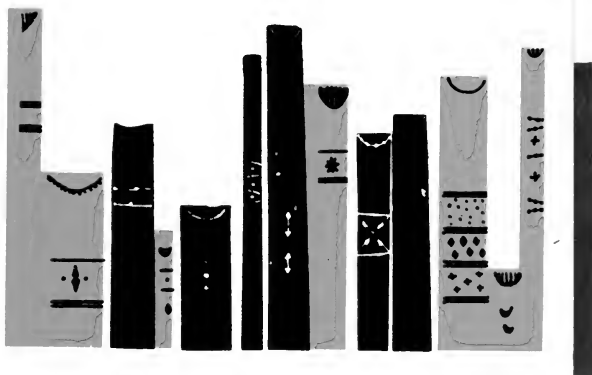


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NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL REVIEW

Editors

FRANK D. REEVE

PAUL A. F. WALTER

Associates

PERCY M. BALDWIN

GEORGE P. HAMMOND

FRANCE V. SHOLES

ELEANOR B. ADAMS

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON

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January, 1956

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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JANUARY, 1956

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PORFIRIO DIAZ IN MEXICO'S HISTORICAL BALLADS

By MERLE E. SIMMONS*

MEXICO'S ballad singers, known as *corridistas* or *trovadores*, have over the last three-quarters of a century left us a motley but extremely graphic picture of much that has transpired on the Mexican scene. Reflecting in every word and every line the closeness of their authors' relationship with the common people, the *corridos* (ballads) of Mexico's traveling minstrels—songs which have been and still are sung in market places and on street corners to crowds of sombreroed peasants who listen attentively as narratives about revolutionary battles, the exploits of popular heroes, or other more prosaic events unfold—afford the historian a unique insight into the workings of the popular mind. Profound interpretations and "facts" as such must, of course, not be sought in *corridos*, but truth as the man in the street or the farmer in his *milpa* saw it, however far such truth may diverge from that gleaned from other perhaps more reliable sources, is reflected in the songs of Mexico's balladeers; and upon popular beliefs of this kind may rest much that is enigmatic in Mexican history. In the brief study which follows we propose to single out for consideration one strong personality, Porfirio Díaz, the dictator-president who for over thirty years was the master of Mexico, and, while observing the role he plays in the ballads of popular singers, to assay the attitudes of the latter and their audiences toward him.¹

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1. The author has attempted a similar study of another problem in contemporary Mexican history in "Attitudes Toward the United States Revealed in Mexican *Corridos*," *Hispania*, XXXVI (February, 1953), pp. 34-42.

Like that of any *caudillo*, Porfirio Díaz' rise to prominence was based primarily upon personal valor. His brilliant generalship in the war against the French in the 1860's had made him a national hero, and he used his popularity to good advantage in building his political career. Already in a *corrido* which records the execution of Maximilian the name of Díaz is linked to that of no less a figure than Benito Juárez, and the former is credited with having overthrown the imperial government:

Viva Juárez, mexicanos,
vivan los republicanos,
que nos dieron libertad;
y Viva, Porfirio Díaz
que a sus pies hizo rodar,
el infame gobierno imperial.²

(*El emperador Maximiliano*, in Higinio Vázquez Santa Ana, *Canciones, cantares y corridos mexicanos* [México, n.d.], p. 259.)

That the Mexican soldiers sang of Díaz' valor during the French war is proved by one strophe of the famous army song *La cucaracha*. The version which we possess is from the twentieth century, but a reference to Díaz and General Forey of the imperial forces undoubtedly dates from the period of French intervention:

Con las barbas de Forey
voy a hacer un vaquerillo,
pa' ponérselo al caballo
del valiente don Porfirio.

(*La cucaracha*, in Vicente T. Mendoza, *El romance español y el corrido mexicano* [México, 1939], p. 553.)

More eloquent than this direct reference are the implications of an observation in one of the many ballads about Heraclio Bernal, a famous nineteenth-century bandit of Durango, where the *corridista*, in an effort to dramatize the bad man's bravery and daring, declares that "hasta don Porfirio Díaz/quiso conocerlo vivo." (*Heraclio Bernal*, in Mendoza, *El romance español*, p. 442.) Another version of

2. In citing texts of *corridos* we have scrupulously reproduced the spelling and punctuation of our sources, even to the point of copying obvious errors.

the same ballad reads: "Que el mismo Porfirio Díaz/deseaba agarrarlo vivo." (*Heracleo* [sic] *Bernal del estado de Sinaloa*, on a broadside of Antonio Vanegas Arroyo.)³ Díaz the president and statesman could have little interest in meeting a bandit from Durango, but Díaz the intrepid soldier well might be expected to have a great deal in common with another brave man. The *corrido* clearly implies that in the popular mind Don Porfirio had come to be the personification of virile valor, the yardstick by which other courageous men were measured. What greater tribute, then, to Bernal than to note that *even* Porfirio Díaz stood in admiration of his valor?⁴

Díaz the soldier-politician, however, soon became Díaz the statesman and peacemaker in the eyes of many Mexicans and foreigners. Peace came to Mexico for the first time since Independence as the war hero ruthlessly but effectively suppressed *caudillos* and bandits (as is recorded in many ballads about such bad men as Heraclio Bernal, Valentín Mancera, and others). Mexico had never known a period of such rapid material progress. Railroads were built, industry expanded, the capital filled with mansions which copied Parisian elegance, and foreign capitalists rushed to Mexico to seize opportunities for highly profitable investment guaranteed by the dictator's demonstrated ability to maintain political stability. But the Mexican *pueblo* shared little in the economic prosperity. Under the Díaz land policy the tillable areas of the country passed rapidly into the hands of a few *terratenientes*, while the small farmer, stripped of his land, was compelled to become a worker on one of the large *haciendas* at

3. Antonio Vanegas Arroyo was Mexico's most outstanding printer of *corridos* and other popular literature from the 1880's until his death about fifteen years after the turn of the century. After 1901, however, he met strong competition from Eduardo Guerrero who, following Vanegas Arroyo's death, moved into first place among publishers of *corridos*, *romances*, and other popular poetry. Guerrero, now past ninety, still occupies his place of primacy.

4. A somewhat similar association of ideas occurs in a *corrido* on the death of another bad man, Valentín Mancera:

De México lo despedía
 Todo el Ayuntamiento,
 Y el Presidente decía:
 "A Valentín yo lo siento."

(*Versos de Valentín Mancera traídos del estado de Guanajuato*, on a broadside of Vanegas Arroyo.)

very low wages. Industrial workers fared no better as they found themselves obliged to work long hours at low pay and their efforts to organize and to strike were ruthlessly suppressed.⁵ Thus it is not surprising that the material progress of the Díaz period, which so impressed well-to-do Mexicans and foreign observers, seems to have left the *pueblo*, the common people, unmoved. The only *corridos* we have which reflect enthusiasm for this aspect of the dictator's regime are two songs which are obviously from the Capital. One expresses the *pueblo's* ingenuous enthusiasm for some recently inaugurated electric streetcars and ends with "vivas" for both the streetcars and Porfirio Díaz;⁶ the other, a composition which comments upon the training of army reserves in the first years of the present century, reveals that "progress" as a philosophical concept had not been without some influence upon popular urban thinking. In the enthusiastic response of Mexican youths to the call for regular Sunday morning drills, and in the public's large turnout to watch the marching of the reserves, the singer sees impressive evidence of growing patriotism among Mexicans.⁷

But if the masses in general give no evidence of having been impressed by the material "progress" which Díaz had brought Mexico, apparently they had not been long in perceiving that the hero of the war against the French was turning into a tyrant. As early as 1879 opposition to Díaz ap-

5. For an excellent brief exposition of the social and economic policies of the Díaz period, see Ernest Gruening, *Mexico and Its Heritage* (New York, 1928).

6. *Los trenes eléctricos*, in Higinio Vásquez Santa Ana, *Canciones, cantares y corridos mexicanos*, II (México, 1925), 296. The new streetcars were inaugurated on January 15, 1900.

7. Alabar todos debemos

La idea del Reservismo

Que vino á avivar el fuego

Del natural patriotismo,

Demostrando sobre todo

El progreso más eximio.

¡Que viva siempre exclamemos

Nuestro Presidente digno!

Y el Señor General Reyes

Que hoy alienta al Reservismo.

(*Los reservistas de esta capital*, on a broadside of Vanegas Arroyo. The italics are not in the original.)

General Bernardo Reyes was named Minister of War on January 24, 1900, and the reserve program was inaugurated in April, 1901.

peared in Veracruz and was sternly suppressed by the governor, General Luis Terán, who promptly executed all those accused of anti-Porfirist political activities. The heroism of the conspirators against the dictator was duly recorded by an anonymous *trovador* who leaves no doubt as to where popular sympathy lay. Terán, the executioner, is condemned as an "infame gobernador" who for his cruelty "nunca tendrá rival," but Díaz himself comes in for most of the blame when the balladeer, in naming the nine martyrs and explaining the nature of the charges against them, declares :

Su delito fué atacar
a un tirano presidente,
que se mantenía en el puesto
odiado de toda gente.

Most significantly, the President himself is held personally responsible for the outrage. When objection was raised by one Juvencio Robles that the execution was inhuman, that the prisoners were entitled to a fair trial, Terán replied :

Ha ordenado quien lo puede
que se les mate en caliente,
y esta es la consigna real,
de Porfirio el Presidente.

(*Los mártires de Veracruz*, in Vásquez Santa Ana, *Canciones, cantares y corridos mexicanos*, p. 158).

Furthermore, from a time apparently not too long after Díaz became President comes a *corrido* which pointedly asks him why he has not kept the promises he made as a candidate :

—Porfirio,—te dice el pueblo,
—¿Por qué lo has engañado?
Que en el tiempo de Tejeda
Te viste tan agobiado.

Como en sueño lo *dijistes*,
Que si subías a la silla,
Luego al momento quitabas
Esa maldita estampilla.

Todas fueron ilusiones,
Nada de eso se ha cumplido.—

Por eso el pueblo te dice,
—Porfirio, ¿qué ha sucedido?

(*Porfirio Díaz*, in Vicente S. Acosta, "Some Surviving Elements of Spanish Folklore in Arizona," diss. [University of Arizona, 1951], p. 52.)

As the singer brings his *corrido* to a close he impudently suggests a course for Díaz to follow: "Ahora siéntate en el suelo/Para que otro suba a la silla."

As might be expected, further evidence of this kind is scanty, in part because the *pueblo* seem to have been genuinely indifferent to governmental affairs, in part because balladeers and printers were undoubtedly exercising prudent caution in criticizing the dictator. It is perhaps more than mere coincidence that the most violent attacks on Díaz and his government are found, not on printed broadsides, but in two compositions presumably from oral tradition.⁸

The date of the first of these is indefinite, there being no way to be certain whether it appeared early or late in Díaz' extended rule.⁹ But whatever its date, the indictment of the dictator incorporated in it is bitter and unvarnished. After a rambling introduction of two strophes in which the *corridista* expresses his desire to sing of the troubles which oppress Mexico, he declares:

Con que tomando por pincipio
al Ciudadano General Porfirio Díaz,
como la causa principal
de que las Leyes mexicanas se vulneren,
en el concepto de que él es el Presidente,
y nos gobierna hoy en el día
si me otorga la licencia
en alta voz voy explicarles lo siguiente.

The singer recalls to his audience how Díaz, in his *Plan de Tuxtepec*, garnered public support for himself through his

8. These texts come from the Archivo de Bellas Artes, Sección de Música, where they are contained in a large collection of *corridos* and other popular songs gathered by folklorists, teachers, and other investigators. There is a volume for each state and territory of the Mexican Republic.

9. The only clue to the date of the composition lies in a reference to the murder of General Trinidad García de la Cadena, which occurred in 1886. How long after this incident it was written is problematical.

promise of effective suffrage—a promise which the people hopefully expected to be fulfilled as soon as the country was pacified. But the President betrayed his trust in this and in other matters:

Pero el heróico Señor Díaz
sentado ya sobre las riendas del gobierno,
tomó las aguas de Leteo
y hecho en olvido sus promesas mencionadas
al fin que nada, nada nada le importaba
la indigencia de los pueblos,
si él ya estaba colocado
en el lugar que de antemano ambicionaba.

(*Historia Núm. 4*, in the Archivo de Bellas Artes, Sección de Música, in the volume for the state of Puebla.)

Opposition to Díaz has been throttled, declares the *corridista*, because “de una ley fuga este infame se ha valido/para quitarles la vida/a todo aquel que ante las leyes/Mexicanas reclamara su derecho.” In conclusion the poet appeals to the ghost of Benito Juárez again to take up the sword in order to free the nation from “esa opresión tan horrorosa/ en que nos han puesto los recursos de la infamia.”

An equally damning commentary on Porfirian justice, although Díaz is not mentioned personally, appears in the second composition, a *corrido* which relates the death in 1904 of one Juan Rodríguez, a humble man who was murdered when he tried to collect a debt of one hundred pesos from a rich landowner, Aurelio Saldaña. The *corridista's* comments upon the plight of the poor under prevailing conditions leave no doubts as to popular dissatisfaction:

Solo el que tiene dinero
goza de las garantías
el pobre vive sufriendo
una sufeción impía.

En nuestra nación la paz
solo el rico la disfruta
y al pobre la ley de Anás
esa es la que a él le impone.

At one point in his narrative the singer declares:

Esta narración ya no la prosigo
 para que nadie se enfade
 ustedes sabrán que al perro más chico
 siempre lo revuelca el grande.

(*Historia Núm. 6*, in the Archivo de Bellas Artes, Sección de Música, in the volume for the state of Puebla.)

There is evidence, too, that as Díaz' rule came to a close the *pueblo* were acutely aware of the bad economic state of the country. In a very curious song which bears the amusing title, *A echar pulgas a otra parte*, a popular bard notes with alarm that fewer and fewer people have money and that business, foreign enterprises excepted, is in serious straits because of Díaz' policies:

Vemos en las mercerías
 Y en los cajones de ropa,
 No mas abriendo la boca
 A los cajeros de Diaz
 De todas las ferreterias
 y tiendas de abarrotes,
 Los dueños corren al trote,
 Pero el dinero va á escape
 Se va torciendo el bigote
 A echar pulgas á otra parte.

The *corridista* calls the roll of numerous trades and professions by way of noting that all are hard put to earn enough to stay afloat. Foreign enterprises, on the other hand, are prospering:

Las empresas mexicanas
 Están tiradas al suelo,
 Y las del extranjero
 Suenan como las campanas

(*A echar pulgas a otra parte*, on a broadside of Antonio Vanegas Arroyo.)¹⁰

Especially obnoxious is the debt which Mexico owes the United States and which seems to drain off the national resources into foreign hands. The *trovador* even fears that

10. This composition was sufficiently well received to call forth a second part which also appeared on a broadside of Vanegas Arroyo.

North Americans will soon be able to take over control in Mexico and dispossess Mexicans in their own country.¹¹

One other composition skirts economic problems very gingerly through the use of a devious metaphor whereby the economic suffering of the masses early in the century is attributed to the pampered appetite of a rabbit (apparently upper-class dandies) which can no longer live on a rabbit's normal diet but demands instead chocolate! Entitled *Señora, su conejito, ya no le gusta el zacate, sólo quiere chocolate*, this composition, which appeared on a Vanegas Arroyo broadside dated 1903, is in *décimas* and cannot be considered a *corrido* in the usual sense of the term. Its political importance, however, as a satirical expression of popular protest, which perhaps already was building up toward rebellion, is not to be ignored. Although neither Díaz nor the government is mentioned anywhere in the composition (only the upper classes with their elegant European tastes are censured), the implication of popular dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in Mexico is clear.

While the evidence just presented is limited and cries for further confirmation,¹² it suggests strongly that Francisco I. Madero and other politicians who opposed the re-election of Díaz in 1910 probably had a solid foundation of real if somewhat ill-defined public unrest upon which to build their cam-

11. N[o] vale ser misionero,
Ni cura ni sacristan,
Los empleados vienen y van
Y mas se aleja el dinero.
¿Y la deuda americana?
Todo para el extranjero
¡Pobre Patria americana!
Pronto va á sepultarte,
El yanke dirá mañana:
A echar pulgas á otra parte.

12. The only other songs we have found which even hint at tyranny or a reign of terror are *Los desterrados a la Isla de Cavo Hueso* (on a Vanegas Arroyo broadside dated 1910), which merely ponders the fate of some criminals who are committed to prison on the island named, and *El desertor* (in Mendoza, *El romance español*, p. 550, and in many other places), which expresses something of popular dislike for the *leva* (conscription). Concerning economic matters, a few remarks come to mind from several *corridos* written about monetary changes early in the century when the old, familiar media of exchange were replaced by new coins. But these latter compositions are all humorous in tone, and while mild complaints are registered because money no longer buys much in a period of rising prices, it would be hard to read into these songs any indication of active unrest.

paign. Indeed, the famous Creelman interview in which Díaz in 1908 ostensibly granted other candidates permission to enter the political arena may have been prompted by the shrewd dictator's realization that his regime was losing public favor.¹³ Whatever his purpose in giving the interview, the President succeeded in firing the public imagination to such a point that his abrupt about-face in jailing Madero when the latter emerged as a dangerous opponent, and his suppression of *antirreeleccionista* activities, only made his situation less tenable. His reluctance to step down was duly recorded in a *corrido* which appeared shortly after the outbreak of revolution:

El veinticuatro del mes de mayo
en que don Porfirio nos ofreció
que renunciaba a la Presidencia
y no lo cumplió.

(*La campaña antirreeleccionista de 1910*, in Mendoza, *El romance español*, p. 604.)

One of the most damning acts of the dictator in the eyes of the public was his bloody suppression of an *antirreeleccionista* group in Puebla where the leader, one Aquiles Serdán, and several other liberals were besieged in Serdán's house and murdered. The *corrido* which the incident inspired voices the indignation of the *poblanos*:

Hijos de Puebla, de rodillas ofrecedles
un homenaje con el más crecido afán,
a los obreros y estudiantes que como héroes
llenos de gloria sucumbieron con Serdán.

(*Laureles de gloria el mártir de la democracia Aquiles Serdán*, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.)

The President here is openly called a dictator¹⁴ and his re-election in 1910 is represented as a "burlesca reelección."¹⁵

13. The interview was published in the March, 1908, issue of *Pearson's Magazine* and reprinted in Mexico in *El Imparcial* on March 3, 1908. The text of the interview appears in Agustín V. Casasola, *Historia gráfica de la Revolución* (México, D. F., n.d.), I, 90-91.

14. Cuando Madero bajó a hacer su propaganda,
se adhirió en Puebla mucha gente a su favor,
los que sinceros exigían en su demanda
otro gobierno que no fuera el dictador.

15. Mucio Martínez cuando tuvo la noticia
hizo sobre ellos una cruel persecución,

The incident in Puebla occurred on November 18, 1910, just two days before Madero began his revolt on November 20. The *corrido* is the work of the famous Zapatista singer, Marciano Silva, and bears all the marks of being political propaganda written as part of the nation-wide rebellion headed by Madero. It is, so to speak, Silva's contribution toward popularizing grievances against the dictator in order to attract the *pueblo's* support to the groups who had opposed Díaz' re-election unsuccessfully in the political arena and were now carrying their opposition to the point of armed rebellion.

With Díaz' fall pent-up criticism of his government naturally burst forth violently. His tyranny and unwillingness to relinquish his dictatorial hold upon Mexico overshadowed for a time other aspects of the ex-President's personality.

La toma de Ciudad Juárez, which treats Madero's first great victory against the forces of the dictator, begins by condemning Díaz' duplicity in first encouraging political opposition and then jailing Madero:

Tiró la máscara el Señor Porfirio Díaz
y a Madero quizo con sus esbirros aprehender,
más don Francisco supo esta artería
y de San Luis salióse, lográndose esconder.

Madero's eventual triumph offers the balladeer an opportunity to philosophize on the instability of Díaz' power and of political power in general:

Los hombres poderosos no olviden la lección
ni crean que en este mundo nunca acaba el poder,
que recuerden siempre a D. Porfirio Díaz
que un soplo del Eterno lo hizo a tierra caer.

