent his boyhood in Boston, and went to sea at 13 years of age, round Cape Horn in the sailing vessel, *Chile*, Capt. Knowles; was with him five years trading on the coast of Peru— Followed the sea until 1849, then went to California in May 1849— Grass valley, northern mines, until the war broke out in 1861. Enlisted as a common soldier in 1861, in Company D. 1st Cav. Cal. Vol.— went down to Lower California, Los Angeles & San Bernardino. There we had skirmishes and put down the rebellion there; then were ordered to Tucson, Arizona; we fortified at Pimo villages and waited for the main column to come up. Our first engagement was at Capache Pass with Hunter's rebel pickets. There we took 4 prisoners, and from them we got information how to advance. From there we were ordered to New Mexico. Gen. Sibley, a rebel, had possession of Las Cruces, of southern N. M. From there was in skirmishes and scouts till I was told to report to Gen. Carleton in person. I acted as courier and express rider; was promoted by Gen. Carleton to 1st

The treaty negotiated with the Southern Ute Indians related to the San Juan country in southwestern Colorado, not in northwestern New Mexico. A detailed account of this affair can be found in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIII, 146ff.

The secretary of interior was Columbus Delano, not Dillnow. There is a marked discrepancy in the dates of the first two-story house in Santa Fe.—Ed.

The original of the John Ayers manuscript is in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.—Ed.

Lt. of Co. I N. M. volunteers and attached as commander of Gen. C's escort, composed of a company stationed at Fort Marcy, Santa Fé. I was then made quartermaster and commissary and com. of. [ficer] of the post of Ft. Marcy.

When we first came the people were all dressed like those in old Mexico. They wore long hair. The business was principally done by Jews; there were but few Americans here. The foreigners were mostly gamblers and adventurers, or men of that class, and thoroughly in sympathy with the south.

The Plaza was then an open market place, an open square, where they sold wood or held market and corralled burros. The old Palace was dilapidated, and the west end broken down. Governor Conley [Connelly] lived there; he was married to a Mexican. The place was also used for the meeting of the Legislature, Assembly, Superior Court etc.

Santa Fé was the headquarters of the army; many troops at different times rendezvoused here. I got permission from Gen. Carleton to open up Capitol St. and set out trees. There were then but eight trees, (cottonwood) in the place. After opening the street, I conceived the idea of beautifying the town, and of enclosing the Plaza and planting trees there; so I employed troops to get trees and do the work, and got up a subscription from the citizens to fence it in. I was the instigator of it all. This was in 1866.

Old Fort Marcy, built by Gen. Kearney was here; which made the place army headquarters. The war was a great blessing for these natives. The people were then a great deal like the present Pueblos; they raised sheep and goat, the lower class, in Santa Fé, then as they do to-day; they would have perhaps half an acre of land, and raise corn and chili, and ponchee;(?) [punche] (their tobacco). Their goats would provide them with milk and cheese; they would grind their corn on a tenati(?) [metate], sometimes boiling it in goats milk, other times using it without milk, the same as the Indians; the lower classes were all peons to the higher. There were probably not more than 500 or 700 rich Mexicans in the territory. They were able to read and write; some were educated in the east; their hair was short, their

dress and appearance that of the Spanish gentleman. The lower class, and in fact all, more or less were intermixed with Indian blood.

I look upon Lincoln as a second Christ almost; his proclamation freeing the slaves was a greater boon to these enslaved Mexicans, than even to the negroes. Our troops were here and the people gave up their peons; the courts were open and the law enforced when necessary. As soon as they were emancipated, they were enlisted into three regiments of New Mexico volunteers. There were about 4500 in all; their hair was cut and dress Americanized. The Secretary of the Interior has all the particulars concerning the Mexican militia.

This was the principle upon which peonage was conducted. For instance if a peon wanted shoes worth \$2.00 he would be peoned for debt; the wealthier class always looking out to keep him in debt. From the natural lay of the land people held ranches of great extent. The lower classes made little villages around the ground of the lord of these estates, for protection from Indians, the raising of cattle and sheep etc. They made their money by selling the hides of the steers, and the wool of the sheep which was of very coarse quality. These peons, when liberated, had no idea what to charge for anything; they would generally say "pay what you please"; even now they will put an extravagant price on their merchan[di]se or charge, if in need of a little money, ridiculously little.

By their laws, in earlier days, their peons could be bought [brought?] back, if they ran away. They could punish them in any way; it was worse than slavery, for slaves had a mercantile value, while if a peon died his place was at once filled with no loss but the small debt he was working out; slaves too, were generally clothed by their masters, while these peons wore little or nothing; their masters cared for nothing but the work got out of them.

When we came, the northern troops, we paid money for what we took and gave receipts, but the Texans took all they could get and gave nothing in return; naturally the Mexicans preferred the party that should protect them.

When I first came, the lower class were married generally by the alcalde, and married for three or six months if they so desired. The Mexican clergy of course could not marry, but lived openly with their mistresses. They had all the superstitions of the Indians; had their penatentes or scourgings etc.

Within three weeks, a woman was beaten to death as a witch in Rio Riva [Arriba] county.

War was the principle cause of the start in the progression of the people; another was the Catholic church sending Bishop Lamy here; he displaced the Mexican with priests of his own selection. In this way he did a great deal of good. The priests were so corrupt when he came that the people were naturally very immoral; the bishops went through the penatente business, stripping themselves and beating themselves with thongs; superstitions had so worked themselves for generations with their religion. Since Bishop Lamy's rule the Mexicans through the territory are very much changed and wonderfully improved; he has made an immense change for the better.

The mails were brought in at intervals of five or six months; in 1866 they came in monthly. We put the country under martial law, and had a provost marshal until 1865; then the civil authorities appointed in Washington, took control.

The 1st Regiment was commanded by Kit Carson. He was quiet and unassuming; of medium height and weight; he could scarcely read or write but had wonderful influence over the men. He was a genuine frontiersman and a splendid Indian commander. The troops sometimes accused him of cowardice because he was so cautious. His experience enabled him to read character readily; on the march he would never build fires if he wanted to surprise the enemy; he would creep up cautiously; he whipped the Navajoes; he was a long time in New Mexico.

Most of the California troops were mustered out here, and a great many settled here and married Mexicans; especially in Grant county. The Californians were the first to commence mining here; the Mexicans and Indians had tra-

ditions against mining. Long ago the Jesuits and Mexicans had enslaved all Indians; then there had been a revolt and they had driven all Spaniards out of the country. The result of it all was that most of our men who settled on the Gila river, were murdered by degrees, in isolated spots.

I have been in many Indian skirmishes; generally they were surprises. After the war I was made the first agent of the southern Apaches in 1867. Later I was made agent of the Capote and Wimminoche Utes of Northern [New] Mexico.

The American people like humbug as a duck does water. They won't believe the truth. There is so much interest used in Washington to get big appropriations, and the estimates needed are greatly exaggerated; the Indians meanwhile are decreasing at the rate of 10 per ct. annually. The school business and all is mere humbug; to use money for other purposes than that designated. They, the Indians, take all our vices and none of our virtues. The Board of Presbyterians make out wonderful stories of conversions, when there are in reality no conversions. The Catholics are the only ones who impress them with their ceremonials etc. This appeals to the eye; it is something they can understand; it reminds them of their medicine man when they see the priests dressed in their robes. Among the Navajoes there are many Catholics; they are found now with beads and crosses. They have degenerated through the use of whiskey and disease.

I was agent when the treaty was made to buy San Juan Country. The Indians they were to treat with didn't live there, but some 300, perhaps merely hunted in that territory. They were reported as numbering 700. The treaty of selling the San Juan Country was made without one Indian being present, unless I except one renegade; not one of my men were present. The compensation was to be, one cow valued at not less than \$30.00, and one bull valued at not less than \$20.00 for each family. These animals were in truth bought in Texas at \$3.00 a head; cattle then was very cheap there; then they were driven to Colorado and issued on paper. There were none of my Indians present at that issue. I came

to Santa Fé to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Gallejos. He gave me authority to call together all the Ute chiefs to Santa Fé; we held council in the hall of legislature. Gen. Geo. Getty was in command of the department at that time and all federal officers stationed here understood the whole thing. By order of the department, all communications have to go through the regular channel, or they will not be noticed; that is through the agent to the Superintendent, through the Supt. to the Commissioner of Indian affairs in Washington. The report was received in Washington and pigeon-holed, and I was told I would be better known by my masterly inactivity. In 1868 I was removed by Gov. Hunt.

I found afterward that this same Governor Hunt and Secretary of the Interior Dillnow and all of these men were in this fraud, which laid the foundation of their present fortune.

I have seen old letters and documents 300 years old, used to put up tea in; and this is how it happened. After the rebellion, Governor Pyle was appointed to that position. He had been a former chaplain in the army; came in with Bond as Secretary. Of course all the archives were in his charge. Secretary Bond was made librarian; he found everything upside down; seeing many old papers lying around he thought it would be a good idea to sell this waste paper to the grocers and butchers. Thousands of these documents were sold before it was realized what was being done. Then as one after another began to notice the wrappers about their groceries and meat, public indignation was excited and every effort was made to collect and restore these papers; but of course much more was lost than recovered. Probably many of the fraudulent grants were gotten up on these papers. After this more care was observed, and the papers were filed; what are left are in care of the Librarian, Mr. Ellison. As soon as this great mistake was discovered the governor hastened to retrieve his blunder; he dismissed Secretary Bond, though Bond protested that what he did was under authority from the governor.

By the Guadalupe Treaty, Mexicans were accepted as American citizens; they were to be protected in all their

rights. There had been no survey of property; the alcaldes were generally ignorant, and they had given the people pieces of paper on which they stated that such and such a person being good and poor and wanting a piece of land to support his wife and family, the alcalde had given him a piece of land, commencing at a certain hill and running down to a certain ravine. In years after as the shrewd Americans came here, he bought papers for little or nothing from different heirs, and then would change those boundaries from the original small figures to immense grants from 15 to 30 miles square, as his conscience would allow him to stretch it.

Some of these grants have been confirmed by Congress, but thousands are not confirmed. All the testimony has to be oral as the people are unable to read and write; they are gradually dying off and these grants, in consequence, more easily confirmed. This difficulty about titles has been and is a great curse to New Mexico.

As an illustration: I took up a piece of land 3 miles from Santa Fé; after improving it, I was informed that it was on the Gonzales grant. Knowing that it was bought from Gonzales by a Jew for a grocery bill, I knew it had been enlarged to a 30 miles fraud, I took means to have it reported to Washington in 1879. The surveyor general called a court of enquiry and found the grant was enlarged; pronounced it open; and now is; has not been surveyed since.

The first two-story house built in Santa Fé, was built by Mr. Johnson in 1875; he was in the overland freight business. This freight company had large ox teams called schooners; they had sometimes 8 or 10 yoke of oxen, sometimes more; would take six months to make the trip from here to St. Louis and Kansas City; the latter was a grand trading point. They had here adobe ware-houses. The streets were filled with ox-teams loaded; the people made a mistake in not insisting upon the main road of the railroad coming through here; they thought the branch road would give us preferred rates. Freight was then 10 cts a lb; sometimes more, never less. The Jews had the trade; goods out of date in the east and so sold cheap, were very fashionable here

and brought extravagant prices. Labor was cheap—from \$1.00 to \$1.50 per day.

I say, most emphatically, that the general progression of New Mexico commenced from the war of the rebellion. It was a curse to many but a blessing to the Mexican people. It degenerated our soldiers, but elevated the Mexicans.

Prior to 1867 all the houses were built of adobe and dirt roofs which were nice and cool in pleasant weather, but in any continuous rain or storm leaked badly. The first modern houses with pitched roofs were built at the post of Fort Marcy, by government, for officers quarter in 1868.

To show how isolated these people were even as late as 1864 and 1865, there were hardly any glass windows. Even in Santa Fé among the natives only the rich had small windows, or openings for windows were made and in the summer left open and in winter a piece of cotton cloth or what they call manta was nailed up or pegged in them; the more wealthy classes in the pueblos had mica windows which some still have to this day.

The first two-story house was built by James H. Johnson in 1868. That building is now the present post-office building. Most of the other improvements have been made since the advent of the Railroad. All the history prior to the rebellion can be got from Mr. Ellison, from whom Judge Prince and Mr. Ritch who have written up some history since they have been here, got from him.

NEW MEXICO IN TRANSITION

By ARNOLD L. RODRÍGUEZ, O. F. M.

CHAPTER III

Cultural Development

ONE OF THE greatest obstacles to the progress of culture in New Mexico was the lack of facilities for formal education. The few schools conducted under the auspices of the Catholic Church proved quite successful in teaching the catechism to children and how to read and write.¹ But, with the exception of the school conducted by Father Antonio José Martínez in Taos, where there was some instruction in theology, these schools seldom taught anything else. The few public schools in the region were in a worse condition and their existence was always precarious. Being dependent upon the public treasury, which was never well-off, they often opened and closed, depending upon the amount of funds available for educational purposes.

This sad state of education aroused considerable comment among the Anglo-American residents. One of them, Josiah Gregg, remarked that there was "no part of the civilized globe where the arts had been so much neglected and the progress of science so successfully impeded as in New Mexico."² As early as 1832, Antonio Barreiro had complained to the Mexican authorities that the schools of New Mexico were in a woeful state, and he attributed this condition to the lack of interest on the part of the government.³ The lower classes of society were especially blighted. William W. H. Davis wrote that the average of intelligence among the peons was lower than that of the Negro slaves in the Southern States.⁴ Referring to the census of 1850, he ob-

1. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 196.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Barreiro, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

4. Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 98. One has to be cautious in accepting the statistics of Davis. It should be borne in mind that contemporary newspapers, notably the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, were vehement in their attacks of *El Gringo* upon its publication. Their general criticism was that the book conveyed the wrong impression of New Mexicans.

served that at that time, out of a New Mexican population of 61,549 there were 25,089 adults unable to read and write; at the same time only 466 children were attending school.⁵ In 1854, insofar as illiteracy was concerned, the editor of the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette* stated that the United States marshal, in summoning the jurors for the district court, had found that in some counties nearly every juror could write his own name and that the average for the whole Territory who could write, was about fifty per cent. The jurors, the editor added, were selected at random, without any consideration for their ability to read and write.⁶

Governor William Carr Lane, while regretting the sad state of education, found many features of New Mexican customs to compensate for this, and regretted the effects of American "progress." He said:

I do not advise them [the Mexican people] to change any of their beneficial or praiseworthy customs, nor do I advise them to forget their parent stock, and the proud recollections that cluster around Castilian history. I do not advise them to disuse their beautiful language, to lay aside their dignified manners and punctilious attention to the proprieties of social life, and I sincerely hope that the profound deference that is now paid to age by the young will undergo no change. . . . True it is, that the Mexican people have been always noted for their distinguished manners and Christian customs, it is only to be regretted to see that some of their good usages are disappearing little by little before what is called progress in our days.⁷

Prior to the Mexican period, education in New Mexico was limited to the Indian mission schools of the Franciscan friars, chiefly on the elementary level, and to the educational influence exerted by them through their sermons and con-

5. Davis, *Message*, p. 10. This was considered the highest number of illiterates in a United States Territory at the time. Oregon, with a population of 13,294, had only 162 adults who could not read or write. Utah, whose population was about 11,380, had only 154 illiterates. During the Mexican period illiterates had even been admitted as legislators, for in 1837 two members of the first department *Junta* could not read or write. *Ibid.*; Bloom, *op. cit.*, II (July, 1914), 13.

6. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, June 17, 1854. Sixteen years later this percentage of illiteracy was about the same as in 1854, according to Representative Frederick H. Teese. Referring to the census of 1870, he stated that New Mexico had a population of 91,874, of whom 48,836 of ten years of age and over could not read. *Congressional Record*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., June 15, 1876, pp. 3826-3827.

7. *Journal of the Hon. Council of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1 Legislative Assembly, 2 Sess., December 7, 1852, p. 86.

tacts with the people.⁸ During the Mexican administration several of the diocesan clergy took an active part in educating New Mexican youth. About 1826 Father Antonio José Martínez opened a primary school at Taos, his native town. This school functioned for more than twenty years, and for a time it served as a seminary where future priests of New Mexico received their training.⁹ In Santa Fe Father Agustín Fernández also established a primary school. Other priests engaged in education in the decade of the eighteen thirties were Fathers José F. Leyva, who conducted a primary school at Bado, and Juan Rafael Rascón, vicar general of Santa Fe, who established an elementary and secondary school in his own home. In charge of the latter school was Guadalupe Miranda, a capable and energetic young layman, whose efforts in teaching Spanish, Latin, and philosophy were lauded before the Mexican Congress.¹⁰

Education received the greatest impetus with the arrival, in the summer of 1851, of the first Vicar Apostolic of New Mexico, John Baptist Lamy. Appalled by the poor educational facilities in the region, Lamy's first concern was to provide education for the youth. In the spring of 1852 he opened a school for boys and girls near the parish church in Santa Fe; two years later this school numbered almost one hundred pupils.¹¹ Also of special significance to education in New Mexico was the arrival in Santa Fe, on September 26, 1852, of the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross, from Loretto, Kentucky. Lamy's interest in education did not cease with the establishment of a parochial school. He was fully cognizant of the need for training girls. This interest in the education of girls is clearly portrayed by one of his contemporaries. In a letter to his sister in France, Father Joseph Machebeuf, pastor at Peña Blanca, wrote in 1852:

As the source of evil here is the profound ignorance of the people,

8. France V. Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review*, X (April, 1935), 100.

9. Henry R. Wagner, "New Mexico Spanish Press," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XII (January, 1937), 4-5; *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, June 17, 1854.

10. Barreiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

11. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, June 17, 1854.

the first necessity must be instruction, and for this we need Christian schools for the youth of both sexes, but especially for young girls. The means of forming them to virtue, and to good example, which is rare in New Mexico, is the establishment of religious houses conducted by persons devoted to their calling, and filled with the spirit of self-sacrifice. To this end the Bishop has already opened a school for boys in our house, and he has knocked at many doors in the United States to secure sisters for the girls. . . .¹²

The Sisters assumed charge of the parochial school and in 1853, scarcely a year after its founding, it elicited much praise from the *Weekly Gazette* when it published a description of the public celebration prepared by the pupils on June 24 to mark Bishop Lamy's birthday. The boys and girls declaimed in Spanish and English before a select audience which included their proud parents and the leading civic and ecclesiastical officials of the capital. The oratorical part was followed by a musicale in which some of the children sang French songs. The editor had a word of praise for the bishop, whose zeal in the cause of education was widely known and was beginning to bear fruit; also for the Sisters of Loretto who conducted the school, and last but not least for the pupils who manifested rapid progress in learning.¹³

On January 1, 1853, the Sisters opened the Academy of Our Lady of Light in Santa Fe, the first Catholic school for girls in the Territory.¹⁴ The establishment of this institution resulted in a marked improvement in the training of girls. Previously their education had been almost universally neglected.¹⁵ Now within a short time there were many women in Santa Fe who not only could read and write, but were also accomplished in other ways.¹⁶

On August 20, 1855, fifty pupils of the Academy, aged five to eighteen years, took part in literary exercises, which illustrated the rapid progress that was being made. Among

12. Quoted by Sister M. Lilliana Owens, "Our Lady of Light Academy," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIII (April, 1938), 130-131.

13. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, June 25, 1853.

14. In November, 1852, the Sisters accepted the first two pupils. They were two little girls whose mother had died recently. On accepting them as boarders, Bishop Lamy is reported to have remarked to the superior, Mother Magdalene, "It is well to begin with an act of charity." Owens, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

15. Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 194; Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 199.

16. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, June 17, 1854.

the guests present were the Bishop, the governor and the secretary of the Territory, military officials and other prominent citizens. On this occasion Lamy presented prizes to several pupils for embroidery, music, arithmetic, geography, and other branches of learning. The *Weekly Gazette* devoted much space to this event, and said in part: ". . . the pieces spoken were generally delivered with spirit; and in them, as also the dialogues, the pupils acquitted themselves with much credit. In addition to the music by the pupils, the Sisters sang, with piano accompaniment, a few old songs in the most delightful manner. . . ."17 And speaking of the exhibition of embroidery, held in connection with the literary exercises, the editor remarked that this "in particular, was exceedingly well done, and some of it equalled anything of the kind we had ever seen at the seminaries in the States; and demonstrated, that in this species of handiwork, the young ladies of New Mexico, with a little more practice, will not be behind their sisters in other parts of the Union."18

Schools for boys were slower in being organized. In 1856, Father Andrés de Jesús Camacho announced the opening of a primary and secondary school for boys in Santa Fe, but the project was short-lived.¹⁹ In 1859 Bishop Lamy secured the Christian Brothers for his diocese. The first four arrived in Santa Fe from France in October of that year, and the following month they opened an elementary boarding school which later became known as St. Michael's College.²⁰ From its earliest years this school has enjoyed great prestige among the institutions of learning in the State.

The Protestant churches also made attempts to establish schools, but for a long time these efforts met with little success. This, one author stated, was due to the opposition of Catholic priests, who refused to permit Catholic children to attend Protestant schools.²¹ The Rev. Henry W. Read, a

17. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1855.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1856.

20. James H. Defouri, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico* (San Francisco: McCormick Brothers, 1887), pp. 50-52.

21. Antonio Joseph, *Admisión de Nuevo México* (New York: Imprenta El Poligloto, 1888), p. 30.

Baptist minister, opened a school for boys and girls in Santa Fe in July, 1849.²² In 1852 another Baptist minister, Samuel Gorman, inaugurated a school for Indian children at Laguna.²³ Abandoning his Indian mission and school in March, 1859, Gorman moved to Santa Fe where he made another attempt at conducting a school.²⁴ His class here consisted of about sixty pupils, aged five to twenty-five years. He also held evening classes in Spanish. Early in April, 1862, this school closed and Gorman moved to Canton, Ohio.²⁵

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, prior to the American occupation there were few public schools. On April 27, 1822, the Provincial Deputation passed an act requiring the formation of primary schools, but as its execution was left to the discretion of the town councils whose treasuries were usually low, little was actually done. In 1831 the teacher of the only public school in Santa Fe, who also acted in the capacity of superintendent of schools for the region, complained that the various town mayors and councils showed little co-operation in assembling the children for classes, and he urged that the parents be fined for refusing to send their children to school.²⁶ To improve this situation, Governor Albino Pérez re-organized an educational system in 1836. Regretting the number of children out of school, exposed to all kinds of vices, he proposed two more schools for Santa Fe, to be supported by the parents and attended by all children, five to twelve years old. Those above twelve were required to become apprentices at some trade. Parents who failed to comply with these regulations were to be fined "from one to five pesos, according to their means, in the first, double in the second, and triple in the third, and those who are still recalcitrant, and those who cannot pay the fine, shall be punished by law with three days arrest, doubling this punishment in the same way as the pecuniary

22. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (2 vols., Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1911-1912), II, 350.

23. *Old Santa Fe*, I (January, 1914), 319.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 321-323.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (January, 1914), 274.

one."²⁷ About the year 1834 there were only six public schools in the entire region, and the combined salary of the teachers was 1,850 pesos.²⁸ Good teachers were occasionally introduced from Mexico and even from England.²⁹ But with school finances low, and teachers' salaries in arrears, there was little material incentive to teach in New Mexico.

The hope was often expressed that under the American form of government the deplorable state of education might improve. The Kearny Code heightened this expectation. It provided that "Schools and means of education shall be forever encouraged in the territory. One or more schools shall be established in each village as soon as practicable, where the poor shall be educated free of charge."³⁰ But there was more wishful thinking in these words than their author may have cared to admit. One of the greatest handicaps was the lack of funds. On March 26, 1847, the city council at Santa Fe found itself without money to continue public education. The following year Governor Donaciano Vigil informed the first New Mexico legislature that there existed but one public school in the whole Territory, located in Santa Fe, and employing one teacher.³¹

That the people were fully conscious of the need for schools and were desirous that the need be filled is apparent from the resolutions of the First Territorial Convention of October, 1848. That body urged upon Congress the need of establishing a public fund for the education of the people. For, they said, "we have neither the means nor any adopted plan by government for the education of the rising generation."³² The Federal Government, unacquainted with the geography of New Mexico, responded by assigning the sixteenth and the thirty-sixth sections in each township as

27. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, 58.

28. Pino, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

29. L. Bradford Prince, *A Concise History of New Mexico* (Cedar Rapids: Torch Press, 1912), p. 253.

30. *Laws of New Mexico*, 1846, Art. V, Sec. 4.

31. Prince, *A Concise History of New Mexico*, p. 253. Despite these financial limitations, it is interesting to note that some discussed the possibility of founding a university. *Laws passed by the General Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico in the Session of December, 1847* (Santa Fe: Hovey and Davis, 1848), pp. 23-31.

32. W. H. H. Allison, ed., "Santa Fe in 1846," *Old Santa Fe*, II (April, 1915), 403.

sources of revenue for the schools. James S. Calhoun, the first territorial governor, complained that this grant was inadequate for the needs of the region, and he added:

The singular topography of New Mexico is not well understood abroad. . . . So soon as Congress becomes more intimately acquainted with the peculiar formation of the surface of this Territory, and ascertains the fact that a vast majority of its area is covered with inaccessible and rugged mountains, perhaps wholly valueless . . . other provisions will be substituted or added to this well purposed grant . . .³³

Succeeding governors continued to press Congress for an appropriation of money for the establishment of schools with little success. In the meantime, the territorial legislature attempted to raise a school fund by imposing a poll tax of one dollar and fifty cents on each adult citizen.³⁴ Having failed in this also, the legislature levied a property tax for the support of education. But when the proposal was referred to the people on March 31, 1856, out of a popular vote of 5,053 only thirty-seven men voted in favor of the tax.³⁵ Public education made slow progress, and the United States census of 1860 showed that New Mexico had only seventeen public schools, with a total enrollment of 235 pupils.³⁶

A contemporary has left an amusing and revealing account of a typical school of that period. The building was usually an adobe structure, consisting of a single room with a door, a window, and a dirt floor. In one corner was a fireplace and along the walls were the school benches. As many boys as could be accommodated attended classes, regardless of grade. School began at sunrise and continued until sunset, with one hour off for lunch and no time out for recess. Every morning class began with a hymn, after which the pupils marched to the fireplace to deposit two sticks of wood brought from home for the fire of the day. The boys then lined up and, one by one, approached the schoolmaster and

33. *Journal of the Hon. Council of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1 Legislative Assembly, 1 Sess., June 2, 1851, pp. 90-91.

34. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, January 8, 1853.

35. Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 195.

36. *Eighth Census of the United States*, 1860, III, 506.

asked for his blessing. The rules of the school also required that on going to or from classes, the boys ask the blessing of any elder they met in the street. Taking his hat off, the pupil would say, "Your blessing, sir (madam)." This custom was aimed at producing in the boy greater respect for his elders.

Since there were no textbooks, the readers were mostly story books which the pupils found at home. When ready to take up penmanship, the schoolmaster would ask the pupils to bring a small table from home, a piece of parchment, a quill, and ink. When the pupil had learned to read a book and to write, he was ready to read *en carta*—that is, learn to read various handwritings. For this purpose he would bring to school any family letter he could find and would study their penmanship and contents.³⁷

Notwithstanding the absence of educational facilities, people of culture and refinement were not lacking in the region. Many of the more wealthy families sent their sons to colleges and universities outside New Mexico, especially to Mexico City, St. Louis, Missouri, and even to private schools in New York City.³⁸ Some youths could speak French and English fluently, their proficiency in the latter language proving particularly useful in dealing with the Americans after 1846.³⁹ After the American occupation, a few socially-prominent New Mexican families periodically visited eastern cities, such as Washington, D. C., Philadelphia, and New York, and on those occasions they moved about in the highest official circles.⁴⁰

There were few professional men during the period of Mexican occupation, 1821-1846. As far as is known, the only trained lawyer in the region during that time was Antonio Barreiro, who served as representative in the Mexican Congress. This condition was remedied to some extent after the arrival of the Americans in 1846. Several lawyers took up

37. Antonio Lucero, "Early School Days in New Mexico," *Old Santa Fe*, II (October, 1914), 200-205.

38. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 482; W. H. H. Allison, "Colonel Francisco Perea," *Old Santa Fe*, I (October, 1913), 212-214.

39. Allison, *ibid.*, p. 213.

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-221.

residence in the Territory and at least one of them, Judge Kirby Benedict, became outstanding for his wise decisions, his learning, and his deep interest in cultural affairs. A man of fine literary tastes, Benedict was one of the first members of the Historical Society of New Mexico, organized in 1859.⁴¹

As may be expected in a frontier society, literary productions during this period were few in number. Manuel Alvarez, a Santa Fe scholar and a keen observer of national and world affairs, is said to have contributed articles to a periodical in Madrid, Spain.⁴² In 1832, Antonio Barreiro published his valuable *Ojeada sobre Nuevo México*, dealing particularly with the natural resources of the land. Father Antonio J. Martínez, of Taos, wrote and published textbooks for his school, as well as prayer books. His *Cuaderno de ortografía*, published in 1834, is considered today the earliest known specimen of New Mexico printing.⁴³

There were no polished poets in New Mexico, but *cantadores* (troubadours) existed and were held in high esteem among the people of all classes. Descendants of the old troubadours in Spain, these popular poets were in constant demand to compose, recite or sing their *versos* (octosyllabic quatrains) or *romances tradicionales* (popular ballads) at baptisms, weddings, and other social events. Some of these ballads and *versos* were introduced from Spain and remained almost as they were sung in the time of Cervantes, but many of them were composed in New Mexico. They were usually sung to the accompaniment of a guitar and expressed the feelings, ideas, and philosophy of the people. Among the common people of Spanish descent, traditional ballads,

41. In an article entitled "Kirby Benedict," which appeared in *Old Santa Fe* (vol. I, July, 1913, p. 50), it was stated that "Kirby Benedict was the first president of the Historical Society of New Mexico." This error is rectified by Lansing B. Bloom in "Historical Society Minutes, 1859-1863," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XVIII (July, 1943), 252-253.

42. W. H. H. Allison, ed., "Santa Fe as it Appeared during the Winter of the Years 1837 and 1838," *Old Santa Fe*, II (October, 1914), 182.

43. Douglas G. McMurtrie, *The Beginning of Printing in New Mexico, Jesús María Baca, the First New Mexico Printer* (Chicago: Printed Privately, 1932), p. 3; Antonio J. Martínez, *Discurso político sobre lo importante y necesario de que el hombre este instruido en sus deberes* (Taos: Imprenta del Presbítero Antonio José Martínez, 1839), *passim*.

folk tales, proverbs, and religious poems were a living force in popular oral tradition.⁴⁴

In the eighteen fifties there were a number of Catholic priests in the Territory who attracted the attention of the Americans by their wide learning and refinement. Many of them took an active part in the cultural growth of the region. Bishop Lamy, for example, was among the first members and patrons of the Historical Society of New Mexico.⁴⁵ Of the Italian Franciscan, Fr. Donato Rogieri, who traveled to New Mexico by stage coach in 1853, William W. H. Davis, who later became Secretary of the Territory, states:

He was a man of learning and extensive travel, having been five years a missionary in the Holy Land, and had passed much time among the Arabs, whose language he spoke with fluency. Though he and I were far asunder in matters of religion, I could not but have some respect for the faith he professes, and for which he sacrifices all the charms of life, and buries himself from the world in the middle of the continent. We may speak about the tenets of the Romish Church, but we must unite in giving the priesthood credit for great self-denial, and meek forbearance with all the trials that beset them in their lonely path through life.⁴⁶

One of the principal drawbacks to the advancement of learning and culture in New Mexico was the lack of books and periodicals. Except for the books brought by the clergy and the government officials for their personal use, there were few books in the region up to the time of the introduction of the printing press in 1834. In the eighteenth century the textbooks used in Franciscan schools came with the school supplies that were sent from Mexico City every three years. But with the end of the mission era and of Spanish rule this practice was stopped.

As regards libraries, information is scant. There is no mention of a public library or bookseller in the region. In

44. Aurelio M. Espinosa, "Spanish Folk-lore in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, I (April, 1926), 146-151; Aurelio M. Espinosa, "New Mexican Spanish Coplas Populares," *Hispania*, XVIII (May, 1935), 141; J. Manuel Espinosa, *Spanish Folk Tales of New Mexico* (New York: G. E. Stechert & Co., 1937), *passim*.

45. Bloom, "Historical Society Minutes . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.

46. Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 21. Father Donato later laid the foundation for the cathedral of Tucson, Arizona, according to Defouri, *op. cit.*, p. 61. What his status was in the Franciscan order during this period is not clear.

the eighteen fifties the territorial legislature had a library of about 2,000 volumes, consisting chiefly of standard law books.⁴⁷ In all probability, this was the largest library in the Territory. Some wealthy families possessed their own collection of books, imported from Mexico and Spain,⁴⁸ and the priests also had their own private libraries. As early as the seventeenth century some of the Franciscan missions and colonial governors had maintained small but select libraries.⁴⁹ Bishop Lamy was also a bibliophile, and in his library he treasured a water-soaked volume which was all he had saved of the many books he was taking to New Mexico when shipwrecked in the Gulf of Mexico in 1851.⁵⁰ We may reasonably suspect that at Taos, where Father Martínez is said to have conducted a seminary, there was a fairly good library, at least of theological books.⁵¹ Although there is an occasional mention of collections of books among the common people,⁵² such collections were more often an inheritance rather than a mark of culture.

Nevertheless, from the early decades of the nineteenth century there were evidences of a lively interest on the part of civic-minded persons in elevating the cultural standards of the region. At least one contemporary lamented the absence of a printing press which would supply New Mexicans with books and other printed items. As Barreiro observed in 1832, there was not a single press in the region nor any newspapers.⁵³ A public-spirited individual, Barreiro must have worked fast to secure a press, for within two years

47. Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 46. The New Mexico legislature was either too poor or little interested in books, for Davis remarks that it "refused to appropriate a few dollars to pay the freight on books the general government [in Washington] had sent out for the Territorial library, and which were allowed to remain in the hands of the freighter, to be sold or destroyed." Davis shows much apprehension over this neglect, and concludes by saying that "if this fact [is] known to Congress, it might deter that body from donating any more books to the library of New Mexico." *Ibid.*, p. 290.

48. *Old Santa Fe*, I (July, 1913), 77.

49. Eleanor B. Adams and France V. Scholes, "Books in New Mexico, 1598-1680," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XVII (July, 1942), 226-270; Eleanor B. Adams, "Two Colonial New Mexico Libraries, 1706, 1776," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIX (April, 1944), 145-147.

50. Defouri, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

51. Wagner, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 ff.

52. *Old Santa Fe*, I (July, 1913), p. 77.

53. Barreiro, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

one was functioning in Santa Fe. The first official record of the existence of a press is a document which a certain Ramón Abreú sent to the town council of Santa Fe on January, 1834. With it he sent a file of a publication which he called *El Crepúsculo de la libertad*. He further mentioned that he had established the printing shop in the city.⁵⁴ Apparently, Abreú was applying for a license to operate the printing establishment. On October 8, 1834, Barreiro sent to the *Deputación Territorial* (Territorial Legislature) a file of a periodical of which he was the publisher. He did not mention the name of the publication, but it may rightly be assumed, as Douglas C. McMurtrie, an authority on early printing in the United States observes, that it was the same paper mentioned by Abreú.⁵⁵ The press, McMurtrie concludes, undoubtedly belonged to Abreú.

One of Barreiro's principal interests in the newspaper was to secure his re-election as New Mexico's delegate to the Mexican congress in 1834.⁵⁶ After his election the paper was discontinued. Of this publication Josiah Gregg wrote in 1844:

There has never been a single newspaper or periodical of any kind published in New Mexico, except in the year 1834, when a foolscap sheet (entitled *El Crepusculo*) was issued weekly, for about a month, to the tune of fifty subscribers, and was then abandoned, partially for want of patronage and partially because the editor had accomplished his object of procuring his election to Congress.⁵⁷

To Father Martínez belongs the honor of having been

54. McMurtrie, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

55. Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The History of Early Printing in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, IV (October, 1929), 375.

56. *Ibid.*

57. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 200-201. Some historians of New Mexico maintain that Father Martínez published the first newspaper, at Taos. Among those that hold this theory, the more notable are Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 341; Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 184-185; Prince, *Historical Sketches*, p. 234, and *A Concise History of New Mexico*, p. 153; Pedro Sánchez, *Memoria sobre la vida del presbítero Antonio José Martínez* (Santa Fe: Compañía Impresora del Nuevo México, 1903), p. 29. This theory, according to McMurtrie, should be rejected for two reasons: (1) Father Martínez does not mention it in his autobiographical sketch, *Relacion de méritos*, which he published in 1838, and (2) his *Cuaderno de ortografía* was published in Santa Fe in 1834 when the press was certainly owned by Ramón Abreú, with Jesús María Baca as printer. Cf. McMurtrie, "The History of Early Printing in New Mexico," *op. cit.*, pp. 375-381.

one of the first patrons of the press. As has been noted, his *Cuaderno de ortografía* appeared in 1834. Upon the death of Abreú, in August, 1837, he became the owner of the press, transferring it to Taos, where he began publishing various textbooks and devotional treatises,⁵⁸ now regarded as the first books printed in New Mexico.⁵⁹ According to an unpublished biography of Father Martínez, by Santiago Valdez, the priest still owned the press when the American troops occupied Santa Fe. When General Kearny needed a press in Santa Fe, Martínez lent it to him free of charge. It was on this press that Kearny's Code of Laws was printed.⁶⁰

In 1844 the second newspaper in New Mexico made its appearance, *La verdad*, but it is not known who the owner of the press was at that time.⁶¹ On June 28, 1845, the first issue of a political newspaper, *El payo de Nuevo México*, made its debut in Santa Fe. One notable feature of it was its frank and fearless tone in criticizing certain government abuses. For instance, the issue of August 9, 1845, carried a caustic article complaining of government waste in maintaining unnecessary offices and employees while the common laborers and farmers were overburdened with taxes.⁶² In 1849 Ceran St. Vrain founded *El Nuevo Mexicano*, with weekly and daily editions. The first daily newspaper of the Rocky Mountain region, it was succeeded about the year 1851 by the Santa Fe *Weekly Gazette*.⁶³

58. McMurtrie, *The Beginning of Printing in New Mexico*, p. 4.

59. Prince, *A Concise History of New Mexico*, p. 253.

60. Illinois Historical Records Survey, *Inventory of American Imprints*, No. 25, *Check List of New Mexico Imprints and Publications, 1734-1876* (Michigan Historical Records Survey, 1942), pp. x-xi. An eyewitness remarks about the press: "With this poor apology for a printing press and such worn type and indifferent ink, paper, and other materials as chanced to be about the establishment the constitution and laws of the Territory were published. As the Spanish language has no W, a difficulty presented itself in regard to the type, which was at length obviated by the substitution of two Vs for one W. In this manner were the constitution and laws printed, both in the Spanish and English languages in double column, placed in juxtaposition on each page." Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

61. McMurtrie, *The Beginning of Printing in New Mexico*, p. 4.

62. Douglas C. McMurtrie, *El Payo de Nuevo México* (Albuquerque: Privately printed, 1933), pp. 9-11.

63. *Check List of New Mexico Imprints*, p. xii. The *Gazette* was an Abolitionist paper, and in 1856 it was the only newspaper published in the Territory. Santa Fe *Weekly Gazette*, October 4, 1856.