(*La toma de Ciudad Juárez*, on a broadside
of Eduardo Guerrero.)

Compared to other *corridistas*, this composer was mild in his denunciation of Díaz; he even seems to feel a certain pity for the deposed dictator when he relates that "el Presidente Díaz salióse de esta tierra/para en país estraño tener

porque el gobierno clerical y porfirista
había triunfado en su burlesca reelección.
General Mucio Martínez was governor of the state of Puebla.

su triste fin." No such compassion is displayed by another singer who at about the same time berated Díaz for his resistance to Madero and his reluctance to give up the presidency:

Porfirio está retratado
con su águila y su letrero
y en el letrero diciendo:
"No pudiste con Madero,
con otros habrás podido,
porque eres camandulero!"¹⁶

Porfirio es responsable
de todita la Nación,
no quiso doblar las manos
que hubiera revolución,
no quiso entregar la silla
que le dolía el corazón.

(Madero, in Vicente T. Mendoza, *Cincuenta corridos mexicanos* [México, D. F., 1944], p. 30.)

Nor is any pity for the "tyrant" to be found in another ballad of the period as it reports that Madero "Vió a la Patria que estaba subyugada/en la más negra y cruel esclavitud." The revolutionary call to arms, the *corridista* declares, was answered by men from all parts of Mexico, and as the troops of Díaz fell back, the puzzled tyrant¹⁷ realized that he must yield to public opinion:

El tirano en su silla se extremece
una tregua concierta con Madero,

16. A variant of this strophe appears in a *corrido* discovered in New Mexico:

Porfirio está retratado
con su vida y su letrero
en el escrito decía
no pudieron con Madero
con otros habrán podido
porque eras camandulero
que los voltean al revés
todos somos maderistas
humildes como la voz.

(*Las mañanas de Madero*, in a collection of *corridos* in the library of the University of New Mexico.)

17. El tirano Porfirio no se explica
ni sabe que soldados ya oponer,
pues sus tropas regresan muy diezmadas
por el hambre, las balas y la sed.

(*Canto a Madero*, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.)

pues que sabe la lucha es infructuosa
cuando el pueblo se muestra ya altanero[.]

(*Canto a Madero, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.*)

The most bitter indictment of Díaz is to be found, however, in a *corrido* inspired by Emiliano Zapata's capture of Cuautla on May 19, 1911:

Noble Presidente D. Porfirio Diaz
te fuiste para la Europa,
dejaste esta tierra regada, á fé mia,
con sangre de mil patriotas;
por tu cruel gobierno y tu tiranía
el pueblo al fin te despoja
de aquel gran imperio que en él ejer-
cías, contemplándolo un idiota[.]

Fuiste protector sublíme
de los valientes hispanos,
y padrastro el más temible
de los indios mexicanos,
sin embargo, fuiste libre,
siendo responsable á tanto;
mientras más grande es el crimen
más gracia encuentra el culpado.

Sin duda pensabas que era heredita-
ria la silla presidencial,
y que de ella dueño te había hecho
Tejeda cuando venciste á la par;
del Sufragio libre también te burla-
bas y la ley electoral,
frente á las casillas ponías fuerza
armada, para al fin poder triunfar.

(*La toma de Cuautla por Zapata, primera parte, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.*)

The *trovador* proceeds to record Madero's rise, his success in gaining popular support, and the fighting which resulted from the attempt to meet his challenge with armed might. Díaz himself is personally blamed for the suffering and destruction which followed.¹⁸

18. Tú has sido la causa que muchas
familias se encuentren en la miseria;
huérfanos, afligidas viudas,
sin un albergue siquiera!

Nor did the *corridistas* soon forget Porfirio Díaz as a symbol of tyranny and oppression. When in 1914 Victoriano Huerta, one of the most universally hated despots in all Mexican history, fled to exile in Europe as Díaz had done three years earlier, balladeers were quick to note the parallel between the careers of the two exiles, and by way of scourging Huerta they dragged in his predecessor's name for more vilification. One, in relating Huerta's flight, declares :

Llorando su cruel destino,
allá estará ya reunido
con el tirano Porfirio,
triste, triste y afogado.¹⁹

(*El gallo juído y correlón*, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.)

Another treats the same theme humorously, but more effectively, in pitiless satire :

pues dejas la Patria convertida en
ruinas con el furor de la guerra !
mi pluma no alcanza á escribir estas
lineas que requiere la tragedia.

Por tí fueron bombardeadas
muchas ciudades hermosas,
entre ellas la Heroica Cuautla
de Morelos tan preciosa,
tierra bendita inmolada
por la mano caprichosa
de aquellos que ambicionaban
la Reelección afrentosa.

(*La toma de Cuautla por Zapata, primera parte*, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.)

We should note that the tone of this *corrido* is more lofty than most truly popular ballads; it is not a composition likely to be adopted by the *pueblo* and sung or recited around camp fires or in humble huts. There is nothing in it, however, which is incompatible with the style of a popular *trovador* in his more eloquent moments, and it is not difficult to imagine simple people listening with approval and wonderment as the *corridista* excoriates Díaz in a "learned" and pontifical manner.

19. This composition also contains a curious reference to Díaz which is unique in that it is the only comment in all the literature we have examined where the strong man's valor is questioned. In satirizing Huerta's flight to Europe, the *trovador* sets out to enumerate those who, like the latest tyrant, have been "juído y correlón." He declares :

Don Porfirio fué el primero
que se salió á la carrera,
pues vio que el señor Madero
le sonó la calzonera.

The strophe is probably more significant as revealing the *pueblo's* lack of respect for Díaz in 1914 than as a reflection of genuine belief in his cowardice. It is merely an attempt at humor, and no serious portrayal of his character is intended.

Y cuando a Europa llegó
ya lo estaban esperando,
Don Porfirio lo abrazó
y ya estaban platicando
cuando le fué preguntando
¿cómo te fué por allá?
y le respondió llorando
no me acuerdes, por mamá[.]

Asi estaban platicando
cua[n]do comenzó á llorar
y Porfirio, sollozando,
él se puso á lamentar,
se llegaban á acordar
de aquel hueso que perdieron
y Blanquet y los científicos
bramaban como becerros.²⁰

(*Tristes lamentos de Victoriano Huerta al despedirse de la silla, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.*)

Terrorism as a characteristic mark of the Díaz regime is recalled in a *corrido* which concerns the death of Emiliano Zapata. Madero's rebellion, the balladeer recalls, was directed against "Díaz y soldados malditos/que horrorizan a toda la nación." (*La traición de Guajardo, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.*)

Quite aside from the purely political abuses and the tyranny of which the ex-dictator stood accused, the people did not forget the economic abuses of the Porfirist regime: its failure to minister to the needs of the poor, its tendency to favor foreigners to the detriment of Mexicans, and the like. Already in one *corrido* a singer has complained: "Fuiste protector sublime/de los valientes hispanos,/y padrastro el más temible/de los indios mexicanos . . ."; and in other strophes of the same *corrido* equally damning charges appear. In assigning blame for the destruction of Cuautla the *corridista* declares as he addresses the city directly:

Clupa [*sic*] la imprudencia de tus nobles
hijos, que en un lenguaje altanero,
decían con frecuencia que el gran D.

20. General Aureliano Blanquet was one of the conspirators against Madero while occupying the post of commander of the government's forces in the state of Mexico. When Huerta fell, Blanquet went into exile.

Porfirio valía por veinte Maderos
 á esa sentencia se habían adherido
 los más valientes iberos,
 y otros individuos que por conve-
 niencia protegían aquel gobierno.

Creían los privilegiados
 porfiristas de esa tierra
 que el pueblo sería burlado
 otra vez como con Leiva,
 hoy los rifles en la mano
 tenían por votos la guerra
 y por casillas tomaron
 del Gobierno las trincheras.²¹

(*La toma de Cuautla por Zapata, primera parte, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.*)

The same complaints about the same state of Morelos are registered in retrospect some eight or nine years later by a *corridista* who charges that a few *ricachones* were in control of the region prior to Zapata's uprising:

Fueron dueños del E[s]tado
 protegidos por Díaz y Corral;
 ya no daban al proletariado
 la Justicia, todo era impiedad,
 por millares de hectareas contaban
 los bandidos de nuestra entidad;
 fueron tierras y agua que al pueblo robaban
 en esa dictadura fatal.

(*La traición de Guajardo, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.*)

Only a brief stroke, but nevertheless extremely graphic in conveying the swiftness and finality of the *pueblo's* uprising against Díaz (and incidentally an instance of the *corridista* at his literary best in narrating events and portraying personalities concisely and rapidly), are the following lines from a ballad written in 1923:

Cuando el pueblo supo que Madero
 era honrado, legal y valiente,

21. Patricio Leyva had opposed the Díaz candidate for governor of Morelos in the election of 1910. Emiliano Zapata and anti-Díaz groups supported Leyva, but the government's candidate was declared "elected" despite charges that the election was fraudulent.

al instante empuñó el acero
y Porfirio se fué para siempre.

(*La nueva rebelión*, on a broadside of
Eduardo Guerrero.)

With the passing of time, however, the memory of Díaz' stern methods were dimmed in the popular mind by more immediate problems and not infrequently by the abuses of other regimes. So it is that there is apparent in the *corridos* increasing serenity in the public's vision of the period of Díaz, along with a tendency to give the devil his due and concede that his rule was not entirely bad.

Even in the decade or so following his overthrow when, as we have seen, his name was almost universally anathema, an occasional remark by a *corridista* betrays the lasting and not entirely unfavorable impression which the dictator's forceful and colorful personality had made upon the popular mind. One balladeer, in relating the efforts of Porfirio's nephew, Félix Díaz, to become president, refers, albeit only in passing, to the former dictator as "Don Porfirio el prudente." (*La fuga de don Félix Díaz*, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.) The description is a curious one which needs clarification; we do not recall having seen Díaz so described in any other place. Another *trovador* excoriates Victoriano Huerta the more effectively by finding something favorable to say about his two immediate predecessors, Madero and Díaz. As might be expected, most of his praise is for the former, but of Díaz he can report that at least he was an "hombre de opinión." (*Los crímenes del tirano Huerta, primera parte*, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.) Again the characterization is only a passing remark and the singer does not elaborate.²² Further comment appears in an anti-Madero composition which, though mere political doggerel, should not be ignored completely. The strophe which is germane to our discussion reads:

22. Another instance where Díaz benefits from a comparison with the even more despicable Huerta is found in a *corrido* printed in English translation by John Reed, *Insurgent Mexico* (New York, 1914), p. 42:

If to thy window shall come Porfirio Díaz,
Give him for charity some cold tortillas;
If to thy window shall come General Huerta
Spit in his face and slam the door.

¿Y la paz no se perdió,
 Que, con su genio severo,
 Don Porfirio aclimató?
 ¿No fué el pueblo MATANCERO
 por Madero?

(*Todo por Madero*, on a broadside from the
 Imprenta 2a Calle de la Penitenciaría,
 Núm. 29.)

Although this composition is probably mere propaganda and not a reflection of popular attitudes or opinions,²³ it does undoubtedly mirror one widely accepted view of Díaz as a great peacemaker, a characterization which apologists for his regime have long nurtured.

As Mexico moved into the second decade of the Revolution, the attitude toward Díaz mellowed noticeably. Some of the reasons for this—disillusionment with the Revolution, increasing lack of confidence in its leaders, and many other causes of dissatisfaction—come out clearly in many *corridos* which we cannot discuss here. Let it suffice for the present to note that Díaz personally begins to be treated with more respect and deference than he had received at any time previously, even during his lifetime. A *corrido* suggestively entitled *Recuerdos de ayer*, which appeared probably in 1924, reflected the new psychological climate so well that its success justified the appearance of a second part.

The *corridista*, in his initial effort, recalls with nostalgia his first visit to Mexico City in the year 1900 when the Capital was at the height of its glory. He remembers his wide-eyed wonderment at the sight of the many impressive buildings,

23. Fortunately, the broadside is dated April of 1913, only two months after Madero had been assassinated and a time when Huerta was desperately trying by every means possible to consolidate his hold on the presidency. Also significant is the form of the composition, whose use of rhetorical questions for propaganda purposes is not a device of popular singers; at least we cannot recall having seen it elsewhere in ballad literature. For this reason, and also because of the ideas expressed, we believe that this is not the work of an artist of the people, but rather mere propaganda, of what origin we can only speculate, issued in an effort to strengthen Huerta's position. This suspicion is reinforced by the fact that the poem in question occupies only about two-thirds of the right-hand column of a sheet which contains in the left-hand column a *corrido* of markedly different tone on the death of Madero; and, significantly, the bolder of the two headings at the top of the page, *En memoria de Madero y Pino Suárez*, which extends across two full columns of the three which make up the sheet, obviously applies only to the genuine *corrido* wherein a singer discreetly expresses sorrow at Madero's death, albeit without displaying open indignation at his murder.

parks, and plazas of the brilliant metropolis; and he calls to mind the feverish activity which was rapidly providing the city with streetcar lines, drainage canals, paved streets, a new post office building, and a national theater. The brilliant Independence-Day festivities, with their parades attended by the cream of Mexico's aristocracy, are remembered longingly as the balladeer reflects gloomily upon Mexico's present exhaustion and paralysis brought on by fratricidal wars. With a call for the return of peace, the *corridista* ends his song which, without ever mentioning Díaz by name, is essentially an apology for his regime. (*Recuerdos de ayer, primera parte*, on a broadside apparently published by Eduardo Guerrero.)

Encouraged by the success of his *corrido*, and possibly emboldened by official tolerance of his defense of the pre-Revolutionary period, the *trovador* in the very first line of the second part of his composition identifies Díaz personally with the period he is evoking: "Allá in illo tempore de porfirianos díaz . . ." After recalling at some length the low prices which prevailed in those happy days, the singer reminds his listeners that "todo era trabajo, todo era armonía"; that "todo era Progreso, Paz y Bendición, / porque una mano de hierro la [the nation] supo gobernar / y por más de treinta años fue el héroe de la paz." Though the *corridista* is careful to emphasize that he personally never was a *porfirista*, he points with alarm at the distressing economic decline of a nation which, as a consequence of civil strife, has retrogressed until the poor are literally dying of hunger. At this point the name of Don Porfirio comes up again as the balladeer proceeds to list by name all the men who have occupied the presidency during the turbulent Revolutionary period ("en unos catorce años nueve presidentes"). Then he poses a fundamental question:

Y, qué has progresado, ilustre nación?
 pues, lo que el soldado, carne de cañón . . .
 oh! in illo tempore tuviste progreso!
 y por este tiempo cuánto retroceso!

(*Recuerdos de ayer, segunda parte*, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.)

To close his *corrido*, the singer prudently suggests that if Alvaro Obregón, the present chief executive, asserts himself and relieves Mexico's suffering, the nation should bless and acclaim him.

The ideas thus expressed in the two parts of *Recuerdos de ayer* were apparently in the air during the 1920's because other *corridos* echo them. A *Corrido a don Porfirio Díaz*, probably written in the late 1920's or early 1930's, honors the former chief executive by recalling the transformation which converted him from a "soldado rudo" into a brilliant general in the fight against the French and ultimately into a universally respected president and statesman. His ruthless methods of centralizing power in himself, dominating by force those whom he could not win by favors, are not glossed over; but the resulting stability and material progress which the nation enjoyed seem to some extent to justify his means. The balladeer attempts to be honest by admitting some of the dictator's faults, although it is noticeable that he is much less specific in enumerating these than he had been in listing Díaz' triumphs.²⁴ Nevertheless, these defects, the singer asserts, caused the people eventually to become tired of their president and laid the groundwork for the failure of Don Porfirio's efforts to retain power. The *corrido* ends with mild criticism of Díaz for having bequeathed the country ten years of war because of his refusal to step down gracefully.²⁵

Once again praise for Díaz, this time for his brave fight

24. El general Díaz tuvo faltas
que nos hicieron gran daño,
pues que se creyó inmortal
é hizo del Pueblo un rebaño.

La instrucción no prodigó
prolongando aún su poder,
sin ver qué ya estaba viejo
y todo fin ha de tener.

Ya después del Centenario
su gobierno se hizo inepto
y al encontrarse impotente
nombró a Corral que era adepto.

(*Corrido a don Porfirio Díaz*, on a broadside of Eduardo Guerrero.)

25. Diez años de triste guerra
fué la herencia de dejo,
por no entregar el poder
en el destierro murió.

(*Ibid.*)

against the French, turns up in a *corrido* dedicated to Maximilian. The composition is from approximately the same period as the preceding ballad:

El dos de Abril en Puebla
 fué don Porfirio Diaz
 vencedor de traidores
 en la Puebla también.
 Su fama fué muy grande,
 su valor y energía,
 pues que la santa causa
 supo bien defender.²⁶

(*Maximiliano de Austria*, on a broadside of
 Eduardo Guerrero.)

The *pueblo* did not forget, of course, the injustices of the Díaz period. The organized *agraristas*, in particular, kept alive criticism of the ex-President. From the year 1929, more or less contemporary with the two *corridos* which we have just cited, come these lines:

Don Porfirio y su gobierno,
 formado por dictadores,
 nunca oyeron de su pueblo
 las quejas y los clamores.
 Siempre trabaja y trabaja,
 siempre debiendo al tendero,
 y al levantar las cosechas
 salió perdiendo el mediero.
 Nuestras chozas y jacales
 siempre llenos de tristeza,
 viviendo como animales
 en medio de la riqueza.²⁷

(*El agrarista*, in Mendoza, *El romance español*, p. 558.)

26. A variant of these strophes appears in the *Historia Núm. 2* which is to be found in the Archivo de Bellas Artes. The differences, however, are not of significance to our study.

27. This *corrido* smacks of inspired agrarian propaganda, although it is the work of two *corridistas* of the *pueblo*.

Another ballad from the late 1920's recalls the fight for land reform against Díaz and his henchmen:

La agrupación agrarista,
 Con voluntad muy resuelta,
 Se le opuso al dictador
 En valiente acción directa.
 Esta misma agrupación
 Ocasionó gran conquista,

As the Revolution has lost its initial vigor, however, and new generations have appeared on the scene, Díaz has continued to gain in public esteem.²⁸ Quite naturally his popularity has prospered primarily in the cities where conservative influence is strong and where many people still long for the glorious days of Don Porfirio. Partly because conservative groups have made his name a symbol of opposition to the Revolution, the political and intellectual left has been correspondingly vehement in its attacks upon Díaz, some of which have been made through *corridos* written by left-wing propagandists like Concha Michel, a "learned" singer who, in one of her compositions, denounces the ex-President in these terms:

El demócrata Madero
al pueblo favoreció,
tumbando a Porfirio Díaz
que a México envileció.
Poco a poco van cayendo
todos los que son tiranos,
hasta que el mundo se limpie
y quedan puros hermanos.

(*La ley proletaria*, in Mendoza, *El romance español*, p. 480.)

Whether such *corridos* succeeded in influencing popular opinion is problematical. Certain it is that they are mere propaganda, and, unlike the work of balladeers of the *pueblo*, they do not necessarily reflect popular opinion or appeal to patterns of thought already existing among the common people. Their purpose is, indeed, to make palatable to the *pueblo* political ideas which politician-poets not of that social group deem desirable.

Quitándole la careta
Al cacique porfirista.

(*El centro ejidal de Rancho Nuevo, Municipalidad de Ciudad Victoria, Estado de Tamaulipas*, in *Mexican Folkways*, February-March, 1927, p. 35.)

Furthermore, in the 1930's, at the time when Plutarco Elías Calles was exiled by Lázaro Cárdenas, a *corridista* seized the occasion to summarize the history of the Revolution which, according to him, ended "Treinta años de dictadura/del odioso porfirismo . . ." (*Calles-Morones*, on a broadside apparently published by Eduardo Guerrero.)

28. It is significant that Porfirio Díaz as a motion picture character has in recent years demonstrated a box-office appeal surpassed only by a few top stars. Consequently Mexico has witnessed recently a veritable stream of nostalgic movies based upon the glorious period of Don Porfirio.