Although the people of New Mexico took little or no part in civil affairs during the Mexican administration, they kept abreast of national events through official reports or communiques called *oficios*. Though these *oficios* always arrived several weeks late, they served to keep the people informed of political matters.⁶⁴ Another means of information were newspapers and pamphlets printed in Mexico. Particularly popular in the region were the three Mexican newspapers, *El nuevo mundo*, *El gallo pitagórico*, and *El republicano*. From Spain came a few weekly periodicals.⁶⁵ As may be expected, these papers and periodicals had a very limited number of readers in New Mexico, and these were mostly residents of Santa Fe.

Outstanding among the literary and learned societies organized in the early part of the American period were the Santa Fe Literary Club, and the Historical Society of New Mexico. The former consisted of a group of citizens from various walks of life eager to increase their own knowledge by participating in discussions and debates. Founded about 1856, this literary club rapidly gained in popularity, and judging from the comments of the local press, treated of a variety of topics of current interest. Of it the editor of the *Gazette* wrote:

Although still in its infancy, this association has assumed a position and attained a point in the small space of two months which similar institutions in the States might be proud to accomplish in the same time. Essays have been delivered on such topics as, "Are the Principles of the Know-Nothing Party conducive to the interests and well-being of the United States?" and "Which is the greater incentive to action, the hope of reward or the fear of punishment?"⁶⁶

One of the first presidents of this club was a New Mexican, Nicolás Quintana.⁶⁷

The Historical Society of New Mexico was founded on

64. Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration," *op. cit.*, I (July, 1913), 16.

65. Allison, "Santa Fe as it Appeared during the Winter of the Years 1837 and 1838," *op. cit.*, II (October, 1914), 179; *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 480; Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

66. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 29, 1856.

67. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1856.

December 26, 1859, with Colonel John B. Grayson, an army officer stationed in Santa Fe, as its first president. Bishop Lamy encouraged the formation of this group and aided it materially. He became a member of the society at the first meeting, on January 30, 1860, and the first meetings were held in a hall belonging to him.⁶⁸ The formation of this historical society aroused so much interest, that when the first meeting was held, the librarian, Winslow J. Howard, reported several donations of books, consisting of 156 bound volumes, ninety-three pamphlets, and fifteen maps.⁶⁹

Dramatic presentations were popular among the New Mexicans. Mainly of a religious character, dramatizing some part of the Old or New Testament, these plays were given in the public square of the town, especially on the eve of an important religious feast.⁷⁰ They drew large crowds, even in the small villages. John T. Hughes, an American soldier, describes one performance at Peralta, attended by about 1,500 persons. He says:

A comedy or some kind of theatrical exhibition . . . was being performed by several ladies and gentlemen on a stage erected in a large piazza fronting the square. Everything was said in the Spanish language, so that the Americans who were present (very few of whom could speak in that tongue) were unable to appreciate the merits of the play, or say whether it was original, or whether it was from Shakespeare or the Bible. The women were promiscuously [*sic*] intermingled with the men, and the music of instruments with the discharge of rockets, made horrid discord. The pageant would have been imposing had it been attended with order and solemnity.⁷¹

Some theatricals were based on the works of great Spanish authors and playwrights. One writer stated that "some of these were played with figures and images hung on strings, to be moved about when required."⁷² The American soldiers stationed in Santa Fe gave added impetus to dramatics. In November, 1846, they organized a dramatic society among themselves and, with the permission of Governor Charles

68. Bloom, "Historical Society Minutes . . .," *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253; 272; 247.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

70. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

71. Hughes, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

72. Allison, "Santa Fe as it Appeared during the Winter of the Years 1837 and 1838," *op. cit.*, p. 180.

Bent, transformed the ballroom of the Governors' Palace into a theatre in which to present their plays.⁷³

With regard to architecture, virtually every building was constructed of adobe, and this precluded any effort at architectural embellishment. About the only artistic decoration was in the woodwork. Porches, doors, and *vigas* were often elaborately carved with various designs. Public edifices, such as churches and chapels, were usually tastefully adorned. The military chapel in Santa Fe, *La Castrense*, had an astonishingly beautiful reredos, carved of native stone.⁷⁴

The parish church in Santa Fe was apparently not as artistic as the military chapel. In 1846, an American who visited it, found it adorned with about fifty crosses, and "a great number of the most miserable paintings and wax figures, and looking glasses trimmed with pieces of tinsel."⁷⁵ A few notable paintings decorated some of the churches. The military chapel, for example, is said to have contained a fine mural,⁷⁶ and even Indian pueblos at times could boast of an exceptional painting.⁷⁷ In 1849 James H. Simpson found a defaced painting in the Jemez chapel, but one which still showed the "touches of a genuine artist."⁷⁸ Many artistic pieces were to be found in the humblest homes. In a small town on the banks of the Rio Grande a man was reported to have had "some very old pictures, in large, oval frames, that had once been beautifully gilded."⁷⁹ An American with some artistic taste remarked that

Scattered about throughout New Mexico, one frequently meets with fine specimens of art, particularly oil paintings. These were sent

73. Prince, *Historical Sketches of New Mexico*, p. 245.

74. Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, *Demostración del vastísimo obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya—1765*, Vol. VII of *Biblioteca Histórica Mexicana de obras inéditas* (México: Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1937), 336. In 1940 when Archbishop Rudolph A. Gerken, of Santa Fe, erected the new parish church of Cristo Rey in that city, this altar was moved there from the present cathedral.

75. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

76. Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

77. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 469.

78. James H. Simpson, *Journal of a Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the Navajo Country, Made with the Troops under Command of Brevet Lieutenant Colonel John M. Washington, Chief of the Ninth Military Department, and Governor of New Mexico, in 1849* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1852), p. 20.

79. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 493.

over from old Spain; and, at one time, the Spaniards used to send over fine workmen and artists to construct and adorn the churches. My Spanish landlady has a fine picture of a female saint, that I have endeavored to purchase from her; but she conceives that it represents the "virgen santissima." It has a dagger sticking in the heart; this I called her attention to, but she could not be induced to part with it.⁸⁰

Indians usually ornamented their chapels in their own fashion, depicting saints in a not too elaborate way, using bright pigments of red, blue and yellow.⁸¹

CHAPTER IV

The Church

The period from 1821 to 1860 was a critical one for the Church in New Mexico. After over two centuries under the rule of Spain, the region became a part of the empire and later of the republic of Mexico. During the republic the Mexican government was too engrossed in its political struggles to devote attention to the frontier provinces. Though New Mexico had made no positive contribution to the movement for independence, and felt only slightly the effects of war, it was, nevertheless, to suffer from the passing of the special relationship between Church and State, which, in spite of its failings, had proved successful in times past in spreading Christianity throughout Spanish America. The breaking of relations with Spain meant that no longer would the New Mexico missions be financed by the royal treasury, that the source of mission personnel would be closed. To understand the true significance of the close union of Church and State in the colonial period, and its value to the Church in New Mexico, it is necessary to touch upon the origin and nature of the *patronato real*, or royal

80. *Ibid.*, p. 456. Obviously, it was a picture of Our Lady of the Seven Dolors.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 469.

patronage, whereby certain ecclesiastical powers were granted to the Spanish crown.¹

Royal patronage as practised in Spain greatly influenced the Church in America and set up the conditions under which it was to evangelize the New World. The first important document granting ecclesiastical powers in America to the Spanish rulers was the bull *Inter cetera*, of Alexander VI (May 4, 1493). By this bull the pope divided all new discoveries between the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and imposed the moral obligations to Christianize the Indians who might be found in those lands. The conversion of the natives, then, became an obligation of the monarchs. But the principal papal pronouncement giving the Spanish sovereigns the legal right to exercise jurisdiction over the Church in America was the bull *Universalis ecclesiae*, of Julius II (July 28, 1508). It confirmed previous concessions to the kings and added new ones. The new "Patronage of the Indies," as it became known, gave to the Spanish king almost absolute jurisdiction over ecclesiastical affairs in the New World. It was his right to present bishops, to erect dioceses, and to name parish priests. Without his consent no missionary could enter or leave his American domains.²

In fairness to the monarchs, however, it must be admitted that they generally made a sincere effort to perform their ecclesiastical duties well. Again and again in their correspondence with the royal officials in New Spain the kings made reference to the conversion of the Indians and to the need of providing for their spiritual care and direction. From the tithes which the popes had granted to the Crown, and from the royal treasury, came the funds to support the work of the missions and to erect churches and

1. For a list of some of these rights and privileges see Antonio Joaquín Ribadeneyra, *Manual compendio de el regio patronato indiano, para su más fácil uso en las materias conducentes a la práctica* (Madrid: Antonio Marín, 1755), pp. 43-50. See also J. Lloyd Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 8; Arthur S. Aiton, "Ideas on the Church-State Problem in Nineteenth Century Latin America," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII (January, 1943), 451.

2. Ribadeneyra, *op. cit.*, p. 412; Juan de Solórzano, *Política indiana* (Antwerp: Henrico & Cornelio Verdussen, 1703), pp. 276-281.

monasteries.³ Under this system of Church and State, the soldier and the priest advanced together to new frontiers, planting simultaneously the banner of Spain and the cross of Christ. It is readily seen that, in spite of its shortcomings, this system was especially advantageous to the progress of religion in a remote frontier area such as New Mexico.

During and after the war of independence in Mexico, there were clergymen, especially creoles and mestizos, who displayed open opposition to the monopolistic and restrictive policy of the Spanish clergy. This feeling reverberated in far-off New Mexico. For instance, the establishment of the first college in the region, in 1826, came to naught because the clergy and the people of Santa Fe refused to tolerate a Spanish friar as its rector.⁴ This antagonism had been perceptible for a long time, and it partly explains the espousal of the movement for independence on the part of many Mexican priests. In their minds the struggle for political independence from Spain was inseparable from their effort to acquire a certain amount of religious autonomy.⁵

Having attained independence, the Mexican government turned its attention to the re-organization of the Church. In 1821 the Plan de Iguala declared that the Roman Catholic Church would be the only one tolerated in the country and assured the clergy of full protection of their rights.⁶ At the same time politicians began to agitate for the retention by Mexico of the *patronato* rights. The enormous property of the Church was a great temptation for them, and they longed for the day when they could handle its revenue and, in general, use the Church for their own ends. On May 21, 1825, Father Francisco P. Vásquez was sent as Mexican envoy to the Vatican. He was instructed by his government to obtain from the pope all the patronage rights which formerly

3. Luis Torres de Mendoza, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía* (42 vols., Madrid: Imprenta de Frías y Cía., 1866), VI, 497 ff.

4. Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Rule," *op. cit.*, I (January, 1914), 248.

5. Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la iglesia en México* (5 vols., 3rd ed., El Paso: Revista Católica, 1928), V, *passim*.

6. Mecham, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

belonged to Spain, among them the right to nominate bishops to sees. Among the bishops whom the government wished to appoint was one to serve as auxiliary for New Mexico.⁷ But Vásquez found the pope unyielding,⁸ and as these negotiations reached an impasse, the Church in Mexico faced the most critical period of its history. With the fall of Spanish administration an alarming number of Spanish priests left the country or were exiled.⁹ The number of bishops also diminished, either through death or exile, so that in 1829 not a single bishop remained in Mexico. For a Catholic nation the passing of the hierarchy was a serious blow. Many of the clergy were lax and engaged in politics or became associated with the Masonic lodges. At that critical point Pope Gregory XVI took a firm stand. In spite of objections on the part of Spain and Mexico, he issued a bull, *Solicitudo ecclesiarum* (August, 1831), in which he informed both nations that he intended to exercise his own spiritual functions in Mexico without any fear of consequences. That same year he named bishops for various vacant sees in Mexico, had envoy Vásquez consecrated in Rome and sent him off to Mexico to consecrate other bishops and thus reestablish the Mexican hierarchy. One of these first bishops was for the long-vacant diocese of Durango, of which New Mexico was a part.¹⁰

In 1833 the new Bishop of Durango, José Antonio Zubiría, visited the missions of New Mexico and was shocked at the sad state of affairs. It had been the policy of Spain and of the Franciscans to rely upon the mother country for vocations and for missionaries. When the Spaniards were

7. W. Eugene Shiels, "Church and State in the First Decade of Mexican Independence," *Catholic Historical Review*, XXVIII (July, 1942), 225. See Luis Medina Ascencio, "La Santa Sede y la emancipación mexicana," *Estudios Históricos* (Guadalajara), 1943-1945, *passim*.

8. J. M. March, "La exclusiva dada por España contra el Cardenal Guistiniani en el conclave de 1830-1831, según despachos diplomáticos," *Razon y Fe*, XCVIII (January, 1932), 55 ff.

9. By 1830 Mexico had lost 1,947 diocesan priests out of a total of 4,229 it had in 1810 when the struggle for independence began. During the same period 1,726 religious priests and brothers left the country. Cf. Cuevas, *op. cit.*, V, 175-176.

10. Shiels, *op. cit.*, pp. 210, 227; Mecham, *op. cit.*, p. 97; John Francis Bannon and Peter Masten Dunne, *Latin America: An Historical Survey* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co.), pp. 462 ff.; Cuevas, *op. cit.*, V, 154-187.

expelled from Mexico after independence, the native clergy was insufficient to provide for the needs of the missions. In New Mexico, for example, only two Franciscans remained by 1828. They had taken the oath of allegiance to the new government and were permitted to remain. The rest were forced to abandon their missions.¹¹ Few diocesan priests were attracted to the region, and these preferred to work in the larger centers of population, such as Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and Santa Cruz. The Mexican government still paid the salaries of missionaries, but few were willing to take those positions. The New Mexico missions disappeared, the Indians lapsed into the freer life of pagan days, and the mission buildings deteriorated rapidly. Even in Santa Fe, the center of religious life in the region, there were evidences of religious decline. In 1833 Bishop Zubiría found a handsome parish church, several chapels, and about three private oratories. But the church was so neglected that it was destitute of vestments for the celebration of Mass. Zubiría pleaded with the faithful to provide funds for the purchase of necessary vestments and furnishings.¹² In an effort to ameliorate conditions, Father Juan Felipe Ortíz, a native of Santa Fe, was appointed vicar general for New Mexico in 1832.¹³

The clergy in New Mexico reflected the general trend of their colleagues south of the border. Many were affected with liberalism, while others were so engrossed in politics that they had little or no time for their parochial duties.¹⁴ After 1836, when the Mexican constitution became law and permitted free elections, several priests ran for public offices. The first representative from New Mexico to the Mexican congress in 1837 was Father Juan Felipe Ortíz, of Santa Fe.¹⁵ Other priests held various public offices and, as one

11. The Spaniards were expelled from Mexico in 1821. On December 19, 1833 the missions were secularized by Gómez Farías. Cuevas, *op. cit.*, V, 196 ff.; Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Rule," *op. cit.*, II (January, 1914), 258.

12. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

13. *Ibid.*

14. One of these liberals was Father Martínez, of Taos. Cf. Sánchez, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

15. Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Rule," *op. cit.*, II (July, 1914), 10.

writer states, about half of the clergy of New Mexico served the region as deputies or alternates in the Mexican Congress at one time or another.¹⁶

All this points to the fact that, as regards politics, New Mexico had an articulate clergy. They took a deep interest in the government of the region and, to a certain extent, their word was law with the people. This fact could not be overlooked by the American government in its plans to send a conquering expedition to New Mexico. Various diplomatic gestures were made early in the war with Mexico to assure the Catholics that the Americans had interest in their welfare and respect for their religion. Writing to General Zachary Taylor, on July 9, 1846, Secretary of War William L. Marcy deplored the fact that the war was being represented as a "war of 'impiety,' as if we were going to rob churches and pull down altars."¹⁷ To remove these misapprehensions it was deemed advisable that priests accompany the American army into New Mexico. In his instructions to Colonel Stephen W. Kearny, who was to lead the armed forces into that territory, Marcy said:

The President [James K. Polk] has been informed that much pain has been taken to alarm the religious prejudices of the Mexican inhabitants of Santa Fe and its vicinity against the United States. He deems it important that their misapprehensions in this respect should be corrected, as far as it can be done; and, for that purpose, he has caused arrangements to be made for a person of high character and good repute in the Roman Catholic church to accompany your forces in the expedition you are about to conduct to that place. You are directed to receive and treat with respect and courtesy any person who shall present himself to you with a letter of introduction from Bishop Kenrick, of Missouri, the Rev. J. Vandervelde, or the Rev. J. Simon. . . . It is understood that the person who will be invited to attend you will understand and speak the Spanish language; and it is hoped that he will, without departing from the path of his duties as a clergyman, be useful in removing the false impressions of the Mexicans in relation to the United States and their objects in taking possession of New Mexico, and inducing them to confide in the assurance you will make that their religious institutions will be respected, the property of the church protected, their worship undisturbed—in

16. *Ibid.*, II (October, 1914), 135.

17. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 60.

fine, that all their religious rights will be in the amplest manner preserved to them.¹⁸

Kearny was also provided with a proclamation in Spanish which he was to make public after the fall of Santa Fe. It read: The undersigned has instructions from his Government to respect the religious institutions of New Mexico, to protect the property of the church, to cause the worship of those belonging to it to be undisturbed, and their religious rights in the amplest manner preserved to them.¹⁹

That Kearny and his men carried out these instructions very carefully and were always respectful toward religion in New Mexico, is apparent from a careful study of the period. In Las Vegas, New Mexico, Kearny had an opportunity to rehearse the pronunciamiento he was to deliver in the capital of New Mexico. Calling the inhabitants to the *plaza* on August 15, 1846, he informed them that he had come to take over the country in the name of the United States and that henceforth they owed no allegiance to the Mexican government. To sweeten this bitter pill, he added:

My government . . . will protect you in your religion. I know you are all great Catholics; that some of your priests have told you all sorts of stories—that we should ill-treat your women, and brand them on the cheek as you do your mules on the hip. It is all false. My government respects your religion as much as the Protestant religion, and allows each man to worship his Creator as his heart tells him is best. Its laws protect the Catholic as well as the Protestant; the weak as well as the strong; the poor as well as the rich. I am not a Catholic myself—I was not brought up in that faith; but at least one-third of my army are Catholics, and I respect a good Catholic as much as a good Protestant.²⁰

Kearny then asked the town mayor and other officials to take the oath of allegiance to the United States in the presence of all the people. This was done, as an eye-witness re-

18. *Senate Rep. Com.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 18, pp. 233-234. The Bishop of St. Louis, Peter Richard Kenrick, failed to provide any priests to the Kearny expedition. George Rutledge Gibson, *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847*, Vol. III of *The Southwest Historical Series*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1935), Introduction, 30.

19. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 60.

20. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

marks, "using the sacred cross instead of the Bible,"²¹ admittedly a more familiar object to the New Mexicans than the Bible. This scene was reenacted on August 22, 1846, after Kearny's army took over Santa Fe without firing a single shot. On that day the Church in New Mexico entered a new *modus vivendi*, far different from what it had been accustomed to. No longer would Catholicism be the established religion, for the Organic Law promulgated by Kearny stated that

All men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their consciences; that no person can ever be hurt, molested, or restrained in his religious profession, if he does not disturb others in their religious worship, and that all Christian churches shall be protected and none oppressed, and that no person on account of his religious opinions shall be rendered ineligible to any office of honor, trust, or profit.²²

In 1851 the laws of New Mexico further decreed that, "No preference shall be given by law to any religious denomination; and it shall be the duty of the Legislature to enact the necessary laws to protect equally all religious denominations, so that they may be undisturbed and secure in the practice of their institutions."²³

Personal relations between the clergy and the Americans were generally cordial. When reaching a town the officers usually paid their respects to the parish priest first and then proceeded with the business that engaged them. Regardless of their religion, officers attended Mass and took part in other services whenever possible. They were instructed to show every mark of respect to the religious observances of the country and not to decline participation in the ceremonies.²⁴ As may be expected, many of them did not understand Catholic ceremonies, nor were they particularly interested, but as one officer resignedly put it, "when you are in Rome, do as Rome does."²⁵ The men were especially cour-

21. Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail, the Story of a Great Highway* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1897), p. 110.