The most recent *corrido* concerning Díaz which has come to our attention fits into the general contemporary pattern of according the former President more honor than was customary during his first decade or so out of power. We first encountered the song in broadside form in 1945, but in the summer of 1950 it was still being printed and sold by Eduardo Guerrero. While it does not concern itself with Díaz alone, it vouchsafes him considerable attention in a general synthesis of Mexican history:

También otro hombre gobernó a nuestra Patria,
Porfirio Díaz, digno de honra y honor,
Huerta, Madero y el caudillo Zapata,
fueron autores de la nueva revolución.

True to his class, the *corridista* concedes that the poor derived benefits from the Revolution, especially from President Calles' efforts in the 1920's to take from the rich and give to the poor. But he notes that such policies have had serious national repercussions, and, after a moment's reflection, he concludes that Don Porfirio's government, although dictatorial, was better. The proof is to be found in the prestige which Mexico enjoyed among nations down to the end of the Díaz regime:

Todo esto es digno de ser agradecido,
pero ha causado miseria y gran dolor;
aunque de Hidalgo hasta con don Porfirio,
hubo dominio pero creo que era mejor.

En esos tiempos México era glorioso,
entre naciones su nombre resaltó;
nuestra bandera flotaba al cielo airosa,
por un anciano que libertad nos dió.

(*Un recuerdo a mi patria, on a broadside
of Eduardo Guerrero.*)

FRAY MARCOS DE NIZA, CORONADO AND THE YAVAPAI

By ALBERT H. SCHROEDER

(Concluded)

One remaining aspect of the problem needs yet to be considered. DiPeso, in his recent scholarly and detailed report, already referred to, on excavations in certain historic sites along the San Pedro River, has given us considerable additional data to work with, some of which pertains to the problem at hand. I refer particularly to the material from Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea. This is the village to which (Velarde was told in the early 1700's) "Moquinos," separated from the Sobaipuri by three days' travel, came from the north until sometime shortly before 1716 A.D., to hold their "fairs" for trading.¹⁰⁸

These "Moquinos" could not have been the Hopi, to whom this name was generally applied, because the Hopi were considerably more than three days' travel north of the northmost Sobaipuri. Velarde's conception as to the location of Moqui was in error. He was told by the Sobaipuri that the Cruciferos (Yavapai) lived to the north of the Nifora and at a short distance or higher latitude than the province of Moqui.¹⁰⁹ The Cruciferos actually lived south of the Hopi latitude. The Pimas also told him of a small pool of thick water of the color of silver, which moved and was heavy, in the "Moqui" area.¹¹⁰ Quicksilver has been reported in central Arizona but, in spite of early Spanish rumors to the contrary, not in northern Arizona. The above indicate that Velarde placed his Moqui area *too far south*.

In the 1770's, the Gila Pimas told Garces repeatedly that the Apaches of the north came anciently to fight for Casa Grande, and Garces remarked "being sure that the Indians whom we know by the name of Apaches have no house nor any fixed abode, I persuaded myself that they could be the

108. Wyllys, 1931, p. 139.

109. Velarde in Wyllys, 1931, p. 117.

110. Idem., p. 155.

Moquis who came to fight."¹¹¹ Thus, both of these padres were of the opinion that the Hopi country was fairly close to the Sobaipuri or Pima.

DiPeso pointed out that Gaybanipitea and San Pablo de Quiburi were occupied at the same time, but also remarked that there was no similarity between the architecture of these two villages—a compound village with contiguous rectangular dwellings with four roof support posts at Quiburi as opposed to scattered domed jacals with oval floor plans and no roof supports at Gaybanipitea.¹¹² In attempting to reconcile the presence of domed jacals with oval floors (in this region where they had not been recorded before), each jacal being outlined with a single row of stones several inches to a foot or so apart with no evidence of interior roof post supports, he drew on Pfefferkorn's description of the Sonoran type of dwelling.¹¹³ However, DiPeso failed to recognize several things. Pfefferkorn described a circular house for the Sonorans, not oval, though he did state that "some Indians build long huts, one or two ells longer than they are wide." Moreover, Pfefferkorn does not mention the use of stones on the ground around the perimeter of the jacal structures.

DiPeso then refers to Gladwin's and Woodward's description of the Sacaton phase houses (900-1150 A.D.) of the prehistoric Hohokam horizon. Then he states "Thus one can, with justification, connect the native dwellings as exposed at Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea with prehistoric Hohokam prototypes."¹¹⁴ In this case he fails to note that the Sacaton phase is not the latest jacal type dwelling of the Hohokam. Hayden and Jewell both refer to Civano phase jacals (1300-1400 A.D.) similar in plan to that of the Sacaton phase house, but larger and without the Sacaton phase entry passages.¹¹⁵ Moreover, both of these Hohokam structures of different phases had a gabled roof (not domed) supported by two poles near each end of the floor (lacking at Gaybanipitea), were in some cases almost oval in plan but most usually were rec-

111. Garces in Coues, 1900, pp. 386-387.

112. DiPeso, 1953, p. 131.

113. Treutlein, 1949, pp. 192-193.

114. DiPeso, 1953, p. 123.

115. Hayden, 1941, p. 227, and Jewell, 1949, ms.

tangular with rounded corners (not oval), and lacked the stones around the perimeter of the jacal walls such as were found at Gaybanipitea. Moreover, the Sacaton phase dwelling exhibits an entry passageway which was not found at Gaybanipitea.

There are several similarities between the data of Gaybanipitea and the Yavapai, to whom DiPeso did not refer at all for comparative information. The historic Yavapai built a house *exactly* like those of Gaybanipitea,¹¹⁶ and oval houses with an outline of stones have been recorded in the Agua Fria drainage¹¹⁷ and in the Verde Valley¹¹⁸ with associated ceramics dating between 1150 and 1250 A.D. It is possible that this earlier house of 1150 A.D. *may* have developed out of the Sacaton phase Hohokam house, became established in the area north of the Gila, and *later* was brought to Gaybanipitea in historic times by the Yavapai or a related group rather than having been introduced to Gaybanipitea directly from the Hohokam as DiPeso implies.

In addition to the similarity between the architecture of the Yavapai and that of the site of Gaybanipitea there are other similar traits. One mesal pit was found in association with Gaybanipitea, but not with other sites reported on.¹¹⁹ This is a trait of the Yavapai as well. DiPeso describes a new pottery type which he calls Whetstone Plain,¹²⁰ which occurs at San Pablo de Quiburi (1692-1698 A.D.), is most common at Gaybanipitea (pre-1698 A.D.) and found to some extent in later occupation (post-1704 A.D.) at Quiburi.¹²¹ Whetstone Plain is similar to Tonto Red in several respects (the latter representing the plain pottery of the Tonto Basin between 1150-1400 A.D.) and differs only in having thinner walls and smoother finish, traits perhaps improved by association with the superior Sobaipuri potters, if these pottery types are related. All the above Gaybanipitea-Yavapai similarities con-

116. Gifford, 1936, p. 271.

117. *Idem.*, and Schroeder, 1954.

118. Schroeder, 1953b (Verde Valley ms.).

119. DiPeso, 1953, p. 131.

120. *Idem.*, pp. 154-156.

121. *Idem.*, pp. 68, 80-81, 88, 94, 102-103, 116-117, 130, 132, 274.

sidered together, including the paucity of material recovered at Gaybanipitea,¹²² surely is more than mere coincidence. Then when we consider Velarde's remarks of 1716, that some Indians, whom he called Moquinos, came from the north, three days travel separating them from the Sobaipuri, to trade until recently "when the Moquinos arrived in the valley of the Sobaipuris in the land called Taibamipita (Gaybanipitea)," coincidence is no longer acceptable. The three days travel between the Sobaipuri and the "Moquinos" of Velarde,¹²³ herein considered to be the Yavapai, the traits of Gaybanipitea—house type and pottery type, complete lack of decorated ware, use of mescal pit, location of village on mesa top and paucity of material—all indicate a close tie with the Yavapai pattern.

Of pertinent interest to this situation is data Gifford derived from Southeastern Yavapai informants. When queried as to the cause of warfare between them and the Gila Pima he was told¹²⁴ that "*about 200 years ago*" [which would place the time about 1730 A.D.] the Southeastern Yavapai and Pima *were living close together as friends*. (In 1746, Sedelmayr reported that the Cocomaricopa also were having "friendly and affectionate relations with them [Nijores].")¹²⁵ They *exchanged visits*, held dances, and *intermarried*. *Many Southeastern Yavapai lived in Pima communities* where they had married and were cultivating land. At least for a time, some Pima lived in mountains of Southeastern Yavapai territory. After many years of friendly relations, *some Apache visited* the Southeastern Yavapai living in Pima lands. They stayed, feasted on cultivated foods, then went home. Later, in the same year, they came again passing an old Pima who was felling timber. On their way back they killed him. His relatives found him and burned his body. The Pima blamed the Southeastern Yavapai living among them, and killed all but

122. *Idem.*, p. 131.

123. Hackett, 1937, p. 387 contains a statement indicating the Moqui did not border on the province of Sonora. Valverde, in 1732, attested that none of the Cocomaricopa said the Moquis extended to the province of Sonora.

124. Gifford, 1936, p. 340. Italics are mine.

125. Sedelmayr in Ives, 1939, p. 108.

some who escaped. These mixed Yavapai and Pima had lived near the present south entrance of the Fort McDowell Reservation. This area then became a no man's land.

Another version stated these two tribes and the Maricopa used to gather mesquite in the Verde Valley until one day a Tonto Apache killed a Pima woman. The Southeastern Yavapai were blamed. Later in an attempt to make peace with the Pima, a Tonto killed a Pima man, and since then hostilities continued until brought to a halt by the white man.

The Yavapai story of their relations with the Western Pima in the Fort McDowell area around 1730 coincides exceptionally well with the documentary evidence of Sedelmayr, regarding the friendly relations between the Cocomaricopa and the Nijores in 1746, indicating good relations existed prior to 1750. Velarde's report of trade and visits at Gaybanipitea by "Moquinos" of pre-1700 in the eastern Pima area also coincides with the finds of DiPeso at Gaybanipitea which exhibit a pattern similar to that of the Yavapai. The story and documentation of such relations in the east and west, plus the factual evidence in the east, seem to indicate that Pima-Yavapai relations were fairly close just before 1700 in the east and at least up to 1746 in the west. Perhaps, by no coincidence, the Apache inroads on the San Pedro River in 1690's and further north and west in the Southeastern Yavapai area, between 1747 and 1788, coincided with the enmity which came about at the same time between the Yavapai and Pima in each of the above areas.

Involved in and of more than passing interest in respect to this situation are the Jcome and Jano tribes of southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona and northwestern Chihuahua. Bandelier indicated these two groups lived north of a line between Casas Grandes, Chihuahua and Fronteras, Sonora, that they were enemies of the sedentary Opatá people of eastern Sonora before the Spaniards arrived on the scene, and that the Opatá abandoned their villages in the above noted region in the late 1680's as a result of attacks from the east.¹²⁶ Sauer stated that the Jano ranged in southwestern New Mexico while the Jcome were in southwestern

126. Bandelier, 1892, pt. I, pp. 91-92 and pt. II, pp. 501, 529.

Arizona and that both, according to Vetancurt in 1686, spoke the same language, though what language is not stated. At this time they were friendly with the Pima (Sobaipuri), *the latter having given them some land to plant in the Quiburi area.*¹²⁷ Gaybanipitea, three miles from Quiburi, again appears to be involved.

In 1695, Kino reported that Jocomé and Jano were pestering Sonora.¹²⁸ The Jocomé were again mentioned by Kino in 1696 as occupying the area east of the San Pedro River. In 1697, he also mentioned the Jano among them. His first actual observation of possible Apache in this region were those who in 1698 attacked Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea.¹²⁹ Bandelier has pointed out that the Jano (and Suma) apparently were late comers to southeastern Arizona from northwestern Chihuahua, some having begun their spread north after 1684 when they went in league with the Apache in Chihuahua.¹³⁰ Thus, the historic movements and relations of these tribes appear to be closely related with Gaybanipitea.

All of the above points to a chronology of events that have a direct bearing on the problem. As I have previously pointed out, on the basis of documentary evidence and historical studies referred to in the citation below,¹³¹ a group of Apache were in the Gila headwaters of southwestern New Mexico up to about 1680. When the Spanish went south after the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, the Apache followed apparently for purposes of raiding. They evidently displaced some of the Jano of southwestern New Mexico, since the latter, along with the Suma, were in Chihuahua in 1684 forming a league with the Apache. In 1686, the Jocomé, and apparently some refugee Jano from southwestern New Mexico or northern Chihuahua, were given land by the Sobaipuri in the Quiburi area, quite possibly Gaybanipitea. These two groups, the Jano and Jocomé, spoke the same language. In 1691, the Spanish learned that the Apaches of the Sierra de Gila, confederates of the Janos, Jocomés, Pimas, Sobas, and Sumas, had stolen

127. Sauer, 1934, pp. 75, 81.

128. Bolton, 1948, p. 162 (fn).

129. Idem., pp. 165, 169, 172, 180.

130. Bandelier, 1892, pt. I, p. 114.

131. Schroeder, 1952b, pp. 143-145, 151.

considerable livestock. Fernández proposed to crush these Apache in the Sierra de Gila, some 70 leagues from El Paso.¹³² In the late 1600's the Apache and their allies in Chihuahua were forced northward by Spanish arms and by 1698 had raided Gaybanipitea in southeastern Arizona.

As a result of this raid Jorinza sent Escalante to check on the victory the Sobaipuri finally realized over the Apache and their allies at Gaybanipitea, with instructions to enlist the Pimas to pursue the enemy. The Pima made excuses saying they were recent allies.¹³³ The recent allies may have been all the tribes listed above by the Spanish in 1691 as their confederates or could have been the Jano and Jcome alone among the attacking group (of Apache, Suma, Jano and Jcome), who were kin to the people to whom the Sobaipuri had given land near Quiburi in 1686, probably Gaybanipitea. Further indication that the Jano, at least, were allies of the Pima is also mentioned by Jorinza. Two years earlier, in 1696, he called on the chiefs of the Jano and Pima to make a general campaign. They met at the Sierra Florida, near the Gila, and succeeded in killing some of the enemy.¹³⁴ This perhaps represents one of the earliest encounters with the Apache east of the San Pedro. At the end of the period of chronological events being considered, Velarde, in 1716, stated that the "Moquinos" from the north, three days travel separating their villages from the Sobaipuri, came to trade at Gaybanipitea until recently, but connections between these two groups had not been re-established because the Apache had occupied the pass on the Gila River.

Why did these northern neighbors of the Sobaipuri, the Yavapai, travel so far up the San Pedro River to trade? In light of the data presented above, I offer the following tentative suggestion. It appears the Jano and Jcome may have been Yuman or Hokan speaking people situated along the Arizona-New Mexico line in southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona and northwestern Chihuahua. If a site was established near Quiburi in 1686, as Sauer's data indi-

132. Espinosa, 1934, pp. 129-130, drawing from Maas, 1929, pp. 123-133.

133. Bolton, 1948, p. 183 (fn).

134. *Idem.*, p. 162 (fn).

cate,¹³⁵ and Gaybanipitea with its totally different architecture and culture material, which DiPeso dates pre-1698, represents the site established by these two tribes, the culture pattern involved was very similar to that of the Yavapai. It would appear that the Yavapai on the Salt River traveled well into the Sobaipuri region to trade at Gaybanipitea only *because a kindred group* (Jano and Jocomé) had an established village there. Thus Velarde's "Moquinos" and Nifora of the north, neither of which he ever saw, appear to be one and the same (Yavapai).

The statement that the people of Gaybanipitea were called Sobaipuri¹³⁶ is somewhat counter to the above suggestion that Gaybanipitea was occupied by Yuman speakers. If this was the site given to the Jocomé (Yuman speakers) by the Sobaipuri (Piman speakers) in 1686, as herein proposed, then there must have been some length of time represented, before 1686, during which these two groups were on friendly relations and probably learned one another's language to some extent. The Piman language was found to be widely used among Yuman speakers in the west,¹³⁷ and such wide use is just as possible here in the east. Another 12 years of closer association between these two peoples at Gaybanipitea (1686-1698) would allow the Jocomé inhabitants of Gaybanipitea to become even more adept with the Piman language. Inter-marriage also would bring neighboring Piman speaking Sobaipuri (women), who probably were patrilocal in their residence practices as are the Pima of today, into Gaybanipitea as well as produce offspring who may have also spoken Pima.

Actually no one has demonstrated that the natives of Gaybanipitea were Sobaipuri. This was the only village that was not enclosed by protective walls and it was here that the na-

135. Sauer, 1934, suggested that these two groups were Athapascan and Kroeber, 1934, p. 15 tentatively placed them in the Uto-Aztecan language group. I formerly favored Kroeber's identification (Schroeder, 1952b, p. 143). Orozco y Berra, 1864, p. 59 included the Jano and Jocomé among the Apache family. However, he also indicated (page 40) that he considered the Apache and Yavapai languages as one and the same thing. Thus his language classification indicates the Jano or Jocomé *could have been Yuman speakers* instead of Athapascan, since he did not recognize a difference between them.

136. DiPeso, 1953, p. 273.

137. Kino in Bolton, 1948, Vol. I, pp. 128, 246, 480.

tives built a fort on the insistence of the Spanish,¹³⁸ a circumstance suggesting these natives were not Sobaipuri. Kino said, in referring to the raid of 1698 by the Apache and their allies on Gaybanipitea, "*of the Pima natives in the rancheria of Santa Cruz five died, and nine were wounded, but recovered.*"¹³⁹ Why did Kino say "*of the Pima natives in the rancheria*"? Was he implying there were others there, in this village of 100 people,¹⁴⁰ who were not Pima? It would certainly appear to be so as the material culture discussed above would indicate. In fact, it would appear that the Pima in the village were very much in the minority.

SUMMARY

The ethnological traits reported by the early Spanish, who recorded their travels of 1539 and 1540 through Arizona, point to the Yavapai as the people who occupied the area on the north side of the four-day *despoblado*, where Chichilticalli was located. Internal evidence within these early documents also indicates that Fray Marcos and Coronado followed the San Pedro to its mouth, not just to Tres Alamos or Aravaipa on the San Pedro, and that from here they crossed the Gila and went over to the Salt River as Undreiner suggests. I further propose that they went down the Salt almost to the mouth of Tonto Creek, then up Salome Creek and over the north end of the Sierra Anchas and then generally north-east over the Mogollon Rim across to Zuñi. There is little or no evidence to indicate they went east from the San Pedro at Tres Alamos or via Aravaipa Creek and then across the present day San Carlos Apache country to Zuñi. Such a trail would necessitate a route directed to the north or north-north-east, rather than northeast as the documents state.

There is little in the documents to suggest any Apache occupation in the Chichilticalli region prior to 1750. The Apache of southwestern New Mexico apparently absorbed a number of Jano and Jcome between 1680 and 1700 in their swing south into Chihuahua and north into southeastern Ari-

138. *Idem.*, p. 178.

139. *Idem.*, p. 183. *Italics are mine.*

140. *Idem.*, p. 170 (fn).

zona as indicated by the Apache league with the Jocome, Jano and Suma in Chihuahua in 1684, by Kino's observations of 1698 east of the San Pedro River where he noted the Apache, Jano, Jocome and Suma together in raids, and by Velarde in 1716 who mentioned the recent occupation of the pass on the Gila River by the Apache. I previously suggested¹⁴¹ that continued Spanish pressure forced the Apache and their allies north, in the last half of the 1700's, into the general area of the Gila above its junction with the San Pedro River. A part of the end result was the Tonto Apache, a group that was closely associated and intermixed with the Southeastern Yavapai in later years. The name Tonto ("fool" in Spanish) first appeared in 1796 along with "Biniedine," the Chiricahua Apache designation for them (meaning "people without sense").¹⁴²

These data suggest that the Apache reached the area herein identified as Chichilticalli at a rather late date, (post-1750), regardless of the direction they may have approached it. The termination of one period of friendly relations between the Yavapai and the Pima coincides with the appearance of the Apache, a situation which also seems to imply a late entry for the Apache—1690's in the San Pedro area and post-1750 near the Tonto Basin. Thus, the Yavapai remain as the only possible group, separated by four days' travel, that bordered the Sobaipuri on the north in 1539 and 1540.