22. James K. Polk, *Occupation of Mexican Territory* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1912), p. 33.

23. Meline, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

24. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

25. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

teous to Bishop Zubiría, of Durango. He is described by one of them as being very kind and intelligent, and manifesting a deep interest in the welfare of his people in New Mexico.²⁶ On his last pastoral visitation to New Mexico in 1850, he was tendered every mark of courtesy and attention by the civil and military authorities, and was provided with military escorts through dangerous parts of the region.²⁷ This favorable attitude toward religion had its desired effect, for some of the tension and reserve of the conquered people and clergy began to disappear. A few pastors in outlying towns traveled to Santa Fe to acknowledge the authority of the Americans and to ask protection for their churches.²⁸ One of the priests even ventured to express satisfaction over the new political situation. He is reported to have said that Mexico would rather lose her national existence and become part of the United States than submit to a foreign prince.²⁹

As regards ecclesiastical matters, the long-felt need for a bishop in New Mexico was at long last filled in 1850 with the appointment of Father John Baptist Lamy, of the diocese of Cincinnati, as vicar apostolic. The news of his appointment was received in Santa Fe with mixed feelings of joy and regret. For many years the people had longed for a prelate with authority to solve the many perplexing problems of the Church on that isolated frontier.³⁰ The arrival of a bishop, they thought, was the dawn of a new day for New Mexico. Others, however, regretted that a native son had not been chosen for the position. Nevertheless, whatever their personal feelings in the matter, all joined in giving the prelate a hearty welcome. To many the appointment of an American as the first bishop of New Mexico was of fundamental significance, for they hoped that he would revital-

26. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua during 1850-1853* (2 vols., London: George Routledge & Co., 1854), I, 146-147.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

28. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 146. --

30. Pino, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

ize the Church and aid in establishing harmonious relations with the civil authorities.

Consecrated in Cincinnati on November 24, 1850, Lamy arrived in Santa Fe on August 9, 1851, and civil, military, and ecclesiastical authorities cooperated in welcoming him. Writing to Bishop John B. Purcell, of Cincinnati, on August 14 of that year, the new ordinary of Santa Fe said:

On last Saturday, the 9th of August, we reached Santa Fe. I thought it probable that some of the Faithful would come forth to meet us, but little did I expect to see several thousands in the procession! A great number of carriages were seen, and amongst them that of the Hon. Calhoun [James S. Calhoun], Governor of the Territory, who came out several miles at the head of the authorities, civil and military, to meet us. Along the road a number of tasty triumphal arches were erected, under which I was obliged to pass, whilst the cannon fired a salute. I entered the Governor's carriage by his special request, attended by the Vicar General [Juan Felipe Ortiz] and Rev. Mr. Machebeuf.³¹

Lamy was well aware that his task would not be an easy one. His vicariate included what is now known as New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado, and for this vast territory he found only about ten priests, some of whom were of questionable conduct.³² Having few priests to guide them, the people had grown weak in their faith and morals, and superstition was so widespread that even the casual observer was struck with the absurd practices that had found their way into the ceremonies of the Church.³³ The clergy were often accused of immorality and of being in some ways a force for evil rather than for good. In a letter to the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, a writer in St. Louis, Missouri, eloquently pleads with the clergy to reform their own lives so as to improve the moral and spiritual conditions of the New Mexicans. He said:

The clergy in New Mexico have an immensity to answer for. If the people are immoral, it is chiefly their fault. For are they not, in the estimation of a majority of New Mexicans, a sacred order? In spiritual and moral matters, is not their word law? Have they not

31. *Catholic Telegraph and Advocate*, October 11, 1851.

32. Prince, *A Concise History of New Mexico*, p. 247.

33. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 61; Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 221.

held in their hands the education of the people? Commanded all the inlets and avenues to the hearts and minds of youth among them? Engrossed, in fine, the formation of the sentiment and character of the New Mexicans? Then, if the New Mexicans are not what they ought to be, where—on whose shoulders—rests the blame? Again I say, the clergy,—and I repeat it, the clergy. Ye sacred order of priests, then, in New Mexico, I call on you—but not I alone,—New Mexico calls on you, and the rest of the American Republic calls on you, to use your mighty influence to raise drooping New Mexico; and let no longer the hearts and minds of her sons and daughters . . . be shrouded in darkness and doomed to debasement.³⁴

Upon his arrival in New Mexico Lamy took firm steps to remedy this situation. He and his new vicar general, Father Joseph P. Machebeuf, at once set out to visit the extensive vicariate, studying the needs of the various localities.³⁵ Returning to Santa Fe after visiting part of his ecclesiastical territory, Lamy wrote his first pastoral letter on Christmas, 1852. Most of the letter is concerned with plans for moral and religious reform. After stressing the need for schools, and soliciting the aid of the faithful in building a convent school for girls, he enjoins upon them the duty of obeying the Church in spiritual matters, and warns them against the evils of divorce.³⁶

But, anxious as Lamy was to raise the religious, moral and intellectual level of his people, he could count on only a few priests to aid him with his plans. This lack of priests was a source of much anxiety for the young vicar apostolic. He tried—but with no success—to obtain the services of the famous Jesuit missionary, Father Peter J. De Smet, and of other Spanish-speaking Jesuits in St. Louis, Missouri. He pleads with his friend in that city, Father John Roothaan, S. J., to send him help. In a letter of July 29, 1852, Lamy describes his plight to Roothaan in these words:

To administer the sacraments to so many of the faithful scattered over an immense territory, I have only a dozen priests and I do not think I can rely even on all of these. We have in the same territory an Indian tribe whom it would be easy to bring under the banner of the cross if we had a number of good missionaries, men of God, who

34. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 26, 1853.

35. Defouri, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

36. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, January 1, 1853.

would seek only the good of souls and the glory of our Divine Master. I have had long conversations with Father De Smet at the college of St. Louis where the Fathers have extended to me and my party the most generous hospitality . . . He [De Smet] has a particular grace for the conversion of the Indians. Two tribes, the Comanches and Navajos, number 10,000 together and are ready for the harvest. And so I entreat you for God's glory and the salvation of souls, do all in your power to send some of your Fathers to a field where the harvest is already ripe, but is being lost for lack of workers.³⁷

Lamy was to wait many years before he could obtain Jesuits for his missions. On August 15, 1867, the first band of Jesuit missionaries arrived in Santa Fe from Naples, Italy.³⁸

Lamy was also confronted with problems of discipline among his clergy. Some, still resentful of a foreign bishop in their midst, and perhaps themselves guilty of the abuses he was trying to correct, loudly voiced their dislike for the prelate.³⁹ On July 29, 1853, New Mexico was created a diocese, with Lamy as the first bishop. This news caused consternation among a few priests, for they realized that Lamy, a French-born priest, would be their permanent superior. Two of these clergymen, Benigno Cárdenas and Manuel Gallegos, apostatized. Cardenas became a Protestant minister and from that time tormented Bishop Lamy with his anti-Catholic tirades in front of the cathedral.⁴⁰ Such was the scandal given that even the local paper, edited by non-Catholics, started a veritable campaign to silence the recalcitrant priests. On one occasion the editor commented:

Padre Cárdenas has changed his religion, but the change has neither been a gain to Protestantism nor a loss to Catholicism. The same remark will be applicable to padre Gallegos whenever he is ready to publish to the world his conversion to Protestantism as padre Cárdenas has done.⁴¹

In 1856 another disgruntled priest, Antonio José Martínez,

37. Lamy to Roothaan, quoted by Gilbert J. Garraghan, *The Jesuits of the Middle United States* (3 vols., New York: America Press, 1938), II, 490.

38. Giuseppe M. Sorrentino, *Dalla Montagne Rocciose al Rio Bravo: Brevi appunti storici circa la missione gesuitica del Nuovo Messico e Colorado negli Stati Uniti di America* (Naples: Casa Editrice Federico & Ardia, n. d.), p. 19.

39. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, August 27, 1853.

40. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, December 3, 1853.

41. *Ibid.*, September 3, 1853.

of Taos, was forced to resign his pastorate.⁴² Thus Lamy was gradually clearing the atmosphere for the fine apostolic work he was destined to do during the next thirty years. No sooner were parishes vacant than an excellent group of priests, especially from France, assumed the pastorates. The Sisters of Loretto and the Christian Brothers were brought into the diocese by Lamy, as we have seen,⁴³ proving of immense value in educating the youth of the Territory. All this resulted in an improvement of the moral and spiritual life of the people. He neglected no one. The Indians, the Mexicans and the Anglo-Americans soon had capable priests ministering to them. When the gold rush in Colorado created a demand for priests, Lamy sent one to Denver. Arizona also claimed his attention, and occasionally a missionary was sent from Santa Fe to minister to the needs of the people, especially in Tucson. All this he accomplished at no little sacrifice to himself, and often at the risk of making enemies. Needing funds to build schools and repair churches and for other religious enterprises, his methods of collecting the tithes from the people occasionally became the target of severe criticism. On one occasion, for instance, a writer in the *Weekly Gazette* roundly took him to task for using the civil courts to compel the Catholics of one locality to pay their tithes. Among other things the article stated that

There is something deadly 'rotten in Rome' when the terrible engine of the civil law is required to bring defaulting catholics [*sic*] to the 'scratch,' and compel them through the medium of an alcalde's court, to pay the just and righteous tythes [*sic*] of Holy Mother Church. This state of things actually exists, as every justice court in the county, and I presume in the whole Rio Abajo, can testify.⁴⁴

Civil officials and visitors took notice of the improvement which had taken place in a few years. Even the Indian pueblos, so long neglected, responded to the zeal of Lamy, for as one government official wrote in 1864:

The Pueblos are all nominally Roman Catholics, and, as far as can be discerned, appear to be sincere and earnestly devoted to the

42. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1856.

43. *Supra*, pp.

44. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, May 28, 1853.

rites of that church. Each town has its own church edifice, which is held in high respect. The people esteem and obey their priests. They generally marry, baptize, and bury according to the rules of that sect. The holy days are generally attended to.⁴⁵

An observer in 1866 remarked that, as regards the clergy, a great improvement had taken place. Lamy, he said, had found a degraded clergy in 1851, but "... matters are changed since then. These irregularities have disappeared, and the New Mexicans now have a learned, pious, laborious and edifying priesthood, mostly missionaries from France."⁴⁶ The picture of the Angelus hour in Santa Fe, the "City of the Holy Faith," was, in the eighteen sixties, reminiscent of the early days of the New Mexico missions. It reflects the improved religious devotion of the people. A writer describes that moment in these words:

All conversation is instantly suspended—all labor ceases—people of all classes, whether on foot or on horseback, make a sudden halt—even the laden porter, groaning under the weight of an insupportable burden, stops in the midst of his career and stands still. An almost breathless silence reigns throughout the town, disturbed only by the occasional sibilations of the devout multitude; all of which, accompanied by the slow peals of a large and sonorous bell, affords a scene truly solemn and appropriate. At the expiration of about two minutes, the charm is suddenly broken by the clatter of livelier-toned bells, and a *buenas tardes* to those present—again the colloquial chit-chat is resumed—the smith plies upon his anvil with redoubled energy—the click of the hammer simultaneously resounds in every direction—the wayfarers are again in motion—both pleasure and business, in short, assume their respective sway.⁴⁷

To characterize the political scene of New Mexico as muddled would be to underestimate the true state of affairs. Politically, New Mexico had not benefited under Mexican rule, and it was too early to foresee any benefits from the American form of government. Little had been done for the people in the first five years of American rule, and political corruption made the people distrustful of the Americans. Politics were not yet on a sure footing, and despite the sin-

45. John Ward, in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864*. Quoted by W. F. M. Arny, *Interesting Items Regarding New Mexico*, p. 35.

46. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

47. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 164-165.

cere efforts of some, it was difficult to maintain harmony in the midst of strange currents of political thought. It was truly a transitional period, and discerning politicians tried to take advantage of the opportunity to promote their own rather than the Territory's welfare. There was continual strife between the civil and the military government, neither of which apparently knew the exact limits of its jurisdiction. The army was ineffectual in checking Indian raids,⁴⁸ and to make matters worse, Congress was toying with the idea of moving into New Mexico all the Indians from California and Utah.⁴⁹ There was corruption in the territorial government, and still more in town and county politics. The disgust of the people in one town was manifested in a newspaper advertisement. It read:

HANDSOME REWARD

One blanket, two strings of pepper, one almo of beans, one pint of whiskey, and one roll of tobacco—this will be given to any person that will present a more partial alcalde than we have in Las Vegas, or in other words a bigger fool.⁵⁰

It was not a rare occurrence for a governor to rule *in absentia*; at least on one occasion, the entire territorial government left New Mexico, leaving an outraged population to manage affairs as best they could.⁵¹

Although Lamy's relations with the civil government were for the most part amicable, it was to be expected that in such an atmosphere friction between Church and State would be inevitable. On such occasions Lamy was a staunch defender of the rights of the Church. Any infringements upon his jurisdiction were bound to draw strong protests from him. One of his first serious clashes came with Judge Grafton Baker, who had confiscated the military chapel, *La Castrense*, for his courthouse. This building belonged to the diocese and Lamy claimed it, stating that it was a consecrated building and was not to be used for holding court.

48. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, March 5, 1853; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 18; Otero, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-15.

49. Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, April 30, 1853.

50. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1853.

51. *Ibid.*, October 31, 1857.

Baker publicly announced that he would not relinquish the property and that he was ready to hang the bishop and his vicar general from the same gibbet.⁵² When this spread through town, Catholics and Protestants mobbed the judge and forced him to apologize to Lamy and to return the chapel to its rightful owner.⁵³ There were also a few instances in which local politicians tried to interfere in the appointment of pastors. This also Lamy firmly resisted.⁵⁴

Thus, slowly but inexorably the hand of the Church was felt in New Mexico in those days, molding the morals of a new generation of Anglo- and Spanish Americans. Its influence for good was well recognized. To Lamy, more than to any other single man, belongs the credit for having elevated the moral and religious standards in New Mexico during its critical period of transition, and for having facilitated the arduous task of establishing the American form of government in that newly-conquered Territory.

52. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, 330.

53. Poldervaart, *op. cit.*, XXII (April, 1947), 112-113.

54. Twitchell, *Military Occupation of New Mexico*, pp. 176-179; *Congressional Globe (App.)*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., March 15, 1852, pp. 326 ff.

CHECKLIST OF NEW MEXICO PUBLICATIONS

By WILMA LOY SHELTON

(Continued)

Bulletin

- No. 1B. Laws and regulations governing the production and conservation of gas and oil in New Mexico. E. H. Wells, state geologist. Santa Fe, N. M., State land office, 1931, 19p.
- General information and rules and regulations relating to leasing and sales of state lands and contest procedure, effective Aug. 23, 1930. Santa Fe, 1930. 8p.
- General information and rules and regulations relating to leasing and sales of state lands and contest procedure; edition of rules in effect Oct. 5, 1940. Santa Fe, 1940. 8p.
- General information and rules and regulations relating to leasing and sales of state lands and contest procedure; edition of rules in effect Sept. 28, 1942. Santa Fe, 1942. 8p.
- General information and rules and regulations relating to leasing of state lands for all forms of deposits and minerals other than oil and gas and regulations relating to the sale of state timber effective Sept. 25, 1930. Santa Fe, (1930) 8p.
- General information relating to sales and leasing of state lands. Prepared by H. R. Rodgers. n. p. n. d. 8p. mimeo.
- General rules relating to oil and gas leases on state lands. (Chap. 125, Laws 1929; Chap. 18, Laws 1931) effective at noon, Sept. 25 1934. Santa Fe, 1934. 7p.
- Informe anual del comisionado de terrenos publicos de Nuevo Mexico. Dec. 31, 1900. Santa Fe, 1901. 47p.
- Laws and regulations providing for the leasing, sale, and management and control of territorial lands, May 15, 1905. n. p. (1905) 28p.
- Laws and regulations relating to the Board of public lands of the territory of New Mexico. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1899. 26p.
- Laws and regulations for purchase and lease of state lands also governing the issuance of leases for oil and gas; effective March 14, 1925. Santa Fe, 1925. (12)p. map.
- Laws relative to leasing, sale, disposition and control of the land belonging to the state of New Mexico. Santa Fe, (1913) 30p.
- Laws relative to leasing, sale, disposition and control of the land belonging to the state of New Mexico, 1915. Santa Fe, 1915. 40p.
- Laws relative to leasing, sale, disposition and control of the land belonging to the state of New Mexico. Santa Fe, 1918. 46p.

- Laws relative to leasing and disposition of land belonging to the state of New Mexico. Santa Fe, n. d. 24p.
- Location and logs of various wells in New Mexico. n. p. n. d. 29p. mimeo.
- Lode mining rules and regulations and information relating to the locating, prospecting and leasing of state institutional lands for lode mining purposes. Santa Fe, 1941. 12p.
- Notice of sale (of) oil and gas leases (by the) office of commissioner of public lands. May 10, 1946. (Santa Fe, 1946) (2)p.
- New Mexico cookery, some products of the state and how to prepare them, a useful and unique booklet. Santa Fe, 1916. 64p.
- Picturesque New Mexico . . . Official bulletin of the State land office . . . 1916. Santa Fe, 1916. (7)p.
- Primer informe anual del comisionado de terrenos publicos de Nuevo Mexico. Diciembre 31, 1900. Santa Fe, Compania Impresora del Nuevo Mexicano, 1901. 47p.
- Report on the organization and administration of the State land office . . . prepared for New Mexico Special revenue commission by Bureau of commercial economics. Chicago, 1921. 82p. mimeo.
- Rules and regulations of State land office . . . Santa Fe, 1912. 23p.
- Rules of the State land office governing the issuance of leases for oil and gas; effective, March 14th, 1925. Santa Fe, 1925. (3)p.
- Poultry raising in New Mexico; official bulletin of State land office. Santa Fe, 1916. 8p (R. P. Ervien)

Conservation of natural resources commission.

Established in 1909 for purpose of making an inventory of natural resources and preparing suggestions.

The natural resources survey . . . Report no. 1- 1911- Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1911. 150p. (J. A. Pynch)

Contractor's licensing board.

Established in 1939; issues licenses and furnishes lists of registered contractors.

Building rules and regulations (minimum requirements) pursuant to an act passed by the 14th Legislature; approved March 16, 1939; amended by the 16th Legislature; amended by the 17th Legislature, authorizing the Board to set up rules and regulations pertaining to a State building code. Adopted Sept. 22, 1945, effective, Nov. 1, 1945. Santa Fe, 1945. 322p.

Building rules and regulations (minimum requirements) pursuant to an act passed by the 14th Legislature; approved March 16, 1939; amended by the 16th Legislature; amended by the 17th Legisla-

- ture, authorizing the Board to set up rules and regulations pertaining to a State building code. Adopted Sept. 22, 1945, effective, Nov. 1, 1945. Santa Fe, 1948. 298p.
- Bulletin. Santa Fe, 1941—
Gives supplementary lists of licensed contractors and changes of classification and types of contracting.
Issued irregularly.
- New Mexico minimum plumbing rules and regulations adopted by the Contractors' License Board, Sept. 22, 1945. Effective, Nov. 1, 1945. Santa Fe, 1945. v. 1 (25p.)
- Official directory of licensed contractors. v. 1- Santa Fe, 1940-
June 30, 1939-June 30, 1940 51p. v. 1
June 30, 1940-June 30, 1941 62 p. v. 2
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June 30, 1947-June 30, 1948 136p.
June 30, 1947-June 30, 1948 Supp. no. 1, March, 1948. 22p.
June 30, 1948-June 30, 1949 143 p.
- Plumbing rules and regulations (minimum requirements) . . . Santa Fe, 1945. 25p.
- Provisions of laws relating to contractors and the state building code. Santa Fe (1945) 16p.
- Provisions of laws relating to contractors and the state building code as amended by the eighteenth legislature, 1947. Santa Fe, 1947. 16p.
- Uniform building code for the state of New Mexico; 1945 ed.
- Uniform building code . . . 1948 ed.

Coronado cuarto centennial commission.

Created in 1935 for observance of 400th anniversary of explorations of Francisco Vasquez de Coronado; state wide celebrations were held from May 29, 1940 to Oct. 12, 1940.

Third annual report, including activities of the year 1937 "Analysis of suggestions," Consolidated lists of sponsors. Albuquerque, 1938. 64p.

Coronado magazine, the official program of the Coronado cuarto centennial. (Albuquerque, Pub. by Mrs. C. E. Butler, 1940) (56)p.

Coronado cuarto centennial celebrations; N. M.-Arizona-West Texas-Oklahoma-Kansas-Colorado; an event four centuries in the making. (4)p.

The Coronado congress, Albuquerque and Santa Fe; Aug. 6 to 15, 1940 . . . calendar of meetings. (Albuquerque, 1940) (6)p.

The Coronado congress, Albuquerque and Santa Fe, Aug. 6-15, 1940. Program (Albuquerque, 1940) 12p.

Bandelier centennial series

Bandelier, A. F. A. Pioneers in American anthropology; the Bandelier-Morgan letters, 1873-1883; ed. by Leslie A. White. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1940. 2v.

Coronado cuarto centennial; what it will mean to New Mexico. n. p. n. d. 40p.

Coronado cuarto centennial; preliminary outline. n. p. n. d. 8p. (folder)

Coronado centennial edition. (in New Mexico Alumnus v. 11 & no. 5 Jan. 1939)

Folk festivals 1540-1940 . . . (Albuquerque, 1940) 19p.

Hammond, G. P. Coronado's seven cities; forward by Clinton P. Anderson. Albuquerque, U. S. Coronado exposition commission, 1940. 82p.

Publications

v. 2 Hammond, G. P. ed. & tr. Narratives of the Coronado expedition, 1540-1542, ed. and tr. by G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico press, 1940. 413p.

v. 4 Hodge, F. W., Hammond, G. P. and Rey, Agapito. The Benauides memorial. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico press, 1946. 368p.

v. 8-9 Hackett, C. W. ed. Revolt of the Pueblo Indian of New Mexico and Otermin's attempted reconquest, 1680-1682; introduction and annotations by C. W. Hackett . . . translations of original documents by C. C. Shelby. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico press, 1942. 2v.

v. 10 Vargas Zapata y Luxán Ponce de León, Diego de. First expedition of Vargas into Mexico, 1692; tr. with introduction and notes by J. Manuel Espinosa. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 1940. 319p.

v. 11 Thomas, A. B. The plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778 . . . Albuquerque, University of New Mexico press, 1940. 232p.

Stevens, Thomas Wood, The entrada of Coronado; a spectacular historic drama. Albuquerque, c1940. 135p.

Department of education.

Established in 1863; in the beginning the board was composed of the Governor, Secretary, Judges of the Supreme court and the Bishop of New Mexico; in 1872 the care of the public schools was placed in the hands of the superintendent and county schools superintendents; in 1891 the Board in-

cluded the governor, superintendent of public instruction, president of St. Michael's college, president of the university and president of the agricultural college; since 1912 the governor, superintendent, and five members appointed by the governor constitute the board; it is the governing authority of all public elementary and high schools of the state.

Annual report of the State director of industrial education, 1st-2nd, 1913-15. East Las Vegas, 1914-1916. 2 v.

Report of the conditions of the schools of New Mexico for 1889, prepared by Trinidad Alarid. 1890 (7)p.

Report of the Superintendent of public instruction. Santa Fe, 1891-March 1, 1891-Dec. 31, 1891 44p. (Amado Chaves)

Jan. 1, 1892-Dec. 31, 1892 31p. (Amado Chaves)

Jan. 1, 1893-Dec. 31, 1893 65p. (Amado Chaves)

Jan. 1, 1894-Dec. 31, 1894 50p. (Amado Chaves)

Jan. 1, 1895-Dec. 31, 1895 (Amado Chaves)

Jan. 1, 1896-Dec. 31, 1896 52p. (Amado Chavez) (E&S)

Jan. 1, 1897-Dec. 31, 1897 (Placido Sandoval)

Jan. 1, 1898-Dec. 31, 1898. 76p. (M. C. deBaca)

also in Message of M. A. Otero to the 33rd Legislative assembly

Jan. 16, 1899. p. 195-245. "Exhibit H"; Council and House Journals, 1899. "Exhibit H" p. 195-245.

Jan. 1, 1899-Dec. 31, 1899. 19p. (M. C. deBaca)

also in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly.

Jan. 21, 1901. "Exhibit H" p. 173-274.

1900- Oct. 1, 1901 199p. v. 11 (J. F. Chaves)

1901- Oct. 1, 1902 v. 12 (J. F. Chaves)

in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly Jan. 19, 1903. "Exhibit S" 54p.

Oct. 1, 1902-July 31, 1903 31p. v. 13 (J. F. Chaves)

Aug. 1, 1903-Oct. 1, 1904 61p. v. 14 (Amado Chaves)

also in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly Jan. 16, 1905. "Exhibit S" 61p.

1904-Oct. 1, 1905 58p. v. 15 (Hiram Hadley)

1905-Aug. 1, 1906 39p. v. 16 (Hiram Hadley)

also in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly Jan. 21, 1907. "Exhibit 6" 39p.

June 15, 1906-June 15, 1908 152p. v. 17-18 (J. E. Clark)

June 15, 1908-June 15, 1910 144p. v. 19-20 (J. E. Clark)

June 15, 1909-June 15, 1912 100p. v. 21-22 (A. N. White) 1st bien.

*Jan. 1, 1912-Dec. 1, 1912 19p. (A. N. White)

* Report of the Department of education showing expenditures of funds heretofore appropriated for its maintenance and its needs, together with recommendations for such legislation as will in the opinion of the department increase its efficiency.

- Dec. 1, 1912-Nov. 30, 1914 22p. v. 23-24 (A. N. White) 2nd bien.
- **Dec. 1, 1914-Nov. 30, 1916 (6)p. v. 25-26 (A. N. White) 3rd bien.
- Dec. 1, 1916-Nov. 30, 1918 45p. v. 27-28 (J. H. Wagner) 4th bien.
- Dec. 1, 1918-Nov. 30, 1920 58p. v. 29-30 (J. H. Wagner) 5th bien.
- Dec. 1, 1920-Nov. 30, 1922 46p. v. 31-32 (J. V. Conroy) 6th bien.
- Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1924 85p. v. 33-34 (I. L. Eckles) 7th bien.
- Dec. 1, 1924-June 30, 1926 80p. v. 35-36 (I. L. Eckles) 8th bien.
- July 1, 1926-June 30, 1928 (Lois Randolph) 9th bien.
- July 1, 1928-June 30, 1930 (Atanasio Montoya) 10th bien.
- July 1, 1930-June 30, 1932 117p. (G. L. Lusk) 11th bien.
- July 1, 1932-June 30, 1934 131p. (G. L. Lusk) 12th bien.
- July 1, 1934-June 30, 1936 127p. (H. R. Rodgers) 13th bien.
- July 1, 1936-June 30, 1937 unsp. (H. R. Rodgers) mimeo.
- July 1, 1936-June 30, 1938 139p. (H. R. Rodgers) 14th bien.
- July 1, 1938-June 30, 1940 133p. (G. J. Corrigan) 15th bien.
- July 1, 1940-June 30, 1942 133p. (G. L. Corrigan) 16th bien.
- July 1, 1942-June 30, 1944 188p. (G. L. Lusk) 17th bien.
- July 1, 1944-June 30, 1946 201p. (G. L. Lusk) 18th bien.
- July 1, 1946-June 30, 1948 (C. L. Rose) 19th bien. in press
- An address delivered by Hon. Alvan N. White, state supt. of public instruction before the New Mexico educational association, Albuquerque, Nov. 7, 1912. (Albuquerque, 1912) 8p. Subject: The most important step in educational progress in New Mexico in rural schools.
- Administrator's responsibilities and suggestions for curriculum building; report by Marie M. Holland. Santa Fe, 1938. 29p. mimeo.
- Annotated bibliography of professional magazines; prepared by McKinley county teachers. Santa Fe, 1937. 29p.
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- Bulletin . . . abstract of the minutes of the meeting of the State board of education. Feb. 1915. 10p.
- Bulletin. no. 1- (Santa Fe) 1931-
- no. 1 Organization and administration of junior and senior high school. 1931 28p.
 - no. 2 Curriculum development in the elementary schools of New Mexico. 1944. 413p.
 - no. 2 Rev. 1947. 444p.
- A child's story of New Mexico. Santa Fe, 1942. 16p.
- Circular letter.
- no. 1 April 1, 1905 (Hiram Hadley)
 - no. 2 May 15, 1905 (Hiram Hadley)

** In Educational bulletin vo. 4 no. 4.

Educational reports, 1873-75 issued by the Secretary's office.

- no. 3 March 30, 1906 (Hiram Hadley)
 no. 4 March 30, 1906 (Hiram Hadley)
 no. 5 March 30, 1906 (Hiram Hadley)
 no. 6 May 15, 1906 (Hiram Hadley)
 no. 7
 no. 8 July 10, 1906 (Hiram Hadley)
 no. 9 Aug. 27, 1906 (Hiram Hadley)
 no. 10
 no. 11
 no. 12 Certification of teachers. (J. E. Clark)
- Code of instruction revising and harmonizing conflicting school laws. (Santa Fe, 1914?) 47p.
- Codigo de escuelas de Nuevo Mejico publicado por Isabel Lancaster Eckles, superintendente de instruccion publica. (Santa Fe) 1923. 39p.
- Codigo de escolar de New Mexico; compilado y publicado por Lois Randolph, superintendente de instruccion publica (Santa Fe) 1927. 68p.
- Codigo escolar de Nuevo Mexico; aumento del codigo original.—Incluyendo la legislacion escolar, segun la aprobacion de la legislatura de 1931. Comp. bajo la direcci3n de Georgia L. Lusk . . . (Santa Fe) 1931. 126p.
- Compilacion de leyes de escuela del territorio de Nuevo Mexico Preparada bajo supervision de J. Franco Chaves, superintendente de instruccion publica, Santa Fe, Imprenta de El Boletin popular, 1903. 165p.
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- Compilacion de las leyes escolares de Nuevo Mexico. J. H. Wagner, superintendente de instruccion publica. Santa Fe, 1919. 83, (13)p.
- Compilation of school laws of the state of New Mexico, 1919 (Albuquerque, N. M., Press of Central printing co., 1919) 77, (14)p.
- Compilation of the public school laws of New Mexico, 1914; extracts from the state constitution, comp. laws of 1897 and subsequent

- territorial session laws, together with all school laws passed by the first and second sessions of the state Legislature, relative to education and the forms used in school administration and a director's guide. Prepared under the direction of Alvan N. White, state superintendent of public instruction. (Santa Fe? 1914) 151p.
- Compilation of the public school laws of New Mexico, 1915; containing sections 4807-5177 of the 1915 codification of the New Mexico statutes (annotated) relating to schools, school districts and state institutions; chapters 19, 29, 33, 36, 38, 45, 74, 79, 81, 82, 88, and 89 of the session laws of 1915; and extracts from the state constitution relating to education. Prepared under the direction of Alvan N. White, state superintendent public instruction, Santa Fe, N. M. Denver, Colo., The W. H. Courtright publishing co., 1916. 121p.
- Compilation of the public school laws of the state of New Mexico enacted by the third State legislature, 1917. Prepared under the direction of Jonathan H. Wagner, state superintendent of public instruction. Santa Fe, N. M. Department of education, 1917. 20p.
- Compilation of the school laws of New Mexico, containing laws and parts of laws relating to public schools. Pub. by the territory. Santa Fe, N. M. New Mexican printing company, 1891. 32p.
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- Compilation of the school laws of the territory of New Mexico. Prepared under the supervision of J. Franco Chaves, superintendent of public instruction . . . Santa Fe, N. M. El Boletin popular printing co., 1903. 139p.
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- public instruction, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Albuquerque, N. M. Albuquerque morning journal (1909) 341p.
- Compilation of statistics on status of rural elementary schools, state of New Mexico for 1936-37; comp. by State department of education, n. p. n. d. (6)p. mimeo.
- Course of study for county institutes; prepared for publication by C. M. Light . . . Santa Fe, El Boletin popular printing co., 1904. 68p.
- Course of study for county institutes; prepared by the Territorial Board of Education Santa Fe, The New Mexican printing company, 1905. 56p.
- Course of study for the normal institutes of New Mexico . . . Silver City, Enterprise pub. co., 1902. 21p.
- Course of study in industrial education including domestic science, manual training and agriculture for the schools of New Mexico. February, 1913. Prepared by Manette A. Myers, state director of industrial education; adopted by State board of education; issued by State department of education. (Santa Fe, 1913) 51p.
- Course of study in reading, prepared by Lois Randolph. Santa Fe, 1928. 21p.
- Course of study for elementary schools, prepared by A. O. Bowden. Santa Fe. (1930) 790p.
- Curriculum development in the elementary schools of New Mexico. Santa Fe, Santa Fe press, 1944. 413 p. (Bulletin no. 2)
- Curriculum development in the elementary schools of New Mexico issued by Charles L. Rose, superintendent of public instruction; a revision of the 1944 Curriculum Development in the Elementary Schools . . . (Santa Fe) 1947. 444p. (Bulletin no. 2 rev.)
- Design and specifications for New Mexico public school buildings. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1909. 94p.
- Educacion en Nuevo Mejico; tercer informe anual del Hon. W. G. Ritch al comisionado de educacion . . . traducio del original en Ingles por E. Hon. Samuel Ellison. 16p.
- Education bulletin. Industrial series.
- no. 1 Parent teacher associations and mothers' clubs, 1917. 8p.
 - no. 2 Conservation of New Mexico products in the family dietary. Food emergency issue 1917. 8p.
 - no. 3 Thrift clubs for patriotic service "Over the top" with food gardens. 14p
 - no. 4 Projects for classes in sewing. Prepared by R. C. Miller. (2) 6p.
 - no. 5 Agriculture in the elementary schools. Prepared by R. C. Miller. 8p.
 - no. 6 Elementary home projects in agriculture. Gardens. Prepared under the direction of R. C. Miller. 24p.

- no. 7 Elementary home projects in agriculture. Poultry. Prepared under the direction of R. C. Miller. 24p.
- no. 8 Elementary home projects in agriculture. Rabbit raising. 16p.
- no. 9 Elementary home projects in agriculture. Pig raising. Prepared under the direction of R. C. Miller. 16p.
- no. 10 Elementary home projects in agriculture. Calf raising. 14p.
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- no. 13 Record of elementary home projects. 16p.
- no. 14 New Mexico branch of the National congress of mothers and parent teachers association. Yearbook 1919-20. 32p.
- Education in New Mexico; Report of Hon. W. G. Ritch to the Commissioner of education for the year 1874, Santa Fe, Manderfield & Tucker, 1875. 14p.
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- Educational bulletin v. 1-
- v. 1 no. 1 Relating to educational legislation enacted at the last state legislature 1915. 12p.
Unnumbered bulletin. Certification of teachers. 1915. 8p.
 - v. 1. no. 3 The elimination of illiteracy. Address by State superintendent of public instruction, A. N. White, delivered at the commencement exercises of the New Mexico Normal School Sept. 1915. 12p.
 - v. 1 no. 4 Certification of teachers. 1915. 7p.
 - v. 2 no. 1 Statistics of illiteracy. 1916. 8p.
 - v. 2 no. 2 Minimum requirements for standard high schools. 1916. 12p.
 - v. 2 no. 3 School credit for home work. 1916. 7p.
 - v. 2 no. 4 Industrial education. 1916. 21p.
 - v. 3 no. 1 Arbor and bird day. 1917. 24p.
 - v. 3 no. 2 Parent teacher associations and mothers' clubs. 1917. (2) 8p. (Industrial series, no. 1)
 - v. 3 no. 3 A suggestive list of books for school libraries. 1917. 94p.
 - v. 3 no. 3 Supp. Conservation of New Mexico products in the family dietary. Food emergency issue. 1917. 8p. (Industrial series no. 2)
 - v. 3 no. 4 Journal of Proceedings of New Mexico educational association. 31st annual meeting. 1917. 23p.

- v. 3 no. 5 Manual of the common schools course of study for the public schools of New Mexico. 1917. 123p.
- v. 3 no. 6 Journal of Proceedings of the New Mexico educational association. 32nd annual meeting. 1917. 23p.
- v. 4 no. 1 New Mexico educational directory. 1917/18. 1918. 127p.
- v. 4 no. 2 Standards proposed for the high schools of the state of New Mexico. In effect Sept. 1, 1918. 9p.
- v. 4 no. 3 New Mexico common school course of study, 1918. 103p. tion . . . for the period ending Nov. 30, 1916. 1918. (16)p.
- v. 4 no. 5 Educational laws and resolutions passed by the 4th legislature of New Mexico. 1919. 11p.
- v. 5 no. 1
- v. 5 no. 2 Standards proposed for the high schools of the state of New Mexico. In effect Sept. 2, 1919. 1919. 14p.
- v. 5 no.3 Americanization day in the schools of N. M. in memory of Theodore Roosevelt; Friday Oct. 24, 1919. (10)p.
- v. 5 no. 4 Journal of proceedings of the general meetings of the 34th annual meeting, N. M. educational association, Nov. 22-26, 1919. 12p.
- v. 6 no. 1 Form of transcript of Proceedings in regard to bond issues of rural school districts in New Mexico. 1920. 10p.
- v. 6 no. 2 Organization, administration and supervision of schools; supp. to manual for county institutes. 1920. 16p.
- v. 6 no. 3 (New Mexico child welfare service. Bulletin no. 1) The organization of the State child welfare work. 1920. 32p.
- v. 6 no. 4 Journal of proceedings of the general meetings of the 35th annual meeting New Mexico educational association. 1920. 12p.
- v. 7 no. 1 Educational laws passed by the 5th State legislature. 1921. 8p.
- v. 7 no. 2 Opinions rendered on educational affairs on questions submitted for decision. 1921. 18p.

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1907	1921-22 none published
1908-09 108p.	1922-23 none published
1909-10 113p.	1923-24 112p.
1910-11 121p.	1924-25 92p.
1912-13 none published	1925-26 93p.
1913-14 62, (14)p.	1926-27 104p.
1914-15 93p.	1926-27 8p.
1915-16 104p.	1927-28 92p.
1916-17 121p.	1928-29 none published
1917-18 127p.	1929-30 57p.
1918-19 120p.	1930-31 67p.
1919-20 126p.	1931-32 none published
1920-21 142p.	1932-33 none published

1933-34 none published	1940-41 none published
1934-35 none published	1941-42 (16)p.
1935-36 71p.	1942-43 none published
1936-37 none published	1943-44 17p. mimeo.
1937-38 84p.	1942/43-1947/48 none published.
1938-39 none published	1948-49 104p.
1939-40 none published	

Title varies: 1907 Official school register; 1908-28 New Mexico educational directory; 1929—Educational directory of New Mexico

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v. 1 no. 1 The age grade status of the rural child in New Mexico Public elementary schools, 1931-32, by George I. Sanchez, 1932. 11p.
- Elementary schools and the challenge of bi-lingualism by G. I. Sanchez, n. p. 1934. 4p. mimeo.
- Emergency bulletin to Boards of education, superintendents, principals, and teachers. April 24, 1917. (3)p.
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- Examination questions with some answers and information relating to public schools. (Las Vegas, 1905) 63p.
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- First grade reading suggestions; prepared by Marie M. Hughes. Santa Fe, 1933. 17p. mimeo.
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- Guide for teaching humane education. Santa Fe (1942). 30p.
- Guide for the teaching of defense. (Santa Fe), 1942. 32p. Includes bibliographies.
"Films for democracy": p. 29-32.
- Handbook for elementary schools; approved by N. M. State board of education rev. Nov. 1946 (Santa Fe) 1946. 40p.
- Handbook for secondary schools approved by N. M. State board of education rev. Nov. 1944 (Santa Fe) 1944. 40p.
- Handbook of essentials in language arts. Mrs. Grace Corrigan, State superintendent of public instruction. Issued by the Curriculum division of the state Department of education. Approved by the state Board of education. (Santa Fe) 1942. 38p.