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141. Schroeder, 1952b, p. 151.

142. Cordero in *Noticias relativas a la Nacion Apache*, 1796, quoted by Orozco y Berra, 1864, Chapter XXV. I had previously erroneously reported 1834 as the earliest date for the use of Biniedine (Schroeder, 1952b, p. 152). Cordero was a Spanish officer who soldiered against the Apache from 1770 to 1795.

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ROCKING HORSE TO COW PONY

By JESSIE DE PRADO FARRINGTON

(Concluded)

"I H'aint Got the Time"

After I had been at Glen-Eben some time, a small sawmill was introduced lower down the creek. The day of the unloading of the machinery was quite an event for all who knew about it and horsemen gathered from far and near, some to offer volunteer help, some to just loaf according to their various makeups. P. J.'s brother happened to be homeward bound from Weed with his wagon that day. He had hay to cut and stack and wanted help; at the sawmill gathering, he saw a "squatter" named Land, who always claimed he was hunting work, as he had no crop or stock, but had one of the usual big "little" families. The brother saw him there and went over to ask him if he'd come on up the creek with him and go to work at once, and Land said, "Well, Mr. Andrews, I'd like to help you the best in the world, but I just h'aint got the time." Land had got hold of a small board from some crate case; he took it and stood it slanting up against a tree to form a back rest and here he sat his long body down, so he could command an A.1. view of the general unloading. Mr. Andrews had to hunt help elsewhere for his haying. We used to wonder how Land did get by, for they seemed to be as poor as church mice, and neighbors used to let Mrs. Land have extra flour sacks they themselves could ill spare, so she could make some underwear for the kiddies. We all bought flour in fifty pound sacks in those parts and these went mostly into underwear save what were used for tea towels. We found out later that hunting was the only thing Land would do, so he shot deer, etc., both in and out of season and sold the venison sub-rosa around the farther off big logging camps; this kept him well supplied with cartridges and tobacco, and if any balance was left, he put it into flour, bacon, coffee, sugar, etc., for the home, such as it was.

I don't know if fried chicken is typically American, but neither Marie nor I had been accustomed to it in the Old

Country, and though I lived nine years on a farm where poultry was plentiful, I never knew of a so-called fryer (i.e., a bird not over 1½ lbs.) being killed for table use; there we used the prime birds as roasters, and their "elders" for boiling or stewing. However, in our beloved mountains, we took to fried chicken as ducks to water *if someone else killed them for us*. I could dress them, but shied at the actual killing, straining at a knat and swallowing a camel, if you like, but so it was. As our poultry flock grew, we were well able to add fried chicken to our menu, if we would first kill our bird, but as it was for a time, we would wait till we saw some likely cowboy riding down the creek and hail him to please kill a chicken for us, so far so good, but presently Marie hatched the idea if I were not willing to kill a bird, I should also refrain from eating him. We mulled this over awhile, and finally I admitted she was right, and that I'd kill my own birds. So one day we caught a young rooster. We tied his legs together and also a cloth around his head so he could not see; I got my hatchet and laid my bird with his head on the chopping block, I guess I must have shut my eyes at the critical moment, but I made my stroke simultaneously letting go of both bird and hand ax. I heard Marie exclaim and opened my eyes to see the ax firmly planted in the clean block and the bird flopping around with his legs and head still tied up, but otherwise safe and sound. We caught him, freed him from his rags and let him go. I felt we'd have to think up another scheme, which we did. I was a fair shot with my 22 Marlin, from target practice, so, I took to shooting the birds under sentence, and as the poor beggars were, of course, quite tame, I could generally hit them in the head, (a bullseye), and somehow it seemed easier to chop off their heads after that. I knew about hanging them up and slitting something in their mouths or throat, said to be the most humane way to kill them, but I never felt I could even try that.

There was a dirt road down the Agua Chiquita on which each settler was supposed to do so much work each year. When my turn came, I borrowed the road scraper, a huge dust-pan or scoop shovel-like affair, with two handles at one end for the operator and double-tree and single-trees at the

other end to hitch a team to. It may not be such awfully hard work once one has learned the knack of handling the contraption, plus the team, but to the novice, it was rather an appalling, not to say a decided rough and tumble operation, and many a header I took when trying to tilt it to deposit dirt just where I wanted it. As most of the roads were more or less on mountain sides, one would plow out a few furrows from the upper side, and then clean that up with the scraper, dumping it on the lower side, and as years went by the narrow roads would gradually widen out a bit and always be adding to the solid base. Fortunately for me, I had a "plumb gentle" team and when I felt myself going over on top of the upturned scraper I'd yell "whoa" and they'd stand stock still while I picked myself up.

Now that my beloved mountains are part of a Forest Reserve, I believe they have honest to goodness engineers to boss trained road gangs, but we homesteaders sure did our bit in the long ago. Even our log bridges over the creeks were not to be sneered at. No Sir!

Next to learning to work the road scraper, I think the most strenuous job I had was trying to acquire the knack of handling a hillside plow. As I have doubtless said, my fields sloped up from the creek to the timber on the mountain sides and the farther from the creek, the steeper the slope. I wanted my furrows to lie all the one way when I got higher up, so after a time, I sent to one of the never failing "catalogue" houses for the one way plow. It was a clumsy and heavy affair; for a time, I thought it was going to have me licked. If I remember right, one had to swing a foot lever just at the psychological moment, as one was swinging the team around, but if one was too busy with the team, one was apt to miss the crucial moment and by the time one got the team straightened around, it was too late to get any help from the swing given by the turn of the horses and one had to turn and twist and heave to adjust the heavy thing, by one's own efforts.

Sometimes at this period of my life, I ate *nine eggs a day*, three for breakfast, three for noon dinner, and three for supper, and I needed them. When I got bilious, I'd lay off for a few days and then go cheerfully on again. Once on my way

home from Weed, I stopped to leave some mail at Buckner's. The son, Will, had just got home from a long trip and was being fed. His mother asked me to stay and "have a bite" with him; she apologized for not having anything but eggs. I told her I liked eggs and had never yet had all I wanted, so she fried me *nine*. Now I could handle nine a day at three sittings, but nine at one meal was beyond even me. I had no egg cups when I first set up housekeeping, so used to use a big match box with a hole cut in it for my boiled eggs. Later, a friend sent me some egg cups from home, for good American as I hope I am, I have never learned to like cornbread, nor my eggs served in a glass.

For a time, I had a gentle little mare called Daisy, and to save Boy, I used her in the team to plow (but not on hillsides, oh, no!). I always had a terrific time with her at the end of each furrow. She could not bear the slap of the trace chains at the turns, and she'd put on a kicking demonstration every time, both hind legs high in the air and sometimes land one leg over the other horse's trace as well as her own and get him all fussed up, too, not to mention me as well.

Although there were lots of so-called "panthers" in the mountains, I never saw one alive, but I heard their weird wailing call now and then, when up side canyons, and then I'd get off Boy and sit quietly on a nearby log or rock till I could tell by the sound which way the beast was traveling; if towards my trail, I'd wait till it had crossed it and was well on its way up the next mountain. Most of the trails as far as possible wound around in the bottom of the canyons and the panthers seemed to keep more to the upper reaches of the mountains. I was told they were more frightened of us (if possible) than we were of them (we "tenderfeet") and were never known to attack one unless cornered, though if a hunter were out and killed and dressed a deer to make it pack lighter, they might trail him on account of the smell of the fresh-killed meat. Their long suites were colts, calves and goats, I think. We had panthers, cinnamon bears, lobo wolves and wild-cats, but I never saw any of such alive, but now and then I bought a hide to send to a friend. I bought a bear skin to send to Eben and Betsy and thought I was making them a royal pres-

ent only to find, much later, that the expense was mostly at their end.

During one of my most severe winters at Glen-Eben (they varied quite a bit), we had such a heavy fall of snow that my barn roof collapsed like a pancake, one side sandwiching in under the other. The combined weight of snow and roof packed my hay so tight that it was next to impossible for me to get feed out for the horses and cattle. I just had to pull and tug by handfulls at the door way; there was no getting it out with a fork, and at that time, I did not have a hay knife even if I could have used it. Mrs. Odom had given me an old pair of overalls of her husband's and garbed in those and my big felt and gum boots, I was tugging away almost in tears with exhaustion, and the apparent hopelessness of my task when a voice behind me said, "Oh, Miss Mac, you go to the house, and I'll tend to that for you," and there was High-Low-Jack. He'd come down the creek to see if we were all right. The poor thing was terribly embarrassed to find me in pants with no camouflaging skirt (as with my regulation riding togs). His apparent embarrassment overwhelmed me, too, as he pointedly turned his back to let me make my get-away to the cabin, bless him. I was glad to go, for I sure enough had over-exerted myself till I had the "weak trembles" as the cowboys say. He managed to rustle out a scant ration for the stock and promised to come back next a. m. with enough help to get the snow off and the roof raised again, so I could get at the feed from the top, and he did.

We had one terribly dry year while I was up there. The creek and springs dried up and the range cattle died like flies around drying up mud-holes; the stench was terrible as one rode up and down the canyon. That year, Mr. John Prather made a trade with me that he would board me and two of my saddle horses and have some of his cow hands come up from the ranch and take my cows and extra horses and throw them in with his stock on some far away range he had; in return, I was to teach his wee boy during the summer, so when everything was fixed up, I took "Chappie" as pack horse and loaded him with suitcase and bed roll and mounted Boy with my camera and rifle and set out for Prather's ranch on the flats. Tom

was an only child, a dear wee outlaw (so far as school regime was concerned) of eight or nine years or maybe less.

After the novelty wore off, I found it hard to keep him on the job, and one day, I guess his mother heard our arguments for she came into the sitting room and told him how naughty he was, and as punishment she required him to stand without support, on one foot, and every time he put the other foot down, she paddled the calf of his leg with a split shingle. His howls of general tribulation got too much for me, so I went to my own room to find out how long I could stand unaided on one foot. I could tell by the sound of the shingle and yells when Tommy put the forbidden foot on the floor, and I found he could outstand me. Maybe he had had more practice than I, for I learned this was his mother's favorite mode of punishment. Finally, I was reduced to tears, if not to yells, and asked his mother to excuse him this time. Tears, my tears at least, vanquished her as they once did Hurricane Joe.

Boy won the hearts of all the ranch hands. In the big horse pasture, he cut himself out a bunch of cronies and when any of his bunch were wanted, he gave the "wanter" a good extra ride for his money, but it all added to Boy's prestige and pleased me. Personally, I had long ago learned how to catch him individually through teaching him to love lump sugar, even though I had to order it specially from El Paso by one of the Weed freighters, every now and then.

Tommy and I joined all the nearby roundups, and I learned to "herd a bronc." On the Flats, there were many awe inspiring openings, not wide, only two or three feet maybe, but said to have no bottom, and of lesser or greater length, so when a bronc was being "busted," a second rider went along to steer the dashing animal away from these treacherous earthcracks if he took to running. I became quite a cowhand as far as roundup, or cutting out cattle went, but I never became a roper or "bronco buster."

*We Get Better Acquainted with Hurricane Joe
and Windy Bill*

In 1904, "My Dear" and the "Pater" (my old friends from the Shropshire farm) came out from England to see us. Marie

and I planned to meet them at El Paso. Being "Scotch," I arranged for Hurricane Joe, one of the regular freighters to take Marie and me down in his empty wagon and bring me back a load of freight at the regular one way rate, and then we four, "My Dear," the "Pater," Marie and I would come to Alamogordo and Cloudcroft by rail, and hire a "rig" there to drive us home on an easy one day trip. Mr. Young was hired to build on a "lean-to," an extra room for "My Dear" and the "Pater." We took our own chuck (food) and bedding, and Joe gave up the wagon to us to sleep in.

At first, we had a fine bed, for Joe had quite a bit of hay in the wagon for his team, four head, but as the hay was fed up, our bed got harder and harder. He'd tie down the canvas wagon cover, fore and aft, and we had quite a comfy, private snuggerly to ourselves every night. The old timers prefer laying on the ground as it is warmer with no underneath cold air.

Joe took a short cut down to the flats, down an awful apology for a road, barely passable for even an empty wagon, into what he called the Scotable Hole, a trail seldom used and dangerous at that time for a wagon; but it was a cut-off that saved about two days on the trip. Joe was driving three horses and a mule, one horse, "H. I.," by name had not been worked for a long time, and Joe said he might "cut up some," so we decided to walk or scramble down the Scotable Hole till H. I. had toned down. All the team was fresh, and what with H. I. cutting up and the others feeling good, and evincing it, we were thankful when Joe arrived at the bottom right side up. After a time, we fell in with a neighbor of Joe's, also bound for El Paso, and known, at least behind his back, as "Windy Bill." This was a good thing for us, as he invited one of us to ride with him; this gave us each a front seat in the wagon for the rest of the trip; otherwise, we had to take turnabout on the "box" seat, the other, meantime, lying down in the wagon, and as it was the old covered wagon style, one had no view of surroundings as we drove along. Under the new arrangement, we took turnabout on each wagon.

Some miles down the Scotable Canyon, we ran into the Sacramento Canyon and traversed that for a while, then crossed where the mountains were low, into another set of

canyon, Grapevine, Arkansas, Beef Camp Canyon, and so on, the scenery altered all the time till at last we had left the last fir and pine far behind and then the juniper and cedar, and finally, we emerged from El Paso canyon, and the bare rocky foothills and were out on the plains or "flats" and among the cacti and mesquite bushes. I forgot to mention that just before we left the last straggling signs of the timberline, the freighter got down and loaded up a supply of dry wood for the camp fires on the rest of the trip, there and back across the flats and desert. Each freighter had his own pet hiding places on the way to El Paso, where he would "cache" some wood for his return trip campfires, though sometimes he'd find it gone, poor duffer.

At the last unlimited supply of water before we struck the Flats, we "unhitched" for "noon," and the freighters watered their teams and filled the water barrels, fastened to the sides of the wagons, for the stock, and wee water kegs and canteens for our use. Joe's wagon led all the trip; soon after we got out on the Flats, Joe sighted a herd of antelope. He pulled up and pointed with his whip and "Windy Bill" got his rifle and had a shot, but missed, the little white spots (their tails) were out of sight in a dip in the plains, like a flash. We went on our way to Prather's, our first camping ground on the Flats.

Marie and I had heard so much, off and on, about this ranch that our imaginations had pictured it as something very different from anything we had yet seen. We knew it was a cattle ranch, and we thought it would be something much more elaborate than anything we had already seen. We knew there was a windmill and we imagined there was lots of water and so on. What we saw fell far short of what we expected. We saw a wee lumber shack and a windmill fenced off from the surrounding prairie by a barbed wire fence. We drew up at the far side of the enclosure from the house. The freighters unhitched and took their tired teams round to the gateway and water-troughs, Marie and I following, even yet anticipating a nice cool drink. When we got well inside, we beheld dry, dry, earth cracked, "mud tanks," a string of wooden troughs with a little muddy water feebly

dripping out of a small pipe into said troughs. For miles around the "Ranch house," the grass was eaten bare, to my uninitiated eyes it seemed eaten out, root and all, and yet, I was told that after the first few weeks of the rainy season, it is up lovely and green and high, and all the great mud tanks are like young lakes and brimming full.

However, when Marie turned to me and said, "Mac, this is Prather's!," it was too much for me, and we laughed like idiots, Joe and Windy wanted to know what at, but we felt we could not explain; we were too tired, anyhow, after the fuss and worry of getting off and our long day over the rough and tumble country, we had so laborously bumped over, for as I said, we had just about come across country, regardless of roads, to accomplish in one day what would take two by the so-called road, for even that was far removed from present ideas of a "road." However, when the campfire was going and we had our supper and coffee, cooked in an old lard bucket, we revived.

As well as bacon, we had some venison in our chuck box and Windy had some wild turkey, and we all pooled our eats, so fared well; of course, we had some spuds, also, we used to slice them thin, parboil them almost dry in a big fry pan, then add some bacon grease and season, speedy and good. After supper was out of the way, the men "yarned" for awhile for our benefit. Joe was an old German with a fertile imagination, I can't recount his tales, but here are some glancing high-lights—he deserted from the German Army (ranks) after fatally wounding an officer in a duel. He rode and won the English Derby, years ago, for the then Prince of Wales. He made a record of killing 500 wolves in one day in northern Russia. He had been pretty well over Europe. He was brought up as a butcher. He was a personal friend of "Unser Fritz"; his mother went to school with the Empress of Germany. He had been a scout for Uncle Sam, and was known as "Buckskin," "Dead Shot," etc. With all his extravaganzas, Marie and I were very fond of him; he was a good friend to us and we called him Uncle Joe. He was a fine old man, some years later a skunk shot him in the back, probably over a water right or land feud, but we never knew for

sure who did it, but the fact that Joe was found lying face down outside his cabin, shot in the back, proved the murderer had been a coward.

Windy Bill's tales were much more interesting to me. They were mostly about his cowboy days. Joe tied his teams to the wire fence that night, against my wish, but he said they would keep us awake if tied to the wagon. Next day, we were about by sun-up with breakfast under way. Presently, Frank, Joes mule, got one foot over a strand of the barbed wire fence. After some scuffling and shouting (one of Joe's weak points—he was well-named "Hurricane Joe"), Joe got him free. I turned from that scene to catch Windy in the act of throwing crockery at his mule Jack. I knew he did not get noisy like Joe when in a temper, but the crockery treatment at first sight appeared appalling, and I wondered what would happen next. I suppose Windy saw my horrified look of amazement, so he hastened to explain. The one piece of crockery that went with him on his trips, and had done so for years, was a shallow basin that he always took to give his dog "Cooney" water in. This morning, it was under his wagon where "Cooney" could go to it, and where it was presumedly out of Jack's reach. Jack was a special pet and very cheeky; Windy was a bit away from the wagon and he saw Jack trying again and again to reach the basin with his muzzle, but Windy decided it was well beyond Jack's reach when suddenly Master Jack contrived to stretch one forefoot under the wagon, pull the dish towards him, and before Windy could reach the rascal stamped on it, and broke it to smitherines. I turned just in time to see Windy throw one of the broken pieces at the backing-away Jack, and when Windy called my attention to it, I recognized it was a flat piece that he threw, flat ways at Jack, and not likely to cut him.

Finally, we started on our way again, across the plains, but not the real plains, either; for about two days we traveled over a sort of vast plateau that appeared to be so far as the eye could see just rolling plains, but on the third day of the trip, we suddenly descended down a steep, narrow rocky canyon or gorge called Sierra Alto, I think. However, "to return to my muttins," as a wee French boy once said to me in his

best English. After we left Prather's (this was "old man" Prather's ranch, he and his wife had a fine home in Alamo-gordo; the other Prather's ranch I mentioned was their son John's; he and his wife had an up-to-date house on it and it was called "Dagger Ranch.") nothing happened for a time, we just crawled on and on through space. We "nooned" and then crawled on again, up and down, up and down, for the land, although it looked flat to the eye in the distance, was really rolling like an ocean-swell.

After a time, I noticed Frank, afore-mentioned mule, give a kick as it were, shake his leg as a cat will when it has inadvertantly put a hind leg in water. I thought no more about it for a little time, and then I noticed that he was going lame. I called Joe's attention to it, and he pulled up, got down and examined the leg, but all he could see was a scratch left from the barbed wire fence episode, though he did conclude that the fetlock might be puffed a little. He got up on the wagon, and we started on again, but Frank got more and more lame, and his leg soon appeared visibly swollen. I told Joe about the kicking episode, but he took no notice, and made Frank limp along till almost the usual camping time, and when at last, I persuaded him to camp, Frank's leg was swollen up to the hip. He unhitched and went to examine the leg, but poor Frank was in such a state of pain and fear, he kept twisting around and then Marie and I really saw how the old man earned his prefix of "Hurricane." Suddenly, he burst into a blazing fury, his eyes became terrible to behold. I do not remember all I heard or saw, but he thrashed Frank ever so, even on the swollen leg, and he put a rope round his foreleg so he could hold him. Marie and I retired, sick with the scene, to Windy's wagon in the hope of getting him to interfere, but he said he knew Joe, and best and quickest way was to ignore the whole affair. Help, however, came from an unexpected quarter. H. I., one of the leaders in Joe's team was taken ill with sudden and violent colic, a not unusual horse complaint around there in those days. The attacks are sudden and violent and the horse is soon well again or soon dead, so Joe had to hurry to H. I., and thus poor Frank escaped further abuse. Joe "bled" H. I., and then I walked him,

H. I. I mean, up and down till the attack wore off and supper was ready. Windy cheered us up with selections on his "mouth organ," a favorite instrument among the cowboys, and it is wonderful what they are capable of in competent hands.