- Handbook on organization and practices for the secondary schools. Issued by H. R. Rodgers, state superintendent of public instruction, Santa Fe. Revised 1938. (Artesia, New Mexico, Advocate print, 1938) 19p. (Bulletin 101)
- Handwriting instructions; prepared with assistance of Mary J. Murphy. Albuquerque, 1937, 54p. mimeo.
- High school course of study in . . . General chairman J. W. Diefendorf, high school visitor, University of New Mexico. Mrs. Georgia L. Lusk, state superintendent of public instruction, Santa Fe, 1931-Bulletin.
- no. 1 Organization and administration of junior and senior high schools. 1931. 28p.
 - no. 2 High school course of study in science. 1931. 120p.
 - no. 3 High school course of study in social sciences. 1931. 224p.
 - no. 4 High school course of study in English. 1931. 93p.
 - no. 5 Course of study in mathematics for secondary schools. 1922. 46p.
 - no. 6 High school course of study in health and physical education. 1931. 31p.
 - no. 7 High school course of study in commercial education. 1931. 33p.
 - No. 8 High school course of study in foreign language. 1931. 33p.
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- High school directory, 1939-1940; comp. by J. W. Diefendorf, High school supervisor; pub. by Atanasio Montoya, state superintendent of public instruction. Santa Fe, n. d. 31p.
- Homemaking: A suggested guide for planning learning experiences. Santa Fe, State dept. of education. (Santa Fe, 1941) 1v.
Loose-leaf; reproduced from typewritten copy.
Includes bibliographies.
- In the highland mountains of Europe. (Switzerland) Prepared by Marie M. Hughes. Santa Fe, n. d. 21p. mimeo.
- List of books recommended for first buying for reference material and recreational reading for the school libraries and schools of New Mexico. Prepared by the state Department of education, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Approved by the state Board of education. (Santa Fe) 1940. 174p. "Prepared . . . by Laura C. Bailey."
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- List of textbooks adopted for basal use in the first eight grades of the public schools . . . during the four year period beginning June 15, 1911 and closing June 15, 1915. (Santa Fe, 1911) 8p.

- Manual for county institutes . . . Santa Fe,
 1907 1915 223p.
 1908 191p. 1916 222p.
 1909 184p. 1921-22 165p.
 1910 196p. 1923-24 140p.
 1911 264p. 1925-26 150p.
 1913-14 254p.
- Manual for N. M. School bus drivers. A manual prepared for and approved by the State Division of transportation, Dept. of educ. by Ernest Z. Martin and Marjorie F. Martin. Santa Fe, 1944. 123p.
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 1909 206p. 1915 108p.
 1911 150p. 1917 123p. (Educational bul. v. 3#5)
 1913 114p. 1918 103p. (Educational bul. v. 4#3)
 1914 120p.
- Manual training. Ten lessons in woodworking by W. Melvin Fox. Santa Fe, n. d. 15p.
- New Mexico common school course of study . . . Santa Fe,
 1904 68p. 1920 160p.
 1911 150p. 1921 206p.
 1915 108p. 1923 272p.
 1919 160p.
 Title varies: 1919-21 New Mexico common schools course of study and some important school laws.
- New Mexico course of study for elementary schools . Issued by State department of education. Atanasio Montoya, superintendent of public instruction . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican publishing corporation, 1930. 790p.
- Minimum essentials of arithmetic. Issued by State department of education. Santa Fe (1940) 10p.
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- New Mexico public school code, 1938 compilation. Comp. by New Mexico Legislative reference bureau, Tom W. Neal, director. Issued by state Department of education. R. R. Rodgers, state superintendent of public instruction. (Santa Fe? 1938) 128p.
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- New Mexico school code, including school legislation, as passed by the

- 1931 legislature. Comp. and pub. by Georgia L. Lusk, state superintendent of public instruction, 1931. (Santa Fe 1931) 161p.
- New Mexico school code, pub. by Isabel Lancaster Eckles, superintendent of public instruction. (Santa Fe) 1923. 36p.
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- New Mexico school health manual for elementary teachers. (Santa Fe) N. M. Dept. of education, N. M. Dept. of public health, 1947. 58p.
- Oldham, Mrs. W. O., Primary plans. East Las Vegas, Optic pub. co., 1914. 59p. on cover: Pub. by the N. M. Journal of education.
- Patriotic days, 1917 . . . Comp. by Florence E. Bartlett. Pub. by Jonathan H. Wagner, state superintendent of public instruction. Santa Fe (1917) 27p.
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- Plans and suggestions for New Mexico rural school buildings. Issued by the State department of education, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Jonathan H. Wagner, state superintendent of public instruction . . . (Santa Fe, 1920) (36)p.
- Prescripciones en la constitucion de Nuevo Mexico tocante a escuelas y educacion y leyes de escuela aprobadas por la primera legislatura de estado, 1912. (Santa Fe, Impr. de la voz del pueblo, 1912) 60p.
- Prescripciones en la constitucion de Nuevo Mexico tocante a escuelas y educacion y leyes de escuela aprobadas por la primera Legislatura de estado. Santa Fe, (1913) 60p.
- (Program of the) teachers' meetings for discussions on Inter-American affairs. Under the direction of Mrs. Connie Garza Brockette. (Santa Fe) 1945. (3)p.
- Programs and selections for the observance of special days in the public schools of New Mexico . . . 1909/10-1911/12. Santa Fe, N. M. (1909-1911)
- | | |
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| 1909-10 95p. (v. 1) | 1911-12 89p. (v. 3) |
| 1910-11 97p. (v. 2) | |
- Progress report of the instructional program for Jan. 1, 1939, to June 1, 1940 by Mrs. Grace Corrigan, superintendent of public instruction. n. p. n. d. 9p.
- Proposed program of procedure adopted by the administrative school officials and teachers under the auspices of the N. M. E. A. in conference with the State department of education at Santa Fe, N. M. Jan. 9-10, inclusive, 1919. Santa Fe, 1919. 14p.

- References and outlines for the study of some phases of educational development, by D. W. Rockey, state supervisor of high schools. Santa Fe, 1924. (14)p. (Monograph no. 10)
- Report of public day schools. Enrollment, supervision, attendance, and costs. 1924-25 term, as compiled from the annual reports of rural and municipal school superintendents and other sources. Santa Fe, 1926. 75p.
- Report of trends in financial support of public schools in New Mexico. Prepared by the educational plans and policies commission. 1938. Artesia, n. d. 7p.
- Rules and regulations concerning certification of teachers . . . Santa Fe, 1912. 31p.
- Rules and regulations of the New Mexico state Board of education . . . Rev. April 10, 1918. (Santa Fe, 1918) 18p.
- Rules and regulations of New Mexico state board of education governing the issuing of professional certificates, elementary certificates, special and institute conductors' and instructors' certificates. n. p. n. d. (15)p.
- Rules and regulations of New Mexico state Board of education governing the issuing of professional certificates, elementary certificates special and institute conductors' and instructors' certificates . Revised April 10, 1918, n. p. n. d. (18)p.
- Rules and regulations of the New Mexico state Board of education governing the issuing of professional certificates, elementary certificates, special and institute conductors' and instructors' certificates. Revised to November 1, 1920. n. p. n. d. (23)p.
- Rules and regulations of the New Mexico state Board of education governing the issuing of professional certificates, elementary certificates, special and institute conductors' and instructors' certificates. Revised to June 1, 1921. n. p. n. d. (24)p.
- Rules and regulations governing the certification of teachers in New Mexico, adopted by state Board of education. January, 1923. Revised to February, 1924. n. p. n. d. (4)p.
- Rules and regulations governing the certification of teachers in New Mexico adopted by state Board of education January, 1923. Revised to January, 1927. n. p. n. d. (4)p.
- Rules and regulations governing the certification of teachers in New Mexico adopted by state Board of education. Jan. 1923. Revised to March, 1929. Santa Fe, (1929) 11p.
- Rules and regulations governing the certification of teachers in New Mexico adopted by the state Board of education June, 1931 . . . Santa Fe, (1931) 11p.
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- Rural industrial arts for New Mexico by Wm. T. Lumpkins (Santa Fe, 1944) 28p. mimeo.
- Rural leaflet, Dec. 1931-1936? Prepared by Donald Mackay. Santa Fe, 1931-1936? mimeo.
- Rural school laws, prepared by Rose H. Salyer. Las Vegas, Optic pub. co. n. d. 90p.
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- Science; tentative guides for high school teacher . . . (Santa Fe) 1946. 98p. (Bulletin no. 5)
- School directors' guide. pt. 1, Statements and citations of law. pt. 2, Questions and answers (the law simplified); pt. 3, Forms and blanks. Santa Fe, 1910. 54p.
- School directors' guide . . . (2nd ed.) prepared by the State department of education, Santa Fe, N. M. (Albuquerque, N. M., Press of the Morning journal, 1912) 76p.
 pt. 1. Twelve school laws enacted by the first state legislature.—
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- Social studies; tentative guide for high school teachers . . . (Santa Fe) 1946. 230p. (bulletin no. 3)
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- Standard course of study for New Mexico high schools . . . approved by the State board of education, with amendments, February 4, 1914. (Santa Fe, 1914) 1 leaf.
- Suggested relationships for administration and supervision of public schools. n. p. n. d. 5p.
- Suggestions for an activity program in the rural schools (by) Marianne Geyer. (Santa Fe, 19-) 10 leaves. (mimeo).
- Suggestions for program making. n. p. n. d. 9p. (mimeo).
- Suggestions for teaching our inheritance of freedom. Santa Fe (19-) 20p.

- Suggestive list of industrial equipment for New Mexico schools. Prepared by L. C. Mersfelder, state supervisor of industrial education. 1916. (20)p.
- Suggested textbooks and supplementary material for high schools 1932-33. Mrs. Louise H. Coe, state high school supervisor (Santa Fe, 1933) 18p. mimeo.
- Supervised study for high schools. Santa Fe, n. d. 6p. mimeo.
- Teaching a standard English vocabulary with initial reading instruction, by Marie M. Hughes; issued by the State dept. of education, Las Cruces, c1932. 178p.
- Teaching of literature; English bulletin in high schools, 1933. (10)p. mimeo.
- Teaching vocabulary to non-English speaking beginners; worked by E. W. Bohr. n. p. n. d. 14p. (Supervisory series no. 9) mimeo
- Tentative guides for high school teachers, approved by the New Mexico State board of education. no. 1- Santa Fe, 1945-
- no. 1 English. 1945 209p.
 - no. 2 Mathematics. 1946 55p.
 - no. 3 Social studies. 1946 230p.
 - no. 4 Spanish. 1946 49p.
 - no. 5 Science. 1946 98p.
- Trade and industrial training . . . (Santa Fe)
- pt. 2 Course of study for high schools. n. p. n. d. 5p. mimeo.
- True aim of industrial work (Poster issued by L. C. Mersfelder, state supervisor of industrial education. Feb. 1, 1916) (Santa Fe, 1916) Broadside 36½ x 20 cm.
- World book, "Around the world with children," second unit compiled by Marie Hughes. (Santa Fe, 19-) (1), 23, (1) 17p. mimeo.

Department of education. Curriculum division.

Established at the University in 1936; moved to the Department of education in 1939.

Annotated bibliography of professional magazines, prepared by Gallup city school teachers, McKinley county teachers; Agnes Bartlett, district director. Albuquerque, State curriculum laboratory, University of New Mexico, 1937. 29p.

Experiences in elementary classrooms, Public schools, Albuquerque. Albuquerque, State curriculum laboratory, 1938. 40p. mimeo.

Conservation of land and water, a teaching unit, Santa Cruz school; Sister Sienna, teacher. Albuquerque, N. M. Curriculum laboratory, 1938. 27p. mimeo.

Handbook of essentials in language arts. Mrs. Grace J. Corrigan, state superintendent of public instruction. Issued by the Curriculum

- division of the state Department of education. Approved by the state Board of education. (Santa Fe?) 1942. 38p.
- Handwriting instruction, prepared with the assistance of Mary Jones Murphy. University of New Mexico, Sept. 1937. Albuquerque, State curriculum laboratory, University of New Mexico, 1937. 54p.
- Materials of instruction . . . Albuquerque, State curriculum laboratory, 1937-1938. 3v.
mimeo.
- Bibliographies
- Contents.—No. 1 Problems related to equipment and materials. 1937. 168, 23p.
no. 2 Activities for the non-recitation period. 1938. 108, 12p.
no. 3 Sources of free and inexpensive materials. 1938. 132p.
- Social science bibliographies, grades one through six. Albuquerque, State curriculum laboratory, 1938-39. 6v. mimeo.
- v. 1—First grade bibliography. Albuquerque, 1938 6p.
v. 2—Second grade bibliography. Albuquerque, 1938 4p.
v. 3—Third grade bibliography. Albuquerque, 1938. 10p.
v. 4—Fourth grade bibliography. Albuquerque, 1938. 14p.
v. 5—Fifth grade bibliography. Albuquerque, 1939. 14p.
v. 6—Sixth grade bibliography. Albuquerque, 1939. 10p.
- Social science program for New Mexico showing relationship of the aspects of the areas of living. Albuquerque, State department of education. Curriculum division, 1938. (mimeo.)
- The teacher in a modern school, notes for faculty discussion by Corine Seeds . . . Albuquerque, State curriculum laboratory, 1939. 7p. mimeo.
- Travel by bus (second grade level) Record of exploration of an aspect of the area. Transporting people and goods. Albuquerque, Curriculum laboratory, 1939. 39p. mimeo.
- Suggested program for a one room school. Albuquerque, 1939. 2p. mimeo.
- Suggestions for the reorganization of the social studies program in New Mexico. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico press, 1938. 45p.
- Upper grade social science prepared by Mrs. Eunice Adams. Santa Fe, 1940. 5p. mimeo. (bibliography)

Department of education. Division of information and statistics.

- New Mexico common schools; annual financial and statistical report of the State superintendent of public instruction.
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| 1930-31. 9p | 1932-33. 9p. |
| 1931-32. 9p. | 1933-34. 9p. |

Department of education. Division of transportation.

- Manual for New Mexico school bus drivers. A manual prepared for and approved by the state Division of transportation, Department of education, by Ernest L. Martin and Marjorie F. Martin. Santa Fe, 1944. 123p.
- Manual for school bus drivers; sound driving practices. Prepared by the New Mexico state teachers college and the Division of transportation of the Department of education, 1940. 23p. mimeo.
- Regulations and reports for school bus drivers, 1940-41. Santa Fe, n. d. 31p.
- Regulations and reports for school bus drivers, 1942-43. Mrs. Grace J. Corrigan, State superintendent of public instruction. Santa Fe, n. d. 36p.
- Specifications for school busses, 1939-1940. Santa Fe (1944) 24p.
- Work book for school bus drivers by E. L. Martin. Prepared at the New Mexico state teachers college for the Division of transportation of the Department of education. Santa Fe, 1940. 27p. mimeo.

Dept. of education. Rural division.

- Supervisory series. (Santa Fe) 1934-35.
- no. 1 Course of study unit on Alaska, prepared by Mrs. Hattie W. Singer. 5p.
- no. 2
- no. 3 School and playground unit worked out by E. W. Bohr. 7p.
- No. 4 School and playground unit worked out by E. W. Bohr. 13, 7p.
- no. 5
- no. 6
- no. 7 A course of study unit on nature study prepared by Ellen Arledge (14)p.
- no. 8
- no. 9 Teaching vocabulary to non-English speaking beginners: worked out by E. W. Bohr. 14p.
- no. 10
- no. 11
- no. 12 Top unit for first grade worked out by Sofia Rodriquez. 4p.
- no. 13 Home unit for first grade worked out by Sofia Rodriquez. 5p.
- no. 14 Third grade transportation worked out by Mrs. Jennie M. Gonzalez. 4p.
- no. 15
- no. 16 Third grade Indian unit, prepared and used by Mrs. Nellie Harper. 3p.

Department of education. State advisory committee on physical fitness for the schools of New Mexico.

Physical fitness bulletin for secondary and elementary school; final report of the state committee on physical fitness; approved by the State board of education. (Santa Fe) 1943. 42p.

Department of game and fish.

Created in 1903 for purpose of preserving and regulating the use of game and fish for public recreation and food supply.

Report

March 23, 1903-Dec. 1, 1904. (P. B. Otero)

In Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly
Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "A3" 5p.

Dec. 1, 1904-Dec. 18, 1906. (W. E. Griffin)

In Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly.
Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit no. 10. 11p.

1909-1910-1911. 88p. v. 1 (T. P. Gable)

June 11, 1912-Nov. 30, 1914. 116p. v. 2 (T. C. deBaca)

Dec. 1, 1914-Nov. 30, 1916. 125p. v. 3 (T. C. deBaca)

Dec. 1, 1916-Nov. 30, 1918. 73p. 4-6 (Theodore Rouault, jr.)

Jan. 1, 1919-Dec. 31, 1920. 16p. 7-8 (T. P. Gable)

Jan. 1, 1921-Dec. 31, 1922. 23p. 9-10 (T. P. Gable)

March 8, 1919-Dec. 31, 1922. 3p. Supp. (T. P. Gable)

Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1924. 47p. 11-12 (Grace B. Melaven)

Dec. 1, 1924-June 30, 1926. 29p. 13-14 (T. P. Delgado)

*July 1, 1926-June 30, 1928. p. 19-28. 15-16 (E. L. Perry)

*July 1, 1928-June 30, 1930. p. 7-28. 17-18 (E. L. Perry)

July 1, 1931-Dec. 31, 1931. 11p. v. 19 (E. S. Barker)

June 30, 1931-June 30, 1932. 4p. v. 20 (E. S. Barker)

July 1, 1932-June 30, 1933. 8p. v. 21 (E. S. Barker)

July 1, 1933-June 30, 1934. 12p. v. 22 (E. S. Barker)

July 1, 1934-June 30, 1935. 12p. v. 23 (E. S. Barker)

July 1, 1935-June 30, 1936. 12p. v. 24 (E. S. Barker)

July 1, 1936-June 30, 1937. 12p. v. 25 (E. S. Barker)

July 1, 1937-June 30, 1938. 12p. v. 26 (E. S. Barker)

July 1, 1938-June 30, 1939. 12p. v. 27 (E. S. Barker)

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July 1, 1940-June 30, 1941. 12p. v. 29 (E. S. Barker)

July 1, 1941-June 30, 1942. 12p. v. 30 (E. S. Barker)

July 1, 1942-June 30, 1943. 12p. v. 31 (E. S. Barker)

July 1, 1943-June 30, 1944. 12p. v. 32 (E. S. Barker)

* In New Mexico Conservationist: v. 2 no. 1 Sept. 1928 and v. 3 no. 3 July, 1930.

- July 1, 1944-June 30, 1945. 12p. v. 33 (E. S. Barker)
- July 1, 1945-June 30, 1946. 12p. v. 34 (E. S. Barker)
- July 1, 1946-June 30, 1947. 12p. v. 35 (E. S. Barker)
- July 1, 1947-June 30, 1948. 15p. v. 36 (E. S. Barker)
- Title varies: Dept. of game and fish, 1903-04; Fish and game warden, 1904-1906; Game and fish warden's dept., 1909-1911; Game and Fish warden, 1912-1920; Dept. of game and fish, 1921-
- July 1-Dec. 31, 1931 report includes Report by J. Stokley Ligon on the Black Canyon Deer situation p. 8-11.
- Basic regulations . . . effective Aug. 1, 1948 . . . Santa Fe, 13 (3)p. Birds of New Mexico, by Florence Merriam Bailey. Santa Fe, 1928. 807p.
- Digest of game and fish laws; April 1, 1938 to March 31, 1939. 6p.
- Digest of hunting and fishing laws and regulations, April 1, 1941 to March 31, 1942 and game refuge map. (Santa Fe, 1942) 12p. (folder)
- Digest of hunting and fishing laws and regulations April 1, 1942 to March 31, 1943 and game refuge map. (Santa Fe, 1943) 12p.
- Digest of hunting and fishing laws and regulations. April 1, 1943 to March 31, 1944 and game refuge map. (6)p.
- Digest of hunting and fishing laws and regulations. April 1, 1947 to March 31, 1948 and game refuge map . . . (6)p.
- Digest of hunting and fishing laws and regulations April 1, 1949 to March 31, 1950 and game refuge map. 8 columns.
- Digest of laws and regulations relating to game and fish. April 1, 1940 to March 31, 1941, and game refuge map. Santa Fe (1941) 6p.
- Game and fish laws of New Mexico; rev. and pub. by the authority of Theo. Rouault, jr. State game and fish warden. Santa Fe, 1917. 36p.
- Game and fish laws of New Mexico; revised by Thomas P. Gable . . . Santa Fe, March 15, 1919. East Las Vegas (1919) 40p.
- Game and fish laws and regulations effective from April 1, 1934. Migratory bird treaty act, Lacy act, Duck stamp act; compiled and published by the State game commission. (Santa Fe, 1934) 71p.
- Game and fish laws and regulations; effective from June 15, 1937. Las Vegas, 1937. 83p.
- Game and fish laws and regulations, effective from Oct. 1, 1940. Santa Fe (1940) 93p.
- Game refuge map . . . revised to October 1, 1937. Santa Fe (1937)
- Game refuge map . . . revised to October 1, 1939. Santa Fe (1939)
- Game refuge map . . . revised to Jan. 1, 1948. Santa Fe (1947)
- History and management of Merriam's wild turkey; J. Stokley Ligon published by N. M. Game and Fish Commission under Pittman-Robertson Act, 1946. Albuquerque, Univ. of N. M. press, 1946. 84p.
- Hunting and fishing in New Mexico. Santa Fe (1940) (16)p. (folder) at head of title: Primitive paradise for sportsmen.
- Hunting and fishing in New Mexico. Santa Fe (194-) (16)p. folder

- Hunting and fishing in New Mexico; the primitive paradise. n. p. n. d. 12p.
- Hunting and fishing in New Mexico; where to go and how to get there. Santa Fe, 1917. 12p.
- Hunting and fishing seasons and bag limits for 1940. 7p. (Regulation No. 87)
- Hunting and fishing seasons and bag limits for 1942. 4p. (Regulation No. 110)
- Hunting and fishing seasons and bag limits for 1943. 4p. (Regulation No. 126)
- Hunting and fishing seasons and bag limits for 1947. 6p. (Regulation No. 190)
- Hunting and fishing seasons and bag limits for 1948. 6p. (Regulation No. 214)
- New Mexico conservationist. Sept. 1927-Spring, 1931. Santa Fe, 1927-1931. v. 1-4 #1.
- Beginning July 1931 the conservationist and the New Mexico Highway journal combined to form "New Mexico."
- New Mexico game and fish laws and certain federal statutes effective from June 15, 1947. Santa Fe, (1947) 88p.
- Practical predator control featuring coyote trapping. Santa Fe, 1936. 16p.
- Upland game bird restoration through trapping and transplanting by J. Stokley Ligon, Field biologist, U. S. Fish and Wildlife service . . . Albuquerque, 1946. 77p.
- Wild life of New Mexico; its conservation and management; being a report on the game survey of this state 1926 and 1927 by J. Stokley Ligon. Santa Fe, (1927) 212p.

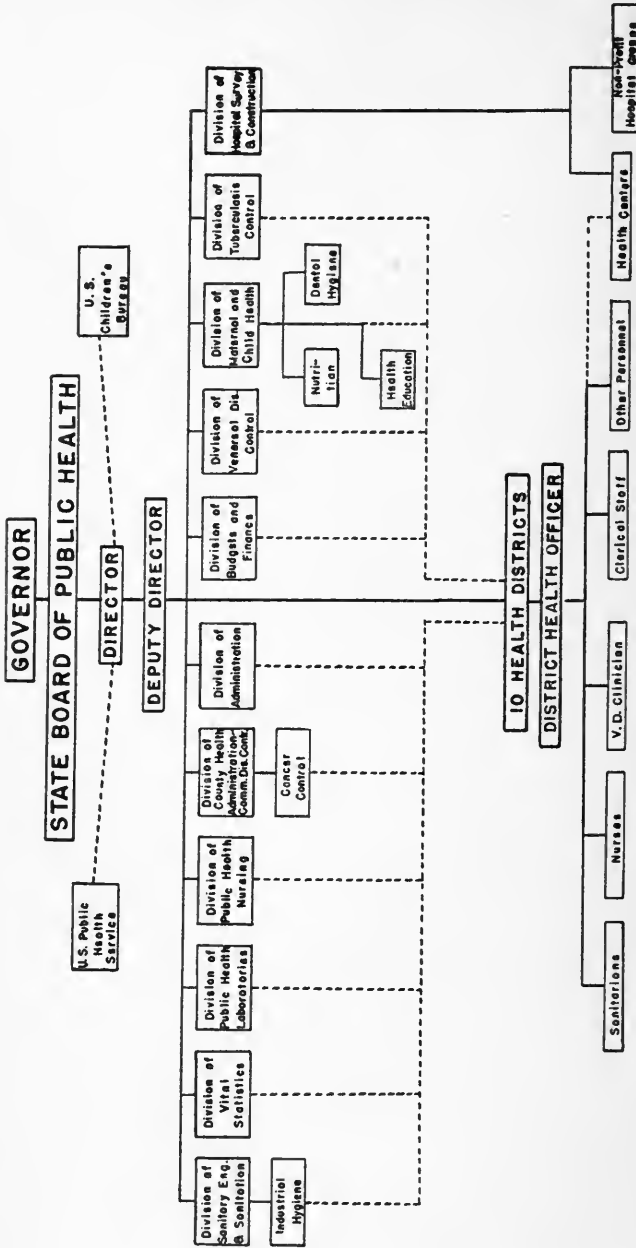
Department of public health.

In 1919, the state health agency was first established as a full time office. It was then the State department of health; in 1921, it became the Bureau of public health under the Department of public welfare; the Department of public health was officially created in 1937.

Report

- Apr. 25, 1919-Dec. 31, 1920 (v. 1) (C. E. Waller) in N. M. health officer v. 12 #3-4
- Jan. 1, 1921-Dec. 31, 1922 (v. 2) 6p. (G. S. Luckett) mimeo
- Jan. 1, 1923-Dec. 31, 1924 v. 3 24p. (G. S. Luckett) mimeo
- Jan. 1, 1925-June 30, 1926 v. 4 34p. (G. S. Luckett)
- July 1, 1926-June 30, 1928 v. 5 38p. (G. S. Luckett)
- July 1, 1928-June 30, 1930 v. 6 42p. (G. S. Luckett)

- July 30, 1930-June 30, 1932 v. 7 29p. (J. R. Earp) (E&S)
- July 30, 1932-Dec. 1934 v. 8 19, 20p. (J. R. Earp) (E&S)
- Jan. 1, 1935-Oct. 31, 1936 v. 9 91p. (J. R. Earp) in N. M. Health Off. v. 6, no. 4
- Jan. 1, 1937-Dec. 31, 1938 v. 10 61p. (E. B. Godfrey) in N. M. Health Off. v. 8, no. 2
- Jan. 1, 1939-Dec. 31, 1940 v. 11 67p. (J. R. Scott) in N. M. Health Off. v. 9, no. 1.
- Jan. 1, 1941-Dec. 31, 1941 (v. 12) 49p. (J. R. Scott) in N. M. Health Off. v. 10, no. 1
- Jan. 1, 1942-Dec. 31, 1942 (v. 13) 59p. (J. R. Scott) in N. M. Health Off. v. 11, no. 1
- Jan. 1, 1943-Dec. 31, 1943 (v. 14) 84p. (J. R. Scott) in N. M. Health Off. v. 12, no. 1
- Apr. 25, 1919-Dec. 31, 1944 (v. 15) 81p. (J. R. Scott) in N. M. Health Off. v. 12, nos. 3&4
(Twenty-five years of public health in N. M.; in lieu of Annual Rep., 1944)
- Jan. 1, 1945-Dec. 31, 1945 (v. 16) 55p. (J. R. Scott) in N. M. Health Off. v. 13, no. 4.
- Jan. 1, 1946-Dec. 31, 1946 (v. 17) 56p. (J. R. Scott) in N. M. Health Off. v. 14, no. 4
Biennial, 1923/24-1939/40; annual, 1941
Report year irregular; 1935/36- issued in N. M. Health Officer
1921 -1935/36 issued by Bureau of Public health
1937/38- issued by Department of Public health
- Un catecismo de salubridad (4p.)
- The County Health unit, by James R. Scott (3)p. (reprint from South-western medicine, for August, 1931).
- Diphtheria Immunization law; (Chapter 50, Session Laws 1943)
- Facts about gonorrhea. Santa Fe, n. d. (2)p. (E&S)
- Facts about syphilis. Santa Fe, 4 leaves. (E&S)
- Health education bulletins, no. 1- Santa Fe, 1944?-
No. 1 Cancer by James R. Scott. 1944? 11p. (E&S)
- Healthful living series. Bulletin, no. 1- Santa Fe, 1940-
No. 1 Healthful living through the school day and in home and community by Nina B. Lamkin. 1939. 71p.
Rev. ed. 1940. 103p.
- Liquified gas act of 1939 and rules and regulations promulgated by the State bd. of public health. Dec. 15, 1939. Authorizing act, chap. 155, Laws of 1939. Penalty of violation. 31p.
- A la madre encinta; un librito de informacion y consejos, traducido por John P. Flores; ilustrado por Jane Hathaway. (Santa Fe) 1939. 20p.
- Manteniendo al bebé sano en salud; un librito para las madres; tomado



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NEW MEXICO DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH - SANTA FE

- de la publicacion del children's bureau de los Estados Unidos, por el Dept. de salubridad publica de Nuevo Mexico; traducido por John P. Flores. 1937. 14p.
- Monthly report of certificates received Dec. 21, 1944 to Jan. 20, 1945. 1 leaf mimeo.
- Navajo Medical News; A house organ primarily devoted to keeping members of our team informed of developments in our own health work on this, the largest Indian Reservation in the country.
- Morbidity statistics bulletin. Jan. 3, 1948- (Santa Fe) 1948- weekly.
- New Mexico Bureau of public health; surveyed by the Rockefeller foundation; abstract of a report made to the International health division by Platt W. Covington . . . rev. and reedited by J. Rosslyn Earp, and reprinted for circulation in the state of N. M. by the Santa Fe New Mexican pub. corp. 7p.
- New Mexico health officer. v. 1- Santa Fe, 1931- quarterly.
- New Mexico health planning conference. March 28-29. Albuquerque, 1946. 4 leaves. (Program)
- New Mexico Malarial Control; State Bureau of Pub. health in cooperation with W.P.A. and U.S.P.H.S. (Santa Fe, 1936) (2)v.
(v. 1) Mosquitoes of New Mexico, by B. E. Greiner. 8p. mimeo.
(v. 2) Weed control; an experimental project in chemical control of aquatic vegetation. Report by John Greenbank. Albuquerque, 1936. 35p. mimeo.
- New Mexico school health manual for elementary teachers. (Santa Fe) N. M. Dept. of education, N. M. Dept. of public health, 1947. 58p.
- Nurse-midwife regulations for New Mexico; promulgated by the State board of public health, Aug. 4, 1945; Authorizing act, chap. 39, Laws of 1937.
Penalty for violation, sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937.
- Protection of wells (with plans showing the proper construction of four types of wells.) 1 leaf.
- Program. v. p. The association, 1937 v. 12 (Albuquerque) 4p.
- Public health laws of New Mexico, arranged by subjects. Santa Fe, 1936. 27p.
- Public health Library list. Santa Fe, n. d. 6p. mimeo.
- Monthly vital statistics bulletin. 1930-
Quarterly Jan. 1930-Aug. 1947; monthly Sept. 1947-
- Regulaciones para la practica de la parteria promulgado por el cuerpo de estado de salubridad publica, 1937; ley autorizante seccion 4, capitulo 39, Leyes de 1937; multa para infraccion sec. 14 cap. 39, Leyes de 1937. 4p.
- Regulations governing preservation disposition, transportation, interment and disinterment of dead human bodies; promulgated by the State board of public health, March 6, 1948; Authorizing act sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937 . . . (4)p.

- Regulations governing railway sanitation; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. (12)p.
- Regulations governing the care of certain biological preparations; adopted by State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937; penalty for violation sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 1 leaf.
- Regulations governing the control of communicable diseases; promulgated by the State board of public welfare; July 7, 1931 . . . Santa Fe, Santa Fe New Mexican pub. corp., (1931) 19p.
- Regulations governing the control of communicable diseases; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937; penalty for violation sec. 14, chap. 39, laws of 1937. 19p.
- Regulations governing the construction and operation of swimming pools; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937; penalty for violation sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. (4)p.
- Regulations governing the disposal, interment, disinterment and transportation of the dead; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 4p.
- Regulations governing the employment and remuneration of public health nurses; adopted by State board of public health, June 28, 1937; amended by the State board of public health, Sept. 29, 1942. Authorizing act sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937; penalty for violation sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 1 leaf.
- Regulations governing the employment of sanitarians (Sanitary inspectors); promulgated by the State board of public welfare, March 4, 1935; Authorizing acts, sec. 3, chap. 117, Laws of 1921; sec. 3, chap. 145, Laws of 1921. 1 leaf.
Penalty for violation sec. 10, chap. 145, Laws of 1921. 1 leaf.
- Regulations governing the employment of sanitarians (Sanitary inspectors); adopted by State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 1 leaf.
- Regulations governing the filing of a new birth certificate for adoption cases, legitimation of births by subsequent marriage, registration of foundlings and corrections of original certificates on file; promulgated by the State board of public health, July 6, 1943; Authorizing act chap. 132, Laws of 1943; penalty for violation sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937 (2)p.
- Regulations governing the grading and grade labeling of milk and milk products; adopted by State board of public health, Aug. 18, 1939; Authorizing acts, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 12p.
- Regulations governing the handling and sale of shellfish; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 1 leaf.

- Regulations governing the heating and ventilation of tourist courts, tourist camps, hotels and lodging houses; promulgated by the State board of public health, Jan. 22, 1941; Authorizing act, chap. 167, Laws of 1939. Penalty for violation, chap. 167, Laws of 1939. Santa Fe (3)p.
- Regulations governing the operation of sewage treatment plants; promulgated by the State board of public welfare, November 20, 1922; Authorizing acts, sec. 3, chap. 117, Laws of 1921; sec. 3, chap. 145, Laws of 1921. Penalty for violation, sec. 10, chap. 145, Laws of 1921. 3p.
- Regulations governing the operation of sewage treatment plants; adopted by State board of public health, June 28, 1937; authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. (4)p.
- Regulations governing the practice of midwifery; promulgated by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937; Penalty for violation sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937) 3p.
- Regulations governing the prevention of infant blindness; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937; penalty for violation sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 1 leaf.
- Regulations governing the protection of records of births and deaths; promulgated by the State board of public welfare, November 20, 1922; Authorizing acts, sec. 3, chap. 117, Laws of 1921; sec. 3, chap. 145, Laws of 1921. Penalty for violation, sec. 10, chap. 145, Laws of 1921. 1 leaf.
- Regulations governing the protection of births and deaths; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937; penalty for violation sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 7p.
- Regulations governing the reporting of deaths and births; promulgated by the State board of public welfare, November 29, 1922 . . . Santa Fe, State Record print, (1922) (5)p.
- Regulations governing the reporting of deaths and births; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 7p.
- Regulations governing the reporting of notifiable diseases and accidents; promulgated by the State board of public welfare, Nov. 20, 1922. Amended, March 4, 1935 . . . (4)p.
- Regulations governing the reporting of notifiable diseases and accidents; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; Authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937; penalty for violation sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. (3)p.
- Regulations governing the sanitation of bottle closures; adopted by the State board of public health, Feb. 17, 1943; authorizing acts,

sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937; penalty for violation sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 1 leaf.

Regulations governing the sanitation of construction and other camps; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937 . . . Penalty for violation, sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. (3) p.

Regulations governing the sanitation of foods and food handling establishments adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. Penalty for violation, sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. (3) p.

Regulations governing the sanitation of foods and food handling establishments adopted by the State board of public health, June 25, 1942; authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. Penalty for violation, sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. (5) p.

Regulations governing the sanitation of public camp grounds; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. Penalty for violation, sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. (3) p.

Regulations governing the sanitation of public school buildings; promulgated by the State board of public health, April 30, 1920; authorizing act, sec. 10, chap. 85, Laws of 1919. Penalty for violation, sec. 10, chap. 145, Laws of 1921. Santa Fe New Mexican pub. corp. (1921) (3) p.

Regulations governing the sanitation of public school buildings, adopted by State board of public health, June 28, 1937; authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. (4) p.

Regulations governing water supplies and sewage disposal; promulgated by the state board of health, Jan. 28, 1920; authorizing act, sec. 4, chap. 85, Laws of 1919; sec. 10, chap. 95, Laws of 1919. Penalty for violation, sec. 18, chap. 85, Laws of 1919. 3p.

Regulations governing water supplies and sewage disposal; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 3p.

Regulations prohibiting common drinking cups and common towels in public places; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. Penalty for violation, sec. 14, chap. 39, Laws of 1937.

Regulations prohibiting insanitary toilets in certain places; promulgated by the State board of public welfare, Nov. 12, 1923; authorizing acts, sec. 3, chap. 117, Laws of 1921; sec. 3, chap. 145, Laws of 1921. Penalty for violation, sec. 10, chap. 145, Laws of 1921. (3) p.

Regulations prohibiting insanitary toilets in certain places; adopted by the State board of public health, June 28, 1937; authorizing act, sec. 3, chap. 39, Laws of 1937. 2p.

- Relief statistics; Activities of the department. . . . v. 1-3; Jan. 1937-April, 1939.
- The vaccination law, provision for vaccination. sec. 14, chap. 39, S. L. 1937. Subsec. 7 1 leaf.
- Venereal disease control law. chap. 83, Session Laws 1943, effective April 14, 1943. 3p.
- Vital Statistics Law. chap. 132, Session Laws 1943, effective July 15, 1943. 1 leaf.
- Weekly bulletin. Santa Fe, 1928-29. mimeo.

Department of public health. Division of maternal and child health.