At sunup, we were off again. Joe did not make Frank pull, but he had to help hold up the wagon tongue and hobble along as best he could, almost on three legs, poor beggar. By this time, it had been decided that Frank had been bitten by a rattlesnake. That day, we "nooned" (stopped to feed and rest the teams and ourselves) at Hueco tanks just at the mouth of Sierra Alta canyon on the edge of the real plains, or desert, so far as I know. The Huecos are a "clump" of immense granite rocks on the edge of the plains with many very large natural rock basins, and here and there nature had been helped with cement walls to dam the water in these basins. There was little or no vegetation on the granite upheavals, so during the rainy season practically clear water pours off the "bumps" (as Marie and I called them, though in the middle of the true Prairie States they'd pass for hills, if not for mountains) into the basins and damed up canyons, and form deep, almost lake-like "tanks" of water; reservoirs that carry enough water for the ranch stock the year round; otherwise, there would have been no water, but as it was, it made a wonderful ranch location. We were told that it belonged to a Spaniard, and it was much more the kind of place we had thought of as an honest to goodness ranch, than was "Old Man Prather's." Here, the water barrel and keys were filled up again. There are lots of caves adorned with Indian hieroglyphics; we found some, but had no time for any real exploration on this trip.

That morning, we sighted another bunch of antelopes. I was on Windy's wagon, and he got off and left me to drive on after the other wagon while he cut across some intervening country to try to get a shot, but they spotted him, and before he could get within range, the herd was off and soon lost to our view.

Soon after we left the Hueco tanks, we got into a vast pasture that lasted till we got to the outskirts of El Paso. That

afternoon, I was again riding with Joe. Presently, some fly beast made a persistent attack on "Fritz'" head. Fritz was named after "Unser Fritz." He was a beautiful, though rather small, roan stallion, and Joe's special pet. He was the "off" leader in the team of four. Fritz had the spiciest little pointed thoroughbred like ears, and as he shook his head to get rid of the pesky fly, he shook the bridle off one ear. So Joe got down and put it back, but the fly continued his attack, and the worried Fritz again got the bridle off one ear, and again Joe stopped and fixed it back on, all peaceful and happy-like, but when Fritz shook the bridle off a third time, the Hurricane struck in all its sudden fury, out flew Joe's long whip lash, cracking and cutting all around and over Fritz, and exciting the whole team till finally they were off in a full gallop, and I was "scared a-plenty," as we rocked and swayed and bumped over anything and everything, sometimes on the trail, sometimes away on a detour; all that held Fritz' bridle on at all was the strength of his pull against the bit, as he tried to rush away from the persuing whip, poor duffer. What with my "funk" lest we should upset, which felt highly probable, the way we bumped and lurched, and my sympathy for poor punished Fritz, and Frank with his game leg, I was finally reduced to tears. As I pleaded with the fury-crazed Joe to desist, something in my voice must have got across to him, at last, for he looked down at me, and when he saw my tears, the "hurricane" ceased as suddenly as it arose. He got the team steadied down to a stop, got off, and readjusted the trembling and foaming Fritz' bridle, and to make sure it would stay "put" this time, he cut a piece off his leather boot lace—he wore high boots that laced up to the knee—and tied the bridle to the underneath halter. I decided then, that if Joe ever had the chance to upset me again, I would promptly resort to tears and as promptly, I hoped, reduce him to his sane and orderly self. Marie was thankful to find us right side up and all O. K. when her wagon finally caught up with us.

We reached El Paso without any further adventures; Marie and I were "unloaded" at the Franklin Rooming House and Joe and Bill went to their favorite feed yards. Bill, we

said goodbye to, with thanks for his "wagon ride." Joe, we had to see next day to arrange about the freight he was to haul back for us, after resting his team for a day or two and giving us time to make our many purchases, etc.

El Paso, "My Dear," and the "Pater"

We had a lot to do our first two days in El Paso, getting all the purchases together for Joe to freight back to Glen-Eben. Enough groceries for about six months and some extra household goods. As our cash was limited, we were bargain hunters and that took us twice as long, especially as we did not know the town. But Windy brought his wife to "get acquainted," and she helped us out a lot. To Marie and me, Old Country Greenhorns, to be directed hither and yon by the "block," was quite bewildering until we "caught on" to the Western American wags and jargon. I think we ransacked every second-hand store in El Paso till we were worn out, but as Joe had tied us down to a time to have the load ready, we had to forget it, weary or no, and keep on; then, after all our hurry and scurry, the old villain stayed about a week. He rustled up another mule to take Frank's place and led Frank home behind the wagon; Frank finally got all right.

Our evenings, we spent with my old English friend, Mr. Quincy. We dined with him every evening, and then he would take us here and there over El Paso, or over into Juarez, Old Mexico. Sunday, we spent all day with him over in Old Mexico; he wanted to take us to the bull fight, but neither Marie nor I would agree to that. We went to service in the old Church, but, of course, it was all in Spanish, or maybe some Latin; anyhow, all double-Dutch to us. We enjoyed the curio stores, but Mr. Quincy would insist on buying us so many things, it rather spoilt it. He even bought a colored coffee wood cane and had it packed and sent off to my brother Eben in Scotland.

I had sent a letter to catch Mr. and Mrs. Broughall, "My Dear" and the "Pater," in New York, asking them to wire me c/o Judge Hunter, but they never got the letter and did not know we would be in El Paso to meet them. I had advised them what hotel to go to, so when no wire came, we kept tab

on the hotel register, and at last, we had our reunion, and what a celebration it was! Marie is "My Dear's" god-daughter, so we were all very close to one another. Mr. Quincy insisted on taking us all out to lunch and dinner and began loading us with more and more presents. He gave me a new Kodak and developing machine, saddles and bridles for "My Dear" and the "Pater" and other interesting horse tackle. He tried to get us to stay a week longer, but time and cash dwindling urged us on. The Pater had written me ahead to pick up a second-hand piano for "My Dear." We got a fine grand very cheap and had it shipped ahead to Cloudcroft from where it was freighted with some misadventures, by wagon, over indescribable apologies for roads to Glen-Eben.

On to Glen-Eben Again

From El Paso, we four took the train to Alamogordo, spent the night there, and next a. m. on by train up the wonderful mountain climb of zig-zags, curves and switchbacks that takes one through all kinds of scenery from desert and barren rocky canyons, from cottonwoods, yucca and mesquite, from scraggy cedars and plants of the gradually getting higher and higher country, from orchard land mesas, on up and up to the summit of my beloved Sacramentos, all green and pine clad, to Cloudcroft, 9,000 feet elevation. Alamogordo is about 4,300 feet. The train gains an altitude of about one mile in the twenty-five miles it travels to get from Alamogordo to Cloudcroft. We stayed at Cloudcroft that night. We spent the afternoon showing the Pater and My Dear around. Apart from its beauty and climate and panoramic views, Cloudcroft was of great interest to my Old Country people with its conglomeration of all sorts and conditions of tourist accomodations from tumble-down board shacks and flimsy apologies for tents, on up to smart bungalows and intriguing substantial log cabins.

We left there early the next morning in a hired "rig," a four-wheeled arrangement drawn by two useful looking horses, with two seats both facing towards the horses. They were a good team, and we got home in record time. The piano and heavy baggage came on later in a hired wagon.



INTERIOR OF MAIN ROOM, GLEN-EBEN



OTHER END OF MAIN ROOM, GLEN-EBEN

One of our first jobs was to teach My Dear to ride, she had insisted on a side-saddle, and we were lucky to get a very gentle wee pacer for her, named Daisy. I'd got a good-looking weight carrier for the Pater (he was over six feet), a brown horse we named Chappie. I gave forty dollars for him, a good price in that country in those days, but I bought him from a stranger from down the Pecos Valley way, and though we liked Chappie, and he was quite useful most of the time, I guess my Pecos man stung me. The first long ride the four of us took was to see Hurricane Joe, up near the summit of the Agua Chiquita. On the way up, we noticed Chappie began to puff and blow rather, and while at Joe's, he got worse, and refused to eat. On long rides, each horse used to have a "moral" (nose bag) with his ration of oats tied to his saddle and to refuse one's oats meant something serious, indeed. There were quite a bunch of men around, and a good deal of criticism was passed on Chappie, and some said he had the "heaves" and others that he had lung fever. He came near to dying, but we did pull him through; sometime later he became very lame, something went wrong in a stifle joint, and he was laid by for months, but again got O. K., but one thing he never got over. Once in awhile, when being ridden, he'd take a spell of turning round and round, as in a waltz, whoever was on him would get off, and in a wee while, he'd be all right again. One wiseacre told us he had been "locoed," and he surely seemed so, but we all loved him, and when I left the mountains, I gave him to Mr. White, for I knew he would be good to him.

Guests at a Round-up and a Dance

Marie and I got an invitation to have dinner with a round-up outfit, and were we "tickled"! The camp was ten or eleven miles away in an uninhabited, and to us, an unknown part of the mountains, but Mr. Stevens, the boss, told us where they expected to be on a certain day and gave us directions how to get there, so off we went. So long as we kept to traveled canyons, things went fine, but when we had to leave all trails and tracks that was another matter; however, we did not do so badly, for when we had really arrived at our

wit's end, fate kindly came to the rescue and over the brow of a nearby rise appeared Lee Green, a cowboy we knew. He was looking for another outfit, but did not know just where their camp was. From what we were able to tell him, he knew where we wanted to go, and took us there. He was driving two pack mules, carrying his bedding and chuck. We were late in making Stevens' outfit, but as we knew we might not be able to find them, we had brought a lunch along, and glad we were! It was long after noon ere we found our friend and his boys, as we emerged from one canyon, they came down another and we met the crowd face to face. They had given us up and were setting out on an afternoon round-up of surrounding mountains and canyons; if we had been five minutes later, they would have been scattered. I had my camera; Marie and I had expected the outfit would go on with its regular work and that I might get a few chance snapshots as one or another happened to run a bunch into camp; instead of that, they all turned back and gave up the afternoon to our entertainment. There was a bunch of cattle near camp, and they flew like the wind and rounded them up, roping some; then they branded calves. Some of the boys rushed their horses up the mountain-side, tied their ropes to logs, twisted other end around their saddlehorns and tore back, with wood jumping and bumping behind. The wood was for fires to heat the branding irons. Every outfit brands all they find, every calf to his mother's brand. All the Bosses kept books, and when the round-ups are over for a season, they meet and report how many calves they have branded and in what brand, and if bull calf or heifer, so each owner gets an idea of how many calves he has on the range. In my day, it was all free range in those parts. Those "Boys" "made" so many pictures for me, that my stock of films was soon exhausted. If I'd had any idea that they meant to play around for our special benefit, I would have taken more films. They ended up by giving us a broncho busting exhibition, but, alas! by that time, I had no more films left, but I got some good pictures of the "remuda." Every cowboy has his own string of horses and a "horse wrangler" is told off to take care of the bunch, herd them along, and keep them rounded up—and that is

what is called the "Remuda." It was almost too late for us to make it home that night, so in a weak moment, Marie and I let Mrs. Schreffler (Windy Bill's wife) persuade us to spend the night at their cabin, even though we knew it meant letting ourselves in for another all night dance. As I said before, these dances were from "sunset to sunup."

Late though it was, we ought to have known better, but our wish to please the Schrefflers had a lot to do with it. They were expecting a big crowd of "boys" on account of the several round-up outfits working through the mountains. After caring for our horses and having supper, the crowd soon began to gather. The one big room was cleared for the dance, and sat around on benches. The fiddler fiddled, and the caller called, starting with, "Now gents, get your pardners." When the floor is full, the music begins and he calls the figures in his own language, and much of the gusto of the dance depends on the "calling"—an art of its own. I only wish I could remember the many doggerals we heard, such as:

"Across the plains and the rattlesnake range,
Two in a sack and come wracking back."

The above and much more like it is, of course, full of meaning to the initiated, though to Marie and me, it was more or less as Double Dutch. After a time, Marie and I slipped off to go to bed, for we had had a very long day in the saddle and were quite tired, and Mrs. Schreffler had promised to fix a place for us. This was in a tent, close by; there was a real bed in it, and on this, arranged like the spokes of a wagon wheel, feet toward the center or hub, were five or six kiddies, ranging in age from a few months to a few years. On the ground nearby was a roll of bedding for Marie and me. As to the children, one or another was always uncovered (believe me, nights are cold at 8000 feet)! And others were always coughing or crying, so there was no rest for us two. I went at various times to the cabin and fetched different mothers, but they were among the keenest of the dancers and never stayed long, and history rapidly repeated itself, what with colds and coughs, and colic, etc. We could not do much except keep the mites covered, and pray for sun-up. It was quite usual to see a woman riding

sideways on a man's saddle with a baby in her arms, and two other children astride behind, one holding to the mother's waist and the next, to the kiddie's. No wonder they all became good riders! We had breakfast with the Schrefflers and then "moosied" down the creek home.

As a return to the outfit that "made" all the pictures for us, we gave a dance when all the round-ups were over. The "boys" set the date and did the inviting, or broadcasting. I had a board floor in the new barn, an unheard of luxury for those days, and Marie and I fixed up that. We provided a good supper and running refreshments; also, two unusual things, but we stipulated there was to be no whisky (in those days, some of the boys were great on hip "bottles," if not flasks), and greatest surprise of all, no babies in arms. Marie and I thought it dreadful how the babies were left to take pot-luck all night. We never knew if the mothers understood why we ruled them out. Our dance was a huge success! We had a big fire going all night in the cabin, and hot coffee on tap, and buckets of fresh water with the accompanying "dipper" in it. Shortly after the Pater and My Dear came to visit me at Glen-Eben, Marie's Grandmother insisted on her return to England, and I was sure sorry to see her go, for though I was still to have the Pater and My Dear for sometime, they did not indulge in the wild gallops that Marie, Cherry, Boy and I had loved.

My Dear only rode to be a good sport. I don't think she had ever tried to ride in the Old Country, and though I think the time in the mountains did her good, I imagine she missed her little Doctor Gray and the good roads and rubber-tired dogcart. The only alternatives at Glen-Eben were a ride in the light wagon, or on Daisy, the wee pacing mare. She enjoyed helping with the poultry. I had hens, guinea fowls, turkeys, and rabbits in the small stock line.

One of her greatest trials was when she realized there was no barber around the corner to take care of the Pater. It worried her more than it did him, and when I explained it was usual for the women folk to barber their husbands and boys, she started in on the Pater's growing locks, and soon learned to do quite a passable job. She was always kept busy at the

piano in the evenings, and when riders dropped in, she was especially in demand, as also were the Pater's rollicking hunting songs.

My Dear was very fond of flowers, so we rigged up long flower boxes made of slabs—the outside cutoff logs, with the bark left on. We had them around the front porch and under the windows; they were supported by lengths of complete round logs, bark and all. We soon had a good showing of bright flowers and vines trained up the porch front.

The Pater and I worked together in the fields. In harvest time, I on the wagon, and he pitching, then when it came to stacking, I would get on the rick and he would pitch the load off. He bossed me to a fare-you-well. What I had failed to pick up in the Old Country along this line, he instilled into me as far as he could while their visit lasted—six or eight months. We learned to use a crosscut saw between us. We never felled a tree, that was an art beyond us. To saw and hew a standing tree so that it will fall just where and when you want it takes training, and there was always plenty of fallen timber around which we sawed and cutup for the fireplace and stove wood. We managed to rig up an apology for a sledge, and when the snow came, we hitched a team to it, and hauled in our wood to stack in the wood shed. In the summer, we would lay in a supply of rich pine knots—bits of old tree limbs full of resin that would make a quick hot fire, and start the big logs going merrily. We usually used Dan, a useful, all-purpose bay for the hauling; and Chappie, Boy, Cherry, Rancher, and Daisy, though all workable, were more used under saddle.

Another member of our family was Molly Beck, a sturdy almost black burro with a fawn-colored nose. I was approached every now and then by drifters, with the prospector's bee in their bonnets, to "grub stake" them. This I would never do as I never had enough of the "needful" for my own needs. However, one old man kept at me until he finally talked me into at least buying one of his burros. I never used her much, though she was a good pack animal, if one was content to travel at the slowest gait possible, but I liked to have her around. After I got hurt and had a family

come to take care of the place and myself, Mollie Beck came into her own.

There were two nice children, Ross, about ten, and Nana, eight, and I turned Mollie Beck over to them. They rode her to school and even kept her groomed and shining, an unusual thing for donkeys up there. Her greatest drawback was her adamant refusal to cross a bridge—no sir! not at any price! Ross never gave up trying, but he never managed to persuade her. The kiddies were very much impressed when I called their attention to the mark of the Cross that all donkeys carry and told them the legend thereof.

Farewells

It had been hard enough to say goodbye to Marie when she had to go, but when My Dear and Pater concluded their visit, it just about knocked the props out from under me, but barring my love for them, I loved my mountains and had no yearnings for the more so-called ladylike life of the past. I had made my bed and was glad to lie on it, regardless of the price I had to pay.

I made occasional trips, one to Oklahoma and another to Missouri, and I was always glad to get back to Glen-Eben.

There was a man at one of the logging camps who lost his wife, and he was left with eleven children. To ease him up for a time, some of the kiddies went to stay with friends. I was asked to take Euel, a boy of eleven, and I was glad to, for he was fine company. He had not had any schooling, so I set out to teach him the three "Rs." It was an uphill grind, and the only way I could get him was by bribery. Like all my neighbors, I had copies of the Montgomery Ward and Sears Roebuck catalogues, and at night, Euel and I used to pore over them. The poor kid had never had much, and from my point of view, needed a great deal, so, by getting by degrees things I counted bare necessities, such as gum shoes, felt boots, heavy underwear and stockings for winter, in fact, all kinds of essential clothes, I got him to give his mind to our lessons for an hour every evening.

Early in the winter, I was bemoaning not having a decent backlog, and we were having quite a snow. Next day, he dis-

appeared, and for ever so long, I was in quite a stew, and at my wits end to know what to do. But before I arrived at any drastic measure, such as riding out in search of help to hunt for him, he turned up hauling a green backlog down the mountain. A backlog is as big as one's fireplace will accommodate, and cut from a growing tree, so it is green and will last maybe for a week or more, with the dry split log fire built in front of it. Euel had given me such a fright by his prolonged absence that I told him he must never go off alone without telling me, especially to cut down trees. My first reaction was how easily he might have been killed by the tree falling on him; I did not stop to realize that he had been raised in a logging camp, and knew just how and where to saw and chop to make the tree fall in whatever direction he wanted it. That was the only time I ever lectured him. I soon became quite fond of him and enjoyed tucking him into bed every night, a most unheard of proceeding in his life heretofore. He would call when he was in bed, and I'd go in for the lamp, and maybe tell him a tale.

He could do as much as I could around the place, many things better, and of course he could ride, all mountain boys could. Everyone was poor, but all had, or could get the loan of, a horse in those days. We had a grand time together, and he seemed so super-happy that it never entered my head he could be homesick. One day maybe I sensed there was something not quite right. We were in the midst of a big snow and I was hard put to find entertainment or occupation. So, I decided we'd kill a guinea fowl and dress it for the next day's dinner, so he went out to the barn to pluck it. He stayed out so long, I finally went to hunt him up, and he was nowhere to be found. The bird was there untouched.