- Diarrhea . . . (Santa Fe) 1948. (4)p.
- Manual of instructions for subregistrars; comp. under the supervision of Billy Tober, State registrar; rev. Dec. 1, 1948. (Santa Fe, 1948) 23p. mimeo.
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July 1, 1944-June 30, 1945 63p. (M. A. Hintz)

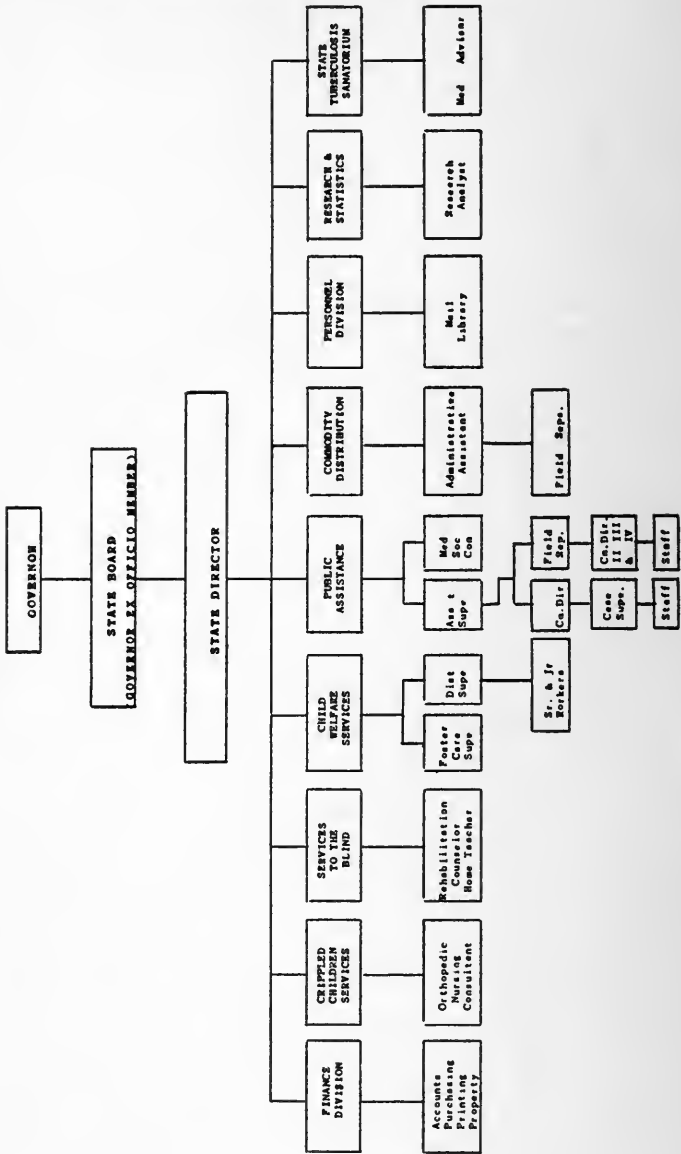
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NEW MEXICO DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE

ORGANIZATION CHART



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Notes and Documents

In 1830 the Mexican government set forth as one of its objectives a program of industrialization and modernization of the vast terrains that comprised its territory. To direct this program a governmental agency known as the *Banco de Avio Para Fomento de Industria Nacional* was established. As its name suggests, this was a bank which proposed to utilize public funds as a means of encouraging private initiative to develop national industries. One of the first acts of this bank was to undertake a survey of existing economic conditions on the agricultural as well as manufacturing level.

The *Direccion*, or managing board, of the bank was anxious to have information available on which to base its loans, and it accordingly drew up a questionnaire designed to elicit information especially about cotton, wool and silk, but also about bees and pottery clay. The taking of a real census, given the existing conditions of communications and public insecurity, was out of the question. However, the bank, taking advantage of its official position, utilized the administrative apparatus of the government and of the Church to distribute its questionnaire. Hundreds of copies were sent to the governors of the Mexican states and territories and to the cathedral chapters to be distributed to subordinate officers and to prominent individuals. Furthermore, in order not to overlook anyone who might have useful information, the questionnaire was published in the official newspaper and a general invitation was made to the enlightened public to submit replies.

In the course of events, the questionnaire came into the hands of residents of what are now the states of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. A recent search of the *Banco de Avio* papers in Mexico City has revealed the existence of replies from Tucson and Santa Fe. The Tucson reply embraces the peaceful Indian settlements of the Gila River area as well as the garrison town of Tucson itself. The Santa Fe

answer provides information not only on the Territory of New Mexico, but also on the town of El Paso, which was the birthplace of the eighteen-year-old Melquiades Antonio Ortega, who submitted the reply. A reply covering central Texas, although promised, was apparently never submitted. The postmaster of Austin, Samuel M. Williams, in a letter to the *Banco de Avio*, offered to answer the questionnaire when time permitted but limited himself to submitting samples of the finest cotton seed grown in the Texan colony.¹ The directors of the *Banco de Avio* expressed appreciation for these samples since they were interested in selecting the best cotton seed suitable to Mexican growing conditions.²

The two replies to the questionnaire from Tucson and Santa Fe, which are presented below in translation, are of interest if only because of the light they shed on economic conditions of the Southwest, and because they have remained unknown to the students of this area. The Tucson answer, which was rather sketchily and ungrammatically written by one Teodoro Ramirez, exists in manuscript as one of scores of replies from other parts of Mexico in the possession of the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía é Estadística*. The Santa Fe reply, however, was printed in the *Registro Oficial*, the official daily of the Mexican government, on May 9, 1831. Its reproduction here is warranted because of the general inaccessibility of the original and because of its considerable significance as a commentary on social as well as economic affairs.

The *Banco de Avio* questionnaire which produced these answers consisted of thirty-one questions covering both the agricultural as well as the manufacturing aspects of the production of cotton, wool, silk, wax and earthenware.³ An opportunity to discuss other productive activities was

1. Samuel M. Williams to *Dirección del Banco de Avio*, Villa de Austin, February 12, 1831. This letter is in the *Biblioteca de Historia de la Secretaría de Hacienda* and was made available through the kind assistance of its director, Sr. Roman Beltran.

2. *Dirección del Banco de Avio* to Postmaster of Austin, March 23, 1831, in the manuscript collection of the *Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía é Estadística*.

3. The first six questions related to cotton agriculture and manufacture; questions 7-10, to wool; 11-15, mulberries; 16-22, silkworms; 23-28, bees; 29 as mentioned above in the text; and 30-31, to pottery clay. Some replies, like the Tucson one presented here, did not adhere to this numeration.

given in question twenty-nine. Samples of raw cotton and wool were requested. R. A. P.*

DOCUMENT I

Reply which Citizen Teodoro Ramirez gives to His Excellency the Governor of the State,⁴ in conformity to his circular of January 24 and the invitation of the *Direccion* of the *Banco de Avio* for the promotion of national industry, and is as follows:

On Cotton

- 1st. The climate of this place is suitable for its cultivation.
- 2nd. Its cultivation is established in this presidio and in the Pima pueblos of S. Javier and Tucson in small quantity.
- 3rd. The seed that is sown is the same as found in the whole state of Sonora.
4. It produces annually about 10 arrobas. [One arroba equals 25 lbs.]
5. The use which the natives make of it is in coarse *mantas* for their clothing [woven] on stakes instead of looms.
6. At the Gila river where live the tribes of Pimas, Papagos and Yumas who acknowledge this jurisdiction as their head, the climate is suitable for its cultivation.
Its cultivation is established among this people.
It produces annually according to reports and calculations over two thousand arrobas.

The use this people makes of it is for coarse cotton cloth of three varas [one vara equals about 2.8 feet] in length and two in width which they use as covers; and their families make some fine textiles similar to the *manta* of Puebla for their use as *cotones* and *capositas*, not on looms but on stakes.

They export their textiles to these nearby points in the interior, and they supply those of their class who live thus to the West and who do not enjoy the benefit of this crop because their land is not suitable and because of lack of knowledge.

On Wool

7. The land is suitable for the raising of sheep.
8. Sheep raising is not established because of the danger of the Apache enemy.

* These documents were submitted for publication by Robert A. Potash who is engaged in a study of early nineteenth century Mexican industrial history.

4. Ramirez had been selected by the Governor of Sonora to draw up the reply to the questionnaire for his area, presumably because he was qualified to do so. His qualifications, however, failed to include a mastery of an easy Spanish prose style.

On Mulberries

9. The mulberry tree is not known in this spot.

On Silk Worms

10. There is no silk worm seed.

11. In summer time in the alamo and willow trees, there have been noticed certain pockets full of medium-sized worms which make a texture of white silk which when carefully gleaned cleans very well and when spun on a spindle becomes a rich hard fiber.

12. They do not devote themselves to gleaning it in order to develop it. In a necessity there would be a good supply.

On Bees

13. In this place no bees are kept.

14. There is clay suitable for pottery.

15. The use made of it by the natives is in the ordinary ware which they use for household services.

For the advancement of the Peaceful Tribes of the Gila River and of the Yumas in their labors, I am of the following opinion:

That they be provided by the *Direccion* with artesans in order to manufacture the fine textiles which are consumed in the Republic.

When these Indians, who are in ignorance, become devoted to the value and appreciation of their textiles, they will take interest in civilization and in short order will become obedient to our laws.

This nation although large in number—more than eighteen thousand souls are devoted to the trade of agriculture, textiles and things the whole year—is an enemy of idleness and needs the knowledge of the arts in order to flourish.

The land is fertile by nature for every kind of agriculture because of the fullness of its river; its resources provide all the conveniences for a new reduction settlement, and for the advancement of the Republic.

According to the attached certificate, and to the general belief of these inhabitants, there are deposits of virgin gold in the vicinity of these tribes next to the Rio Salado. If the government or the *Direccion* undertook to find them (which the enemy impedes) they could very well be uncovered and through their treasure, they could promote new settlements, and in addition the civilization of the tribes, the increase of agriculture and of the weaving trade; and with the catechism, the result would be virile men or a virile nation for the Mexican Republic. They are not so because of the obscurity in which they live.

This all that I have considered suitable in answering the questions given by the circular of December 15 of last year from the *Direccion* of the *Banco de Avio* of arts.

Tucson, July 19, 1831.

(signed) Teodoro Ramirez

DOCUMENT II

Editors of the Registro Oficial

Santa Fe, New Mexico
January 31, 1831

Worthy fellow citizens:

...I want to answer some of the questions which the *Direccion* of the *Banco de Avio Para Fomento de Industria Nacional* printed in the *Registro Oficial*, number 96, on December 19 of last year. I am a native of the town of El Paso del Norte in the state of Chihuahua, and at present a resident of New Mexico and therefore my replies will embrace both my beloved birthplace and my adopted land. If you judge it deserving of publication, please, gentlemen, give this letter a little place in your worthy paper. I do not wish to give it the character of a communication to the *Direccion* of the bank both because I am without any merit and also because I wish to insert in it some ideas in passing.

If the laws which determine and regulate the economic and judicial power of cities are those which cause citizens to be at ease in their homes, to work without anxiety in their shops and to devote themselves with reasonable hope to agricultural endeavors, no part of our republic, I believe, demands the benign attention of the supreme legislators more than the territory of New Mexico. There the old Spanish laws are seen [still] in force, many of them incompatible with our present federal system. The *ayuntamientos* lack municipal funds; the settlements lack police; the citizens lack individual security, for in addition to the invasions of the barbarians, which are not imagined, the jails are insecure and so badly constructed that they prevent the flight of few delinquents. Thus crimes remain unpunished and public vengeance remains unsatisfied. The lack of halfway trained teachers results in the worthy youth reaching adolescence lacking in civil and religious knowledge and being, therefore, incapable of resisting vigorously the perversity of wicked men. This picture is not exaggerated and therefore humanity demands active measures in New Mexico, individual laws which would leave men ready to devote themselves to industry. I shall now answer the questions of the wise directors of the bank with respect to this territory and the town of El Paso.

1st. This territory because of its location has a frigid climate; nevertheless, in the towns of Bernalillo and Tomé, which are located to the south, I have heard that some individuals have succeeded in harvesting cotton, but in very limited quantity. The town of El Paso has a more temperate climate and consequently is suitable for the cultivation.

2nd. In New Mexico, the cultivation of cotton is still not estab-

lished. In the town of El Paso, most of the poor [people] plant and harvest cotton.

3rd. The class [of seed] is certainly not the worst.

4th. The quantity harvested in El Paso amounted to a little more or less than 600 arrobas annually, for although many used to plant and do plant it, it is with such a small portion of seed that it cannot be said that many such make a considerable amount.

5th. The inhabitants of El Paso utilize cotton by processing it and exporting it to this territory where they sell it at two reales the Castillian pound.

6th. In this territory, they use it in yarn, twist for sewing and in knitting some stockings for individuals on needles. In El Paso, in addition to using it as mentioned, they weave very ordinary *mantas* with which the poor people are clothed, and which sell at three reales the vara. They used to weave annually before the free import of foreign textiles approximately 1000 pieces of thirty varas in length and two fourths in breadth; now [the output] may be half.⁵

7th. The town of El Paso is not suitable for sheep raising, both because it lacks adequate pastures and because the Apaches, savage Indians who live in the vicinity, are thieves, every last one, and they don't permit it to prosper.

8th. The majority of the inhabitants of this territory [New Mexico] are breeders and the stock is the common sheep.

9th. It can be said that in New Mexico, sheep make it possible for the inhabitants to live, and without them it would certainly be uninhabited. The principal commerce consists of the trading of goods for sheep which they drive in herds of ten and twenty thousand head to Durango, Zacatecas etc. to sell for cash and trading goods.

10. In this entire territory, the main occupation of the poor inhabitants is the weaving of wool, for if it were not for this, everyone would be ruined because of the little [wool] exported to neighboring states and the great amount that is clipped each year. The textiles consist in blankets, zarapes which they call *atilmados*, ordinary baizes, sackcloth, stockings and coverlets which the women make and which they export to the states of Sonora, Durango etc. to trade them for commercial goods and money.

11. I judge that neither in New Mexico nor in the town of El Paso is the climate suitable for raising mulberry trees, for in the latter place they are not even known, and in the former [they know of] only the wild ones which they call *cimarronas* and which are found in the ravines of the sierras.

15. In neither of the two places have I noticed any inclination on the part of the inhabitants to develop mulberry trees, and only

5. This "free import of foreign textiles" refers to the influx of English and American cotton goods which were able to undersell the hand-made Mexican product despite artificially high valuations and duties that exceeded 40%.

in the capital of the state of Chihuahua do I remember having seen a tree with black mulberries tended; they utilized it by selling the fruit.

16. I have never seen silk worms; I believe that they are not known in these regions and therefore I will refrain from discussing the matter analytically.

23. I judge that the climate of the town of El Paso is suitable for the growth of bees because I have seen many in this place, even among the large and small houses. But I have never observed them pursued by other insects.

24. There is a mass of vegetation in this town with flowers suitable for the maintenance of bees; among them [is] the one called *hediondilla*, which in other places I have heard called *emperadora*, and which is very waxy.

26. There are no beehives in El Paso; however, regularly in the old houses between rotted beams, the bees honey is found. This is called nest honey (*de panal*) and is very tasty. I have heard that from a nest brought from Pojoaque, an Indian pueblo north of this capital, Santa Fe, an inquisitive lady extracted a bottle of honey and a half pound of wax.

28. In view of the above, I leave to the consideration of the *Direction* and of the editors whether it is desirable or not to give encouragement to this activity and how it should be done.

29. In addition to the products mentioned, there are in this territory various kinds of fine and ordinary woods which the industrious spirit could utilize in different ways; but the carpenters of this [area] only use them to make chairs, cabinets, beds, tables etc., all crude. There is also a variety of resins which would be useful, and indeed very useful to the dyers of whom there are some bad ones in this territory.

In my opinion the bison, which is very abundant in this region, would yield it added benefits if they tried to domesticate some pairs, for the bison is the size of an ox, but more fleshy, with a long woolly hair covering its entire skin. Domesticated, it could be clipped each year and the wool could be used with ingenuity in the manufacture of hats, woolen stuffs etc. because it is finer than sheep's wool.

There are also in New Mexico a multitude of mineral veins and in many of them there are open excavations. A company of which I am a member had ardently undertaken since last July the clearing and working of three old mines located in Los Cerillos, a place seven or nine leagues distant from this capital. The funds amounted to twelve hundred pesos because twelve shareholders joined at one hundred pesos each. In the month of October, the Tiro mine was already cleared. This is the one which promises the most reasonable hopes; it is about eighty varas deep, and it will have about ten varas of slope; also a shaft perfectly sunk since it is a little less than two

varas distant from the last workings of the floors, which are the ones that are beginning to show water. The works were suspended because of the great cold spell which set in at the beginning of November. Some attempts made before then began to cool off the spirits because of their bad success which was due to the lack of men who knew the business. I fear that if they repeat them, and have the same result, the mine will remain abandoned in the best state because the limited capital has already been exhausted. All the works are clean; the mine has been showing a heavy amount of plumbeous metal, and in the last operations, a gravelly black with very little lead, and it is known that it is yielding in proportion as it is deepening. It is my opinion that at a ten or fifteen vara cut on the levels many veins could be opened and metal of the first class taken out. There are in *Los Cerillos* around fifty veins, all of lead. There is permanent water a half league away and much firewood. The metal could be carried on wagons from the mines to the banks of the stream where there are many good level spots for villages. In the environs there are placers with a few grains of the finest gold on the surface of the earth. Everything is as could be desired, and the only one thing that you want and cannot get are skilled operators. There are none to be had in this entire territory. Also, there is some need for cash, for although there are some people who have it, they are the ones who lack the entrepreneurial spirit.

In Abiquiú, a place around eighteen or twenty leagues north-west of this capital, there is copper and that which some poor people have extracted proves it to be unalloyed since they have fashioned certain kitchen utensils by hammer [from it].

In New Mexico there are no people devoted to making experiments in industry and this is left to the poor, who are compelled by necessity to till the soil badly, and to make the manufactures mentioned.

30. In various parts of New Mexico, and in El Paso, there are clays suitable for pottery.

31. The Indians use the clay to make ordinary pottery which they paint black, white and mixed. They sell it and it is in general use in this territory. In El Paso they make red ware because the clay is that color. In addition to the common clays, I have read that there are others worthy of attention because of their quality and fineness.

In the pueblo of Acoma in this territory there is a clay called *barro piedra*, black in color, and with it can be made on a wheel every kind of vessel for ordinary use. There are earths of various colors, blue, green, yellow, white, crimson; and in the pueblo of Zuñi, there is enamel or Prussian blue. There are also talc, gypsum, jasper in abundance, jet, sulfer, saltpeter etc. The territory of New Mexico is surely worthy of a better fate.

Please, gentlemen, have the kindness to overlook my diffuseness in addressing you for although it is certainly great, it could not be less for the purpose I set for myself. I already acknowledged to you the

reason I was moved to give you this annoyance. I want my work to serve as a stimulus to other enlightened young men, principally those of the state where I was born, so that with their knowledge they may contribute to fulfilling the intentions of the wise directors of the bank.....

Melquiades Antonio Ortega

Under the editorship of Joaquin Ortega, the *New Mexico Quarterly Review* promises to add further distinction to its record. The two issues which have already appeared are marked by a new vividness and verve, both in content and physical appearance.

Each issue features in half-tone illustration the work of a New Mexico artist, accompanied by comment on his work by an art critic or fellow artist, together with a similar treatment of an outstanding poet, under the general editorship of Edwin Honig. Articles of general criticism, literary, economic, and political, balance the regional material. Henceforth the book section will drop the shorter reviews in favor of essay reviews of items principally regional and a series of articles on New Mexico writers with occasional check lists of their work. Lyle Saunders' guide to the literature of the Southwest continues.

Helen Gentry is responsible for the new beauty in format of the magazine. She has slightly reduced the page size, re-designed both cover and title-page, improved the binding, and used the Baskerville type of the old *New Mexico Quarterly Review* to much better advantage. Printed as of old at the printing plant of the University of New Mexico, this quarterly brings to its readers all the satisfaction of a fine piece of book-making.—K. S.

A short biographical sketch of Tom Baker, prominent citizen of Luna County, who died in March, 1949, is printed in *The Deming Headlight*, March 18, 1949.

The *Clovis News-Journal*, April 24, 1949, carries an historical item relating to Pancho Villa, the Mexican leader who led his forces in a raid on Columbus, New Mexico, in 1916. Colonel Tracy Richardson made Villa apologize in public at the point of a pistol.

The reminiscences of Robert W. Lewis, pioneer New Mexican, have been printed in the *Albuquerque Tribune*, beginning May 23.

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