This time, I struck out for High-Low-Jack up the creek. It was snowing all the time. All I could think of was another backlog episode, and it was getting near nightfall. We had little or no twilight there. Jack came home with me and still no boy or tracks, so he went on down the creek to get more men to search. They lit fires on different hilltops and benches so that Euel might spot them if lost. They were out all night, and the next day, one of them set out for the logging camp

to tell Euel's father. I was just distraught till word came back that he was there. He'd got homesick for his brothers and sisters and started off down the creek and some stranger wagon on the way to Cloudercroft gave him a lift as far as the camp, not knowing he had set out without leaving any word.

In a few days, he was "homesick" to come back to Glen-Eben and his father came to ask me if I would have him back, but I had been under such a strain when I believed him lost and maybe dead, I did not feel equal to taking on such a responsibility again, so I said, "No." I had been thinking of offering to adopt him, but I never told him or his father. If I had adopted him, I would not have been able to keep my promise to Eben to go home within seven years.

Friends in Need

As time moved on, I had to plan for my "proving up" on the claim, and as I had promised Eb to go home and say "Hello" when I got my "patent," Uncle Sam's title deed to the homestead, I began to look around for some one to live at Glen-Eben while I was gone; and, in the nick of time, Mr. and Mrs. White turned up from Texas—he was the squatter I had bought out some years before. Well, I guess the lure of the mountains was too strong for them, so they came trekking back in their covered wagon, and were glad to come and take care of the place on shares. For, though I say it myself, at this time, it was the most flourishing homestead around. So, shortly after they were settled in, it was time for me to go to Alamogordo while court was convened there.

Bright and early on a fine May morn in 1907, Boy and I set out for Alamogordo over the elusive trail. I had considered going round by the safer road, but as that entailed a two-days ride and an overnight hotel and feed yard bill, I decided on the trail. I was saving up to keep my promise to Eb, that I would go home. I remember writing to Eben a few days before I set out, saying I'd give sixpence not to have to make the trip. For the first time, I experienced an inexplicable reluctance to make a long ride solo. We got on fine (Boy and I) till we crossed the divide, and were on our way down the barren and rocky slopes on the desert side of the mountains.

I had gone over the trail before on my own and made it without a miss, but this time, maybe I felt too confident, and was presently brought up short in a so-called box canyon or a "culle de sac." At this time, I was leading Boy, as I always did up or down extra steep and rocky places, for he was only a wee Mexican pony and I a fairly solid heavyweight of 140 or thereabouts, and besides, I loved him. Well, I made my way up again, out of my box canyon and circled around to try and pick up the trail among the wilderness of loose rocks, and eventually I did so, but at that moment, I guess I caught my foot under the edge of a firmly embedded stone and fell, swinging round somehow in the fall. I must have passed out for a time, long or short I don't know, but when I came to myself, Boy, though free, was standing with his head down by me, as though he had been nosing me, and the point to this is: that his long suite, and his only failing was, that when loose, he'd keep drifting off, just out of reach everytime I'd go to catch the lines, till he'd think he'd teased me enough, for he'd always let me get him in the end, sugar or no sugar, bless him. Well, I'd no idea I was hurt, so I got up, but as I put my left leg to the ground, I thought it fell off at the knee, so down I flopped and turned aside the flap of my skirt to look; but no, there was my leg as usual in its nice riding breech and boot, so up I got again, but this time when I essayed to stand on it, the pain was extreme, so at last I realized I was in the midst of the wildest and least traveled parts of my mountains and seriously hurt. I knew someone might come along the trail in 24 hours or not in 24 days, and I could see circling overhead the ever occasional buzzards that are always on the outlook for dead goats, etc. No cattle or horses ranged that side of the divide, so for a moment, my thoughts took the starch out of me, but I'd not come so far to give up without an effort, so I got up on my well leg, and hung on to the horn of the saddle, and hopped along for a bit, and then a really big rock partly embedded in the mountainside gave me a brain wave. I got on it from the embedded side, and wangled Boy round to the exposed side, which put him on lower ground, and somehow enabled me to throw myself across the saddle and get my well leg in the off stirrup; then

I began to feel myself again, but I realized it was now up to Boy to pack me into Alamogordo without any relief from my weight, regardless of the going. When we came to the one narrow draw that leads down through a bluff and is a bed of loose rolling stones in dry weather, and a raging torrent in the rainy seasons, poor wee Boy every now and then almost squatted down behind, as the stones rolled from under his feet, and he would slither down, forefeet stretched in front till something solid would hold him up, and then he'd turn his dear wee head around and look at me as though to say, "Well, Mackie, aren't you going to get off and walk awhile?" Then I'd say, "No, Son, you've got to pack me in this time," and we'd go on again, a few steps at a time, and then another slither with rolling stones, and so on. Well, of course, our going was of the slowest now, so again, we did not get into Alamogordo till after dark, but we made it. I went to the feed yard where we were now well-known, for Boy, too, had made a name for himself. I told the yard man (sorry, but his name, with that of many other kindly, friendly folk of those days, has gone from me) that I was badly hurt and would he get someone to come with him to the rooming house, and help me off the horse into a room and then take care of Boy for me, good, tired, tough, plucky wee Boy. Well, after that, new friends sprang up like mushrooms. Again I'd hit Alamogordo when it was full to overflowing, this time for the circuit court or whatever they called it, I've forgotten. Although women were much in the minority, some appeared like "Johnnies on the spot," and helped the landlady get me to bed, and a doctor was soon there. I forget who this man was, but as a rule, any professional men out there were mostly like many others, either there on account of their health or their reputation (or lack of it), and maybe drunk most of the time (though not as a rule in evidence in that condition) or just naturally not much account. Anyhow, I guess this man helped me to the best of his ability, it is what he told me that jarred me most. He did my knee and badly sprained ankle in "Denver mud" (anti-phlogistine, I believe), and when I left there sometime later, he told me I'd never walk again. Oh Boy!!

Next day, a deputation came to me to ask if I needed any

money, then someone came and took my underwear away to launder it, and others offered to lend me anything I might need, and of many I never even heard their names, let alone forget them. They engineered things for me, so that I could sit in the office (a long room the width of the building and from it, a narrow hall ran back the length of the building, with bedrooms opening off on each side) with my lame leg propped up on a pillow on an empty orange case. All day long, people were coming or going or lounging around, almost entirely men from far and near, and all with kindly interest in the maimed homesteader from over the divide. There was one really fine old Southerner, Judge S., a great drinker, but even in his cups, a gentleman, and the more he carried, the straighter he stood, *but* when he stood, he swayed. Well, he came and stood by me chatting away, but as he swayed, I was terrified lest he should sway too far and fall over on my injured leg, laid up on its pillow on the orange box. My leg hurt so, I seemed to suffer extra if anyone even looked in its direction, so in the midst of something he was saying, he happened to notice my face, and he suddenly said, "Madam, how sour you look," and I answered, "I feel sour," and just then, a man who was watching us came up and said, "Oh, Judge, you're wanted outside," and took his arm and walked him off to my huge relief. This friend in need was from Kansas City, out to buy mohair clips, his business took him through the mountains, and, as he was hiring a two-horse rig for the trip, he offered to drive me home, but I was in too much pain to go then. Another man, though I did not know him, and never even saw him again, after his court business was over, went a days ride out of his way to take Boy home, and arrange for Mr. White to come down with his wagon and haul me home. Can anyone wonder that I learned to love my adopted fellow countrymen!

For a time, I was so swamped in pain and misery and the idea of never walking again, that I guess my memory is not clear as to just how I did my "proving up," but I think the "court" came to me; anyhow, I was fixed up, and in due time, Mr. White arrived with his wagon and mule team, Kate and Jack, and to crown it all, Mrs. Tod came with him. They

had fixed up the wagon as comfortably as possible with bed-springs, and I was carried out and hoisted up through the back end, I say "through" as it had the regulation bows and cover. We made Cloudcroft the first night, here I was unloaded and helped into the hotel for the night. There was a new man running the hotel and next morning, when I asked for my bill for the outfit, Mrs. Tod, myself, White and team, he came to my room and was ever so nice; it appeared he was an old cowman, so he jollied me along and said old cattlemen did not charge brother punchers down on their luck, and refused to take any pay for the night's lodging and food. True to the creed of the Cow Country, if not to that of the hotel business.

After this, came a long, dreary time of many months on my back mostly, then crutches. One day I thought if I could only get on Boy, it would ease things up, so I asked Mr. White to get the horses up from the pasture, saddle Boy and Chappie, thinking maybe I could get on Boy off the raised porch, and with Mr. White on Chappie, I'd find out how I could handle myself in the saddle again. Mr. White came up to the house to say he had the horses saddled, but that Boy did not seem at all well. When I looked at him, I asked White to unsaddle him and put him in the corral while Mrs. White and I looked on. Boy didn't act just like colic, more I thought, like "Blind Staggers" which I had often heard of at home, but never seen. After a time, I sent up the creek for Mr. Smith, who came, Boy just getting worse and worse. The men tried everything they knew of from drenching and bleeding. As night came on, they built a huge bonfire (nights are cold up there) and kept putting hot fomentations and blankets on my dear wee Boy, but to no avail. Every now and then one of them would come for me with a lantern and help me out to the corral. About 2 a. m., we gave up; Honey Boy, dear wee warrior, seemed to be in such agony that we decided the kindly thing was to let him go, so I gave the word for High-Low-Jack to shoot him.

At last, I got so I could limp around with only one stick and just the toes of my left foot on the ground, and still much pain.

At this stage, I struck out for the Old Country, where Sir Robert Jones of Liverpool put some misplaced knee cartilages or ligaments back in place, cut the heel tendon and stretched my leg, so that the tendon had to grow two inches to join again, and then, within a year, I was back in the U. S. A., though with a stiff steel-braced knee, but on my way to complete recovery.

P. S. I forgot to say that Smith thought Boy had eaten wild parsnip, which he claimed was deadly poison.

Postscript

“There is a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them as we may.”

In my memoirs, I mentioned at times an old school friend, Daisy Close, whose father was a Vicar in a quiet Derbyshire village in the old days when the sick, the maimed and the hurt were all succored in time of need “from the Vicarage,” but Daisy never appreciated having to trot around the village delivering soups and jellies, concocted by her mother for the sick parishioners, so she was forever vowing that *she* would never marry a clergyman, but, needless to say, she eventually did, though she managed to ease matters off by persuading him to start a school for small boys at Caterham, a beautiful spot in Surry. Being an old Winchester boy himself, he specialized in preparatory for Winchester, and, also, in lines leading to the Navy.

Many of Daisy’s friends lived up London-way, so she decided on a London wedding, and I was, much against my own inclinations, (but as per usual, she had her own way) and roped me into being one of her six bridesmaids.

For some weeks before the wedding, Daisy, Madge Andrews, an old chum of hers, also a friend of Philip, the groom (who had been one of Cannon Andrews’ curates), and I were domiciled up in London. We had a hectic time, not at all along my lines, badgered with dressmakers and caterers, and wedding arrangements, in general.

Never happy except in plain-tailored togs, I can’t explain how unhappy I was in my bridesmaid’s creation (golden yellow silk under lace), and all the accessories from high-heeled

shoes to a huge brown picture hat, long gloves, flowers, etc. As a whole, I expect we did do credit to the efforts of Daisy and Madge. Daisy's parents did not join us until within a few days of the wedding, which took place sometime during my stay at "Oldington," the farm in England. The groom gave each bridesmaid a gold heart, I wear mine daily still; though the original chain wore out, the heart is as good as ever.

The point of the story is that many years later, when I was homesteading in New Mexico, I went to visit Mrs. Dyer (the lady I met on my voyage out to the States) in Kansas. Long before I met her, she had married a Devonshire man who was farming in Kansas. He went home for the wedding, and, as they belonged to a parish adjoining the one where my future husband's father was the Rector, the latter arranged for Loftus, then a boy of eighteen, to travel with them as he was going out to Kansas to another clerical friend's son, to learn farming. This man's land was near the Dyer home, and from this time, Mrs. Dyer "mothered" Loftus for many years. When I met her, she, with her own son, a lad of fourteen, had been home on a visit.

By this time, her protegee, Loftus, was considered a confirmed old bachelor, but she decided she had found the right wife for him in me. Not telling me her idea, she kept urging me to visit her, and events proved that she was right, for Loftus and I became friends at once. Never having been keen on matrimony, my decision hung fire a long time, but finally I felt it was not fair, and I must either say yes, or break the friendship off altogether. Feeling that Daisy knew me better than even I did myself, I wrote her my problem, saying that half of me was as keen as ever on my out-of-door life and work and that settling down into a haus-frau still had no appeal for me, but, on the other hand, I could not bear the thought of breaking off the now valued friendship and never seeing Loftus anymore. Daisy was the only one I unburdened myself to, and I believed the confidence would be perfectly safe with her. Imagine my surprise when her reply came—no judicial weighing of the two sides of my momentous problem. Her reply began like this: "Dear Mac—I know you will die with laughter when I tell you how glad we are to welcome

you as a member of the family!" It turned out that Loftus and Philip, although they had never met, were cousins. Loftus had told me of his two maiden sisters in Devon, and also of a favorite cousin, "Margie," who was also a favorite cousin of Philip's, and they often visited other cousins who lived at Ottery St. Mary, also in Devon. Daisy wrote that she and Phil were going to Ottery shortly, and would spread the good news!

This knocked me off my perch on the fence of doubt right away, and on to Loftus' side in a hurry. I could not bear the idea of his sisters and cousins hearing of his engagement before he knew of it himself, so I wrote him at once telling him of my capitulation, but I did not tell him for sometime how Daisy's letter cured me of my prolonged indecision.

If any marriages are made in Heaven, I am sure ours was one of them, for we had twenty-seven all too short years of perfect comradeship.

Notes and Documents

COMMENTS CONCERNING "Tomé and Father J. B. R."

This is not intended as a criticism of the Ellis article on Tomé which appeared in two recent issues of the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*,* but as an attempt to point out some historical inaccuracies as well as errors in Spanish, simply for the sake of the record. Such things, if not caught in time, are repeated by others and become increasingly hard to correct.

The author is to be commended, and highly, for her interest and industry, not only in gathering information on a quaint old village, but especially in recording whatever is remembered about good old Father Ralliere. In submitting these observations I also take the opportunity to expand on some items treated, no more with the idea of appearing erudite than of carping on the article in question, but to share my findings with others who are interested in these matters. Here, therefore, are my comments for what they are worth, following the Tomé article's pages consecutively.

Pp. 89-90. The male members of the large and influential Domínguez de Mendoza family definitely did not return to New Mexico in 1693, except for an illegitimate who settled in the north. Some women who had married into other families did come back with their husbands, and in this way some Domínguez blood could have returned to Tomé generations later. But the place was settled anew so long after the Reconquest that I doubt if any of the settlers would have known about the connection, if any. However, Tomé Domínguez' name and hacienda, like some others, persisted as a place-name despite his disappearance from the scene. Other such relics of 17th-century folks are Valencia, Río de Don Fernando in Taos, Luis López near Socorro, Robledo and Doña Ana near Las Cruces.

I have heard of a legend, prevalent in Tomé, that the people there are descended from Portuguese colonists. The original families outlined on page 91 were most certainly not Portuguese newcomers, but all descendants of 17th-century New Mexicans who returned with Vargas and of a few 1694 colonists from Mexico City. From my thorough investigations of 18th century arrivals, I can state categorically that there were no settlers from Portugal here or elsewhere in New Mexico during that century. Even if one such individual had come, it would not make Tomé a Portuguese colony. The author must have heard the same myth, and given credence to it, as she appears to bolster it up by referring to Tomé Domínguez de Mendoza's names as being of possible Portuguese origin. Both his first and last names could be Portuguese, true, but they are also Spanish. The fact is that *Tomé* and *Thomé* are

* Florence Hawley Ellis, "Tomé and Father J.B.R.," Vol. XXX, No. 2, pp. 89-114; No. 3, pp. 195-220.

an old Spanish form of *Tomás*. Also, common Iberian surnames are and always have been interchangeable in Spain and Portugal because the latter, originally, was no more than a province of Spain, even after its political separation. And so in New Mexico many common family names could also be Portuguese, like Chávez, García, Silva, etc. This makes me suspect that some outsider, conversant with Portuguese surnames, remarked about the prevalence of such common Tomé family names in Portugal, and so a legend was born.

P. 90. That the fleeing colonists of 1680 took with them their treasured family *santos* is quite true, but each case has to be judged from the authenticity of the statue itself as well as historical data and connections. In the case of Tomé's *bulto* of *N.S. de los Dolores*, even if it should be authentic, and even if it had been taken south to El Paso in 1680, and returned with the 1693 Reconquest, was it originally from Tomé? The site, we must remember, was not settled until almost half a century after the Reconquest, and then not by its pre-1680 inhabitants.

P. 90. When the Vargas Journal of 1692 mentions "the sacrament of penance," it means just that and nothing else. It means that his men confessed their sins to a Padre and received absolution. Whoever told the author that this unequivocal phrase meant "flagellation" was grossly mistaken.

P. 91. When the New Mexicans re-settled the Rio Abajo in 1694-1695, they dared not go further south than Isleta Pueblo for a long time, because of the Apaches and other wild tribes. They had their hands full defending themselves and their stock within the river area between Isleta and Bernalillo. After 1740, however, they began to occupy the Tomé-Belén district, but did not dare move down to Socorro until after 1800. Tomé and its spreading ranchos on the east bank of the river (known as the district of Fuenclara) came under the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Albuquerque, while Belén and its ranchos on the west side belonged to the jurisdiction of Isleta. As late as 1750, Tomé was still referred to as a new settlement. The church there could not have been built in 1701, of course. The bishop of Durango issued the license for it in 1743, it was completed by 1750, and dedicated by the bishop's vicar in Santa Fe, Don Santiago Roybal, in 1754. The author missed another item of interest in the same pages, namely, that a French carpenter, Francisco de Folanfant, roofed the church in 1861, and also made three altars, a confessional, new doors, and the choir with its railing. In 1865 he made the pulpit, a new main altar, and a sanctuary railing with the arches above it.

P. 93. *Castos* is the masculine plural for "chaste," period! The author insists on using the word several times, hence it cannot be a printer's error. What she intends to use is *castas* (ethnic term: *castes*) in the sense of mixed breeds, which would include half breeds. It is a generic term for *mestizos*, *mulatos*, *genízaros*, etc., each with its specific meaning.

Genízaro is the correct spelling for an ethnic group designation

which is generally translated by our writers into the inadequate English "half breed." There is no English word for it. The word's origin is lost in obscurity, considered in modern lexicons as derived from a Turkish term for a special guard, or troops. But in old Spanish writings and dictionaries, its primary meaning denoted a Spaniard whose father was a different kind of European, like a Frenchman or a German, and so I lean strongly to its having some Greek-compound derivation. The second meaning for special troops (janissaries) was indeed derived from the Turkish, and it supplanted the earlier ethnic word and its use. However, the first Spaniards who colonized America applied *genízaro* to certain native groups, not in its later Turkish military sense, but in its earlier ethnic character. And in early 18th-century New Mexico, the Spaniards reached back for the term and applied it, for lack of any other, to Indians of mixed tribes living among them who had lost their individual tribal identities. Since the Vargas Reconquest the Spaniards had begun collecting Indian captives of various plains and desert tribes, both by capture and by ransom. The idea was to civilize and christianize them, not to have them be unpaid slaves or servants of their masters. They were not traded by their owners like animals, as African slaves were in other parts of English and Spanish America. Generally they were freed when they married fellow captives, and by law all children of these people were born free.

Before long the Spanish people of New Mexico had a brand new ethnic group on their hands, neither Pueblo Indian nor "Gentile" or "Infidel" Indian, as the wild nomads of the desert and plains were called. They were Christian, they had Spanish names from their former masters or protectors, they spoke Spanish in their fashion, and still they were not *españoles*, although some had acquired Spanish blood. (That the master of the household had a child by his female servant is to be expected, as in Dixie parallels and much older Biblical precedents; but the practice was not as common as the author's statement seems to imply.) Actually, the *genízaros* multiplied through their own *èlan* through intermarriage or otherwise, like other folks. Occasionally Pueblo Indians, preferring this freer life to their own communal regimentation, joined them and adopted this designation. The economic problem of these ever-increasing people became such that the Spanish authorities were forced to found settlements for them, supervised by one or more Spanish families, as at Los Jarales of Belén, Abiquiú, San Miguel and San José del Vado, and other places.

The term *genízaro* was not one of opprobrium in those times, and was accepted by these people as naturally as the *españoles* employed their own designation. But when the Mexican Nation was born in 1820-1821, the legal designation of all sorts of *castas* ceased abruptly. From then on republican law decreed that all people should be regarded as Mexican citizens, and it was promptly observed, as may be clearly discerned in both civil and church records. Except for the Pueblo Indians, who clung to their individual ways and languages, all New Mexicans

were henceforth referred to as *Ciudadanos Mexicanos* — until 25 years later, when they became “American Citizens” of the United States. So, early American writers, when describing New Mexican life in the last century, often as not were describing the *genízaros*. In social contacts, however, the old-time *españoles*, while proud of their political status as Mexicans during the 25-year Mexican Period, never let the *genízaros* forget their pre-citizen origin, and hence the unpleasant connotations observed today by the author.

P. 94. *Criado* and *criada* (literally, “reared”) are the universal Spanish terms for servants, paid or unpaid. They stem from the fact that originally in all countries servants were usually born and reared in serfdom. The *criados* of New Mexico were not necessarily captive wild Indians or their *genízaro* descendants. Quite often they were orphaned “poor relations,” members of once proud Spanish families that had fallen on hard times. There were none from the Pueblos, unless voluntarily employed, for the law was most strict in this regard during Spanish times, and these Indians knew how to seek redress in case of the law’s abuse. Moreover, there was that other ample source of servants, so long as the practice of capturing or ransoming wild Indian children for “christianizing” was allowed to continue.

P. 94. *Chichigua* and *chiche* (teat) were Indian terms quickly adopted by the Spaniards when they conquered Mexico. We read of *vacas chichiguas* (cows with nursing calves) in Oñate’s colony. It was a simple transfer down the centuries from milch-cows to human nurses, and eventually to any woman caring for the small fry of the household. While the anthropological practice of spelling words phonetically, as heard from informants, is a patent necessity when unwritten languages are concerned, it seems to me unnecessary, and out of place, in cases where the language has a long literate history. There is no more excuse for “chichiwa” than there would be for spelling Chihuahua as “Chiwawa.”

P. 95. An accolade to the author for pointing out the tale of the frustrated Comanche chieftain and his revenge as a more or less universal legend localized in different parts.

P. 96. The painter and sculptor, Antonio Silva, seems to be part of the Portuguese legend already discussed. If he came from Portugal around 1790, a reference note is in order. It would make a valuable addition to my files, an interesting break in the ordinary run of Rio Abajo families. My surmise is that such a man could have belonged to the vast Silva family descended from Antonio de Silva, the Mexico City colonist of 1694 who settled in the Rio Abajo. Or he could have been the only distinct Silva of those times, a native of Zacatecas called José Silva, who came to the Rio Abajo and married a Josefa Baca in 1787. With his father’s name *Silva*, and his mother’s name *Cifuentes*, all sorts of Portuguese guess-games could be played.

P. 97, footnote 13. From his name alone, anyone can tell that Manuel Sánchez y Barceló was not descended from a male Barceló,

but from a Sánchez man who married a woman of that name. And the marriage of a Sánchez to Gertrudis Barceló's sister is plainly shown in the *El Palacio* article cited.

P. 93. (Here I am backtracking.) To say "Fray Bernal" is as wrong as saying "Sir Churchill." Like the term "Sir," the word *Fray* (from *fraile*: friar) is a first-name prefix. So we say "Fray Cayetano" or "Fray Cayetano Bernal," as we also would say "Sir Winston," or "Sir Winston Churchill," and never with the surname alone.

P. 99. The bishop of Durango created the office of Vicar Forane in New Mexico long before 1801 — far back in 1730. And the man so honored was the same Vicar Roybal delegated to bless the Tomé church in 1754.

By a very special rescript from Rome the bishop of Durango sometimes delegated his Vicar Forane in New Mexico to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. But such a power could not be subdelegated, as the author has Vicar Ortiz doing to the priests of Taos and Tomé. At this latter period the priests in widely separated areas were being designated as "vicars and ecclesiastical judges" for passing on certain marriage cases in their locality, and with no major privileges as the Vicar Forane sometimes enjoyed. Perhaps this is what misled the author.

P. 100. The Franciscan Padre of Albuquerque administered Tomé from its beginning, and sometimes also after it was designated as a separate parish, due to the paucity of clergymen. The parish records show that Fray José Ignacio Sánchez was succeeded on July 6, 1821, by the first secular priest, Don Francisco Ignacio de Madariaga. The latter was buried there by his successor, Don Mariano de Jesús Lucero, November 17, 1838.

P. 103. *Ojuelos* is the correct diminutive of *Ojos*, and not even a *genízaro* would give it the feminine ending on p. 104. *Acequiecita* would be the diminutive of *acequia*.

P. 105. I profess my ignorance of the word *Terenates* and its meaning for "tadpoles." But even then I can see that its article must be masculine, "*Los*." In the north we called tadpoles *tepocates*, which is an Aztec derivative. *Terenates*, if legitimate, seems to have a like derivation. In this connection, may I call attention to the fact that the first Spaniards in America adopted many Aztec terms for plants and animals, to the eventual loss of the Spanish names. This was because the fauna and flora were strictly American, or at least signally different from their counterparts in Europe. Hence, words like *coyote*, *mesquite*, *tecolote*, *capulín*, *chapulín*, *guajolote*, etc.

Here is an interesting addendum to the last word. In New Mexico the word *ajolote* (Aztec: *axolotl*) is the common word for "salamander." It is also the scientific biological term for a distinct kind of Southwest salamander. But New Mexican folks have long mispronounced the word as "*guajolote*." This, however, is the Aztec and common name in Mexico for "turkey." And so New Mexicans in Juárez or Mexico City gag when they see "*guajolote*" printed on the menu.

"El Noche"! The word is feminine, and the article is "la." There are more mistakes of this nature, especially in the second installment where local verses are transcribed and translated. Some are of such a nature that not even an illiterate *genízaro* would possibly make them.

Pp. 108-110. The story of the infamous Padre Cárdenas is more or less the same as I have heard it. Documentary evidence shows that he was a real Franciscan priest, Fray Benigno Cárdenas, who came to Tomé well after the Franciscan era in New Mexico was over. Obsessed with the impulses of what we now call a "con man," he left his convent in Mexico City and, through papers which he cleverly forged, made his way north from diocese to diocese by passing himself off as a gifted and important clergyman in the Church and his Order. At each step of his peregrinations he was quick to smell imminent disclosure of his fraud, and so kept a step ahead of the authorities. Two copies of Bishop Zubiría's warning about Cárdenas to the New Mexico clergy are still extant.

P. 111. *Tapia* is a wall of masonry serving as a fence; once it forms at least one wall of a room it becomes a *pared*.

P. 195. The original church of Tomé did have a bell, albeit badly damaged by 1776 when Father Domínguez described it.

Padrinos ("little parents") means baptismal sponsors or god-parents primarily. Also, in New Mexico it was always applied by Padres and people alike to marriage witnesses, although this or that Padre vainly protested the wrong use of the term in this matter early in the 18th century. Thirdly, it has been applied to select sponsors or witnesses at the formal blessing of a church, bell, statue, etc., and these need not be the donors exclusively. In the singular, *padrino* is the word for a male sponsor, and *madrina* for the female. "Madrino" on page 198 is a grammatical hermaphrodite indeed.

The official Spanish title of the Tomé church was "*La Purísima Concepción*," which can also be stated in the more modern "*La Inmaculada Concepción*." The day of this feast has always been December 8. If the Tomé fiesta happens to be observed now on September 8, feast of the Birth or Nativity of Mary, it is because some priest in later times changed the fiesta's observance. Still, this does not warrant the author's impossible statement that the title should be "*La Natividad de la Immaculada Concepción*." Bad liturgy and bad spelling.

P. 197. "*Nana Virgen*," an ugly expression at that, cannot mean "Grandmother Virgin," grammatically or theologically. Neither is it truly Catholic or Spanish in concept. *Nana* primarily means "mother" or "mammy," and the term was being uttered by Latin babies long before Caesar crossed the Rubicon. While not entirely vulgar, this word never rose above the common or what we call the familiar form of expression. In Spanish it still is a familiar term for "mother," with its corresponding partner, *tata*, for "father." Generally, one does not apply it to one's own parents, and it is usually employed by an adult addressing

a child: "*Quién es tu tata? Quién es tu nana?*" ("Who is your father? Who is your mother?")

Secondarily, *nana* can mean not only "grandmother," but any other woman who helps nurse or at least rear a child, like the "mammy" of the American South. Truly Spanish folks would think it almost blasphemous to apply such a term to the Virgin Mother, but not so the Pueblo Indian and the *genízaro*. In their limited grasp of Spanish, *Tata Dios* and *Nana Virgen* were their expressions for God and the Virgin Mary.

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception holds that Mary herself was conceived free from the stain of original sin, or Adam's curse, through the foreseen and fore-applied merits of Christ's Redemption, since she was to give the God-Man His human body. The author seems to think that the phrase refers to the conception of Christ in Mary, and hence her interpretation of the "pregnant Virgin." As for the practice in Tomé of taking several images of the *Santo Niño* in procession with the local statue of Mary, whatever its title, on the feast of the Visitation, it is a very pretty custom; but I never knew, nor is there evidence for it, that the Franciscans introduced it wherever they went, as the author states. Champions of the Immaculate Conception they were, and they did inaugurate the Visitation feast, but let us not mix other irrelevant details in the same pot. Moreover, the feast commemorating the visit of Mary and her unborn Child to Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist, is July 2, and not June 2.

P. 200. About the head and hands of the Soledad statue coming from Portugal — is this another facet of the Portuguese myth? If this was a modern purchase and importation, there is no historical or logistic problem involved. But if it is a very old statue, we would like to have some reference data, especially research folks interested in old *santos* or in 18th-century commerce between New Mexico and the outside world.

Pp. 208, 218. *Custos* (plural: *custodes*) is the Latin word for "guard" or "warden" which the Franciscans used exclusively for a certain major prelate, in New Mexico the *Padre Custodio* or Father Custos of the Custody. It was never, never used otherwise in New Mexico's long history. I believe the author fell in love with its looks and sound, and then applied it wrongly in two instances to laymen assisting the secular priest.

Thus far my observations, having skipped many other minor items for lack of time. As already noted, there are several more errors in Spanish grammar and spelling, even to the careless transcription of the title and legend (p. 214) so plainly discernible on the photograph of the "Healer" facing page 195. Let me repeat that I do appreciate the author's industry and interest in New-Mexicana, and offer these comments humbly, however brusque they may sound in driving home a point, to help clarify and expand our knowledge of our region's rich and varied history.

FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ

THE CHARLES BENT PAPERS

(Continued)

Taos March 26th 1846

Mr. M. Alvaraze

Sir

The Priest Martinis appears determined to suffer no one in authority here, unless he submits to be dictated to by the priest. Jose Marie Valdess some dayes passed received a decree from the Governor directing him to doe justice between Ortibize,¹¹⁵ and Juan Manuel Lucero, today he was prepared to continue this sute, (having comenced some dayes passed) Lucero made his apperenc at the justices accompanied by the priest, Lucero handed in a representation, annulling the decree of the Governor etc which was red, this representation is dated the 20th inst, and presented today, you will se the rascality of this at first sight. At the commencement of this sute Lee had sellected Cornellio as his *ombre bueno*,¹¹⁶ at that time thare was no objections made to him, the nex day when they ware about to continue the bussiness Lucero objected to Cornellio on the groundes of his b[e]ing related to Valdess the justice. today when the priest arrived at the justices he told him that he had come to defend his brotherin-law Lucero, the justice told him he could not admit him to due so, one word brought on an other while Valdess told the priest, his place was in the Church and ordered him to hold his toung or leav the office the Priest submitted, or pusibly he should have bean kicked out of the office, Valdess goes to se the Governor, he wishes a representation to him. I have taken the liberty to direct him to you, as a the person most capible of making this representation I hope you will due me the favor to assist him in this all you can Beaubean & Lee also are anctious that you should doe so; it is not only Valdess that is interested in having a stop to Mr. Priest medling, we are all interested and if Valdess suceades we shall all be benifitted. he will not let people act for themselves, but he must interfear in every mans bussiness. You can make enquires of those that know theas matters better than we doe, wethr it is nessary that he should make representation formerly,

115. Charlie Autobee (or Ortebee) carried the news of Governor Bent's murder to Bent's Fort. Ina Wilson Cason, *The Bent Brothers on the Frontier*, p. 33 (Master of Arts Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1939).

Charles Ortibus is listed as a juror in Taos in 1847. *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 1:28.

116. The trial by *hombres buenos*, or good men, is one of the established legal tribunals when either of the parties demand it, and is similar to our trial by jury; the difference being in the number, the *hombres buenos* usually consisting of three or five, as they may be ordered by the magistrate, or requested by the litigants, and our jury of twelve. Edwin Bryant, *What I saw in California; being the journal of a tour*, p. 423 (Santa Ana, California: The Fine Arts Press, 1936). Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 1:234 (Philadelphia, 1849).

or by *officio*¹¹⁷ to the Govenor I have made a note which Valdess has of some pointes on which he should touch in his representation, if you think it advisable, he has all the paprs with him which throw light on the case you can draw your inferences and complaint from theas. It can be proven heare by ex justices that the Priest is in the habbit of medling in thare functions. We have no nuse heare, I have bean prepairing to visit Santafe for several dayes in company of Blair & George, but in consiquence of the sickness of one of my children I have defered it, but shall shortly se you.

Tell Franciaes, that I have received all the articles of the deseased Crombeck, that the justice received of the Apachies, except those he paid out, and shall send them to him by first safe opportunity. Doe all you can to give the Pr[i]est a hoist. Valdess is redy and willing to go through with it.

Youres Respectfully
C Bent

P. S. Juan Manuel Lucero left this morning early, you will asser-tain wether it is better for Valdess to tarry for his representation, or go on imeadiately to the Govenor so as to be with him as early or before Lucero, doe for the best.

C B

Taos April 1st 1846

Dⁿ Manuel Alvaraze

Sir

I received your two letters by Pasqual Martines. In answer to the request you make about the man Stanly,¹¹⁸ he is not in the vally, I am told he is in Albicue [Abiquifu], I will be on the lookout for you[r] papers last [lost] by Calburn.¹¹⁹ I this morning started Estes¹²⁰ express to the fort to have your goodes brought in, he expectes to be thare on the 5th, if so I think the waggons will leave on the 7 or 8 as all was redy at a momentes warning. Lee and Ortibize leave today for the U. S. by way of the Sangre de Cristo.

Report reached hear last sunday night, that the Youtaws, had driven off, Juan Andress, and Grigorio Luceros, Stock from near the

117. See note 108.

118. Gregg mentions "Mr. E. Stanley, who spent many years in the New Mexican capital." *Commerce of the Prairies*, pp. 90, 339. See the *Dictionary of American Biography* for John Mix Stanley.

119. "Norris Colburn, a resident of St. Louis, was a brother-in-law of Eugene and Thomas Leitensdorfer. *Weekly Reveille*, Apr. 19, 1847." Quoted in Webb, *Adventure* . . . , p. 41 note.

120. "Estis's tavern" at Taos is mentioned in Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah* . . . , p. 198. Asa Estis is listed as a member of the Taos Grand Jury in 1847. NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1:25. George H. Estes is listed as a partner in the Scolly land grant at the junction of the Mora and Sapello creeks as of March 29, 1843. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, p. 236 note.

morra There has an expedition of about 60 men gon out to intercept theas Indians, as they come into the vally of the del Norte, above this. They have ample time to doe so, but they will not se the Indians (too slow)

There was an other reporte reached heare yesterday that thare ware a large body of Youtaws & Nabijos on the other side of the del Norte above this, nothing certain in this reporte. Tell Frances [?]¹²¹ that I will send his mules, and goodes, down by the first safe opportunity.

Youres Respectfully
Chas Bent

(To be continued)

121. Difficult to read. It might be Jose Francisco Leyva, a clergyman and politician. Bloom in *Old Santa Fe*, 2:135; or Lessaun, Lessare.

Book Reviews

We Fed Them Cactus. By Fabiola Cabeza de Baca. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954. Pp. x, 186. Spanish glossary. Index. \$3.50.

Books about the *Llano Estacado*, or Staked Plains, of Texas and New Mexico have not been numerous, and few if any have been written by descendants of the earliest Spanish settlers in that region. *We Fed Them Cactus* has the unique distinction of being a Spanish American history of the *Llano*. The author is a descendant of Don Luis María Cabeza de Baca, who in 1823 received a grant of land in the Las Vegas area totalling half a million acres. Much of this vast tract extended south and east over the Staked Plains, a vast plateau extending into northwest Texas and containing hills, peaks, mesas, canyons and valleys. During the eighteenth century, the Staked Plains were a great gap of land roamed by the Indians and acting as a barrier between the French settlements along the Mississippi and the Spanish colonies along the Rio Grande. In the early nineteenth century after the Independence of Mexico, the large landowners of northeastern New Mexico began to send their sheep and cattle into the *Llano*, and it is this period down to the near present which the author describes.

The opening chapters, which deal with the routine of life at a ranchhouse and branding corral, are personalized and interesting, especially such details as how the Spanish constructed a weather chart by designating each successive day of the New Year as a month and then balancing it against the next twelve days in reverse, i.e., January 1 and January 24 as the forecast for weather in January; January 2 and January 23 as the forecast for February, and so forth. Mrs. Gilbert tells about the time Santiago Estrada, the chore boy, persisted in singing a song so mournful that everyone in the roundup was becoming melancholy. Finally, *El Cuate* (The Twin) who was camp cook offered to buy the song, after which the boy could sing it only with his permission. Santiago offered to sell for a valuable quirt, and *El Cuate* said,

"The quirt is yours, and the tune is mine. From now on you cannot use it without my permission."

As the book progresses, the chapters on the Knights of Labor or "White Caps," on Vicente Silva, leader of the Society of New Mexican Bandits, and on the coming of the homesteaders retell with new and graphic data some of the most exciting events in the story of New Mexico. Don Graciano, the author's father, never really welcomed the "nesters" on the *Llano*, for he predicted that there was not enough rainfall to sustain their crops and those who broke the soil would contribute to drouth and the blowing dust of later years. Drouth in 1918 forced Don Graciano to move large numbers of his cattle to northern New Mexico and to burn prickles from the cactus so it could substitute for the grass which was gone. Thus came the title of the book. But one must add that Don Graciano did more than employ the resources of the land to feed his cattle. He also used the full resources of his mind and heart to care for his children, his workers, and those who were a part of his community, even the "Milo Maizes" as he called the farmers whose manners and ways were different from his own. Mrs. Fabiola Baca Gilbert's book should interest many readers because of its informative observations on the land grants during the American Occupation and the days when Las Vegas looked upon both Santa Fe and Albuquerque as the villages of New Mexico.

University of New Mexico

T. M. PEARCE

Beyond the Cross Timbers: The Travels of Randolph B. Marcy, 1812-1887. By W. Eugene Hollon. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955. Pp. xiii, 270. Illustrations, index. \$4.00.

This is really the biography of an Army officer who, as the title suggests, did among other things some exploring in Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico a century ago.

Randolph B. Marcy was graduated from West Point in 1832, ranking 29th in a class of 45. His more brilliant classmates generally left the service, but Marcy, unable to better

himself, stuck it out, though he complained about the poor pay, slow promotion, and "the dogs life that I am obliged to lead." He saw much garrison duty with units of the Fifth Infantry Regiment in Wisconsin and Michigan, and then in the Southwest.

Marcy suffered frequently from some ailment which Holton suspects was "an asthmatic affliction." This kept him out of the Black Hawk War, and probably was the reason why he was assigned to recruiting duty at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, during most of the Mexican War.

Readers who expect Indian hostilities will be disappointed. Though Marcy is rated an expert on Indians, and dealt with them occasionally during his many years on the frontier, there is no suggestion that he ever shot an Indian or was fired upon by one. True, he did participate in scouting expeditions against the Seminoles in Florida for two months in 1857, and may have exchanged a few shots with shadows in the swamps.

Marcy's life which had been routine for many years became more strenuous in 1849 when he was given command of a military detachment escorting California-bound emigrants along a new route from Fort Smith, Arkansas to Santa Fe. Success in this venture brought him other exploring assignments, the most noteworthy taking him to the sources of the Red River in 1852.

In 1857-58 he served in the Mormon War. He won national recognition for leading a winter expedition from what is now southwestern Wyoming to New Mexico to obtain horses, mules, and relief supplies. This was his most spectacular and most dangerous expedition, for he and his party of 73 were lucky to get through the deep snow and bitter cold alive, and they suffered intensely (one death).

On his various expeditions Marcy was fortunate in having expert guides: the Delaware Indians, Black Beaver and John Bushman; Josiah Gregg's guide, the Comanche, Manuel; Jim Baker and Tim Goodale. However, it was an obscure packer, Miguel Alona, who extricated Marcy's Mormon War relief expedition from an almost hopeless predicament and led it through to New Mexico.

In following Marcy from post to post on the frontier, Hollon gives a valuable picture of Army life in the period. As usual the frontier was rough on women. Mrs. Marcy, who was a product of an Eastern finishing school, could stand just so much. Three servants were small compensation for loneliness, hardships, and privations. Of course, the two Marcy daughters had to be educated in the East. In 1852 Mrs. Marcy gave up trying to spend most of her time at frontier Army posts, and moved permanently to the East. Frequent family separations made life miserable for the Marcys but produced a rich by-product. Hollon labels "indispensable" the 500 family letters that have been preserved. Among other things these letters document parental maneuvering for a *mariage de convenance* for the Marcy's eldest daughter.

Promotions came slowly for Marcy: captain, 1846; major, 1858. In the Civil War, however, he became brigadier general of Volunteers, and served as chief of staff for his son-in-law, General George B. McClellan, in the Army of the Potomac. After Lincoln removed McClellan, Marcy spent the rest of the War inspecting militia troops in the West. For many years after the War he traveled through the West and Southwest in the capacity of Inspector General. He ranked as permanent brigadier general from 1868 to his retirement in 1881.

One of Marcy's best claims to fame is that he wrote three books: *Prairie Traveller* (1859); *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (1866); and *Border Reminiscences* (1871).

To this reviewer Hollon's attempt to make a great, heroic figure of Marcy does not quite succeed, but he does the best he can with the material he has to work with. Whatever one may conclude about the stature of Marcy, the book is eminently readable and interesting, and the product of thoroughgoing research; and it affords many insights into the history of the United States in the 19th century. It is a job well done, and the University of Oklahoma Press, as well as the author, deserves congratulations.

University of Wyoming

T. A. LARSON

The Southern Claims Commission. By Frank W. Klingberg. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. Pp. ix, 261. Appendixes, bibliography, index. \$3.50 (University of California Publications in History, vol. 50).

This monograph is a detailed examination of a federal commission which for nearly ten years (1871-1880) considered the claims of "loyal" southerners to compensation for quartermaster and commissary supplies which they had made available (sometimes involuntarily) to the union armies. Although, as the title suggests, this study is limited in its scope, it nevertheless throws much light upon one of the most tragic groups of the Civil War era, namely the southern unionists.

Perhaps no propaganda stereotype of the war was more effectively exploited in the North than atrocity stories of attacks upon southern whites who refused to abandon their loyalty to the union. While Andrew Johnson, "Parson" Brownlow, Andrew J. Hamilton and similar political orators who addressed northern audiences were able to identify themselves with the leadership of this resistance movement, rumors circulated that "Leagues of Loyalty" were being organized in the South to uphold the cause of the federal government there. Indeed the Belgian patriots of the first World War or the underground of World War II might be compared in popular esteem with the North's admiration for the courage of the Civil War unionists. But with the coming of reconstruction these southern unionists became still more of a paradox, for although they had been shunned and persecuted by Confederate sympathizers in the South during the war, the northern Radicals in Congress during the reconstruction years linked these same unionists with disloyalty by the mere fact of their southern residence. Through the dogma of "constructive treason," civil disabilities imposed upon them by federal statutes could be removed if at all only by positive evidence of individual loyalty.

One of the earliest disabilities suffered by the southern unionists was incorporated in a law of July 4, 1864, which

forbade the quartermaster and commissary generals of the union army to pay unionists for army supplies which had been acquired from them in insurrectionary States, although these officers might continue to honor such obligations in non-secessionist States. It was only in 1871, when the Radicals' grip on reconstruction policies had begun to slip that the Border States' and southern leaders in Congress were able to push through a partial relief measure in the form of a bill to institute a southern claims commission to consider the unionists' claims to these payments. Even then the legislation required that Congress itself must have the final word in awards to such claimants. The appointees of the three-member commission were carefully selected to represent the Radicals' point of view.

Professor Klingberg prefaces his investigation of the Southern Claims Commission with introductory chapters on the origins of southern unionism, a discussion of the "twilight citizenship" or constitutional questions pertinent to the unionists, and an assiduous tracking of the southern claims commission bill through the congressional maze. Following this there are chapters on the commission's operating techniques (including its relations with its southern agents), the rigid loyalty test which required the claimants to present evidence of continuous loyalty to the union throughout the war, and an analysis of the complicated evaluations of property surrendered to the union armies. The property "furnished or taken" most often was livestock, corn, fodder, fence rails, and lumber. On occasion, however, other items, even dishes, candlesticks, Irish linen, coffee mills, and drugs were appropriated. The commission, however, refused to entertain claims for damages due to plunder or devastation. A revealing summary of the geographical distribution of these claims indicates that although the largest number of claims came from Virginia and Tennessee, many of the claimants who requested \$10,000 or more were from Louisiana and Mississippi. The monograph concludes with a brief review of the federal government's action on southern claims after the commission's expiration, and a consideration of the political reorientation of the southern unionists.

Both because of the inflexibility of the commission's standards and the proscriptive inclinations of Congress (which cut off new claim applications in 1873), the quartermaster and commissary claims never became a raid upon the treasury. A total of 22,298 claims was filed, amounting to \$60,258,150.44, but the amount awarded by Congress upon recommendation of the commission was only \$4,636,920.69. Klingberg estimates that not more than one out of four southern unionists eligible to do so ever filed a claim with the commission. Hedged in with qualifications and limitations, the activities of the Southern Claims Commission could have had little influence in the reunification of the estranged sections of the nation. In the end the southern unionist, always an exponent of individualism, turned his back upon a northern political alliance and joined the "Solid South."

Ample documentation and a full bibliography of manuscript and printed sources indicate that much of the research for this volume was done in the National Archives and the Library of Congress, especially in the papers of the commission. The author prints useful statistical tables, a map indicating the distribution of claims, and a series of appendixes, one of which is a reproduction of the awesome eighty questions which were used to test the loyalty of each claimant.

One of the most interesting features of the study is the many excerpts from specific cases which give flashes of insight into the social conditions and psychological attitudes of the post-bellum South. Since the cases have been selected only from the 710 claims for \$10,000 or more which the commission presented to Congress, and the more than 21,000 smaller claims receive scant attention save in the statistics, the study, in spite of a wealth of details, lacks a certain degree of completeness. There also is insufficient proof of the author's contention that because some of the unionists lived in commercial centers of the South they were for that reason drawn by commercial ties to the union. Many a southern merchant who was indebted to northern creditors proved Polonius' adage that a "loan oft loses both itself and friend" by becoming an ardent southern nationalist. Moreover it

may also be doubted that all Louisiana Germans were southern counterparts of Carl Schurz. Finally, a confused statement (p. 189) dates the Pargoud case decision by the Supreme Court in 1863. This is obviously an error, especially since the author himself states (p. 91) that it was decided in the 1871 term.

University of New Mexico

GEORGE WINSTON SMITH

Champion of Reform: Manuel Abad y Queipo. By Lillian Estelle Fisher. New York: Library Publishers, 1955. Pp. xi, 314. \$6.00.

In this volume on the life of Abad y Queipo, Dr. Fisher describes his life as a young priest and his rise to fame in Guatemala and later as a bishop in Michoacán. His life was indeed tragic. He constantly bombarded the Crown with his ideas for economic, social, clerical, and political reforms which he believed were essential for New Spain, but his energy and foresight alienated him from both church and sovereign. A man of such stature had no place in the Spanish world at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Although Bishop Abad y Queipo denounced the movement for independence led by Hidalgo, he nevertheless became embroiled with the Spanish inquisition. The later part of his life, which he spent in the mother country, was a troubled and unhappy period; he finally managed to get his name cleared by the inquisition in 1818 only to become involved in differences with Ferdinand VII. The king had him arrested and imprisoned in a convent where he died in 1825.

It might seem strange, perhaps, to criticize a scholarly volume for too great a dependence upon manuscript sources, but it is this concentration which unfortunately prevents Dr. Fisher's biography from being a definitive work. Had she used the material available, for example, in the work of Dr. Nettie Lee Benson and Castillo Ledón and the articles published by *Historia Mexicana* and *Ábside* and worked it in with her own sources the result would have been an important book. For example, Dr. Fisher delineates clearly Abad

y Queipo's position with regard to Mexican independence, but because she has not used recently published material the total picture of the independence period remains vague and blurred.

University of Missouri

WALTER V. SCHOLLES

The Last War Trail. By Robert Emmitt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954. Pp. ix, 333. Maps, illustrations, bibliographical essay, bibliography, index. \$4.50.

This is not history in the normal sense. Probably the author did not intend that it should be. Sometimes the reader feels that he is with the Utes, listening to one of their old men relate a tale of the hard winter of 1878, of the coming of the agent Meeker, of the farming venture, of the plowing up of pasture land which threatened the welfare of the horse, a measure of Ute wealth and prestige.

Mr. Emmitt affords us a rare opportunity to see the Ute through the eyes of Ute Indians. In some ways, *The Last War Trail* does for the Ute what *The Delight Makers*, and *The Man Who Killed The Deer* do for the Pueblo Indians, and what *Traders to the Navajos* does for the Navajo. All of these allow the "European mind" some insight, although often clouded, into the "Indian mind." There has been too little "meeting of the mind" between the American Indian and the American European.

To the historian this will seem a somewhat romanticized divergence from the old story of the white man's invasion of land that had for centuries been held by a particular group of Indians. Although he may argue with Mr. Emmitt on interpretation and use of evidence, the historian-reader will be grateful to the author for the effort he has made to present evidence from both the Indian viewpoint and that of the white man.

The anthropologist will not be completely satisfied with the author's use of ethnological data, but I believe he will appreciate Mr. Emmitt's effort to discover and consider it. There is a real need for further historical-ethnological study

of the Ute, as there is of almost all of the other Indian groups of the Southwest.

Once the ancestors of the Ute held approximately two-thirds of the state of Utah, and much of Colorado. The present northern New Mexico, northwest Texas, and western Oklahoma were also familiar to them. The first United States treaty with the Ute was made in 1849. In this the Ute merely recognized the right of the United States to govern them. No boundaries were set.

Actually the trimming away of Ute territory did not legally begin until 1863, when the Utes gave up the San Luis Valley. Formal boundaries were set in 1868, and the United States agreed to keep its citizens out of an area comprising approximately the western third of Colorado (the western slopes of the Rockies), by armed force if necessary.

The invasion began at once. Some gold, but particularly silver, was discovered in the San Juan mountains. In 1873 the Utes, under pressure, gave up almost four million acres of rich mineral land. This merely whetted the appetite of the land-hungry Coloradoans.

In 1878 the Southern Utes were forced officially to leave northern New Mexico, which they, it seems unknowingly, had lost in 1868. There were then two agencies for the Ute in Colorado: one which was headquarters for Ouray, designated head chief of the Utes, in southern Colorado, and the other on the White River in northern Colorado.

It was to this northern agency that Nathan C. Meeker came in the spring of 1878. Meeker was a writer by vocation, a farmer by avocation, and an idealist by nature. What he wanted the White River Utes to accomplish he felt certain was for their temporal and spiritual salvation. The Indians were not convinced. Pressures from both inside and outside the reservation were more than the Indian temperament could stand and more than their agent could cope with. When Meeker called on Major Thornburgh for aid the fat was in the fire.

It wasn't planned that way. Neither the Utes nor the troops really wanted a fight, but somehow it occurred. The people of Colorado were now able to bring pressure on the

President and Congress to rid Colorado of this threat to the peace and safety of its citizens.

In 1880 Congress decided that the Utes must go. The White River Utes were to join the Utah Utes on the Uintah Reservation. The other Utes of Colorado, after the death of Ouray, were all forced to leave Colorado with the exception of three bands designated as Southern Utes who were allowed to remain on that narrow strip of land in southwestern Colorado to be called the Consolidated Ute Reservation.

The wife of Ouray, Chipeta, was persuaded that on the new Uncompahgre Reservation set aside for them in Utah, an irrigation project would be developed and the Utes would be able to progress. A visit to the area today helps one understand why Chipeta was somewhat bitter toward Washington in her later life.

Mr. Emmitt tells an interesting story. I have enjoyed it. I believe you will.

Brigham Young University

S. LYMAN TYLER

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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No. 2

CAPTAIN JASON W. JAMES, FRONTIER ANTI-DEMOCRAT

By M. L. DILLON*

JASON W. James—Confederate Cavalry Captain, Ku Klux leader, Texas Ranger, and Southwestern cattleman—was no systematic or original thinker; nor, obviously, had he time to be. Yet, for all his lack of intellectual discipline, James was a man of extraordinary perceptiveness. He was aware, perhaps more keenly than most of his equally unsophisticated contemporaries, of the changes taking place in American society during the last half of his life, and he spent much time pondering their meaning. In two small books of reminiscences, essays, and public speeches published at Roswell, New Mexico, toward the end of his long life, he recorded his opinions about a variety of current social and political phenomena.¹ However crude his writings may appear to be, they remain nonetheless of considerable interest to the historian of American ideas, the more so because as a Southwestern frontiersman, James represents a group of active men who rarely left written records revealing their social philosophy. Quite understandably, James enjoyed no direct contacts with the intellectuals of his day. His books may thus be read as the independent account of an essentially artless man's reaction to the rapid alterations that were occurring in American society during the half century that followed the Civil War. It is necessary to emphasize, however, that since no other

* New Mexico Military Institute

1. Jason W. James, *Memorable Events in the Life of Captain Jason W. James* ([Roswell, N. Mex., 1911]); Jason W. James, *Memories and Viewpoints* (Roswell, N. Mex., 1928).

records of James's life are available, we cannot be certain that the distinctive pattern of thought and action that emerges from the memoirs was implicit in the events. What we can be sure of is that by the time James had reached old age, he assumed that the pattern had existed, and he arranged the record of his life to accord with it.

Jason James, writing and speaking in the first decades of the twentieth century, was no democrat. The experience of living on the Missouri, Texas, and New Mexico frontiers had not made of him an enthusiast for democratic political institutions. Thoroughly disenchanted with most of the easy clichés of liberal thought (if he ever heard them), James belongs to that company of Americans whose social and political views require them to bear the label "arch-conservative." And, after all, why should James have been other than pessimistic? There was little in his youth to connect him with the faith in romantic democracy and the genial assurance of progress that had appeared to be so characteristic of Americans in their early national period. Indeed, he was produced by a South whose best thinkers had rejected the tenets of Jeffersonian democracy, and he was schooled in the violence of civil war and reconstruction.²

From the end of his childhood until well after his thirtieth year, James was an almost constant participant in the titanic events of war and its aftermath. Born on a Missouri farm in 1843, he attended school fitfully until he was fifteen, when he quit for good. Then he hired out to a wagon train going west to supply Camp Floyd in the Salt Lake country. The next year he traveled with another train to Fort Bridger. In 1861, with the outbreak of war, he enlisted in the Missouri State Guard, and his boyhood was over.³

He served most of the war years with the Confederate Cavalry, first in Missouri, where his force was part of the time under the notorious W. C. Quantrill, and then in Arkansas and northern Louisiana. Much of the fighting he took part in was border action marked by the wholesale destruc-

2. Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought; an Intellectual History since 1815* (New York, 1940), 12-25; Clement Eaton, *A History of the Old South* (New York, 1949), 389-390.

3. James, *Memorable Events*, 7-21.

tion of property and the spectacular violence peculiar to warfare that is essentially guerrilla in nature. Toward the end of the war, James was in Louisiana where the unit in which he was then captain fought small bands of Federal soldiers and groups of Negroes organized to protect those northerners who had taken over cotton plantations. When news reached the Louisiana sector that Generals Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston had surrendered, the local planters, as James remembered it, persuaded him to keep his command in order "to remain there and protect them." The Federal commander at Vicksburg soon authorized his status, and for the next few weeks, James later wrote, "I felt all right and safe with my command, and from then on was a dictator in several parishes." By the time of his parole in the summer of 1865, he had developed a youthful self-assurance that enabled him to look back on his war experiences with complete pride and toward the future with sanguine expectation: "I felt a foot higher," he remembered, "and of a great deal more importance in the world."⁴

But his confidence in his own ability was not immediately justified. Afraid to return to Missouri after the war because of his connection with W. C. Quantrill, he raised a few hundred dollars and went into the hardware business with his brother at Bastrop, Louisiana. The venture promptly failed. James might at that time have agreed with the modern historian who wrote that "Louisiana went through a terrific crucifixion" during Reconstruction,⁵ for as James wrote many years later, everything in the state seemed wrong in 1866 and 1867. He thought that political conditions were deplorable, and he knew from costly experience that business was bad. The situation required analysis. No matter how James looked at the factors involved, he always arrived at the same explanation: Negroes, scalawags, and carpetbaggers were responsible for throwing the times out of joint. Negroes could vote, and many whites could not; Federal troops controlled the elections in each parish, and Negroes

4. *Ibid.*, 21-87. The quotations are on pp. 86-87.

5. E. Merton Coulter, *The South during Reconstruction, 1865-1877* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 352.

couldn't be convicted of crimes they were guilty of; carpet-baggers held the important state offices, and worst of all, they collected the taxes. "Business was almost at a standstill," James remembered, "confidence was destroyed and we realized that something must be done. We could not stand to be dominated by a lot of renegades and negroes." The solution, of course, was the organization of the Ku Klux Klan. "The best way to fight the devil," James philosophized, "is with fire."⁶

The Klan's outstanding extra-legal action against "the devil" in Louisiana, so far as James was concerned, took place in 1876. The local leaders had decided that the Democrats must win the fall election no matter what the cost: The goal was good; therefore, any action necessary to attain it was justified. The greatest obstacle to political victory appeared to be the Negro voters who remained loyal to the Radical element. They must in some way be made ineffective. For that purpose James organized his Bulldozers, six companies of about forty men each, who were to operate with the utmost secrecy. Members were ordered to attend Negro political meetings to listen to the proceedings. If they heard a speaker make "an assertion that was not true," they forced him to "correct it then and there . . ."⁷ From spending four years in the army, James had become accustomed to taking orders and to giving them. His authoritarian attitude now proved helpful in supervising the work of the Bulldozers. He personally took a group of his men at night to warn the leading Negroes in the region that they must either support the Democrats or "move out of the country." When a Republican sheriff became "disagreeable," one of James's delegations went to him "and told him that he had to resign." He was soon replaced by "a good man."⁸

Shortly before the crucial election, some of the Negroes in James's parish were summoned to a Republican meeting to be held at Monroe. James promptly called together a company of forty men and started after them. Before the chase was over, the Negroes had raised an ambush from which they

6. James, *Memorable Events*, 89-90.

7. *Ibid.*, 91-93.

8. *Ibid.*, 93-94.

opened fire on their pursuers. James's force charged, "killed several, wounded a few and made several prisoners . . .," but most of the quarry escaped into a cane brake. Reinforcements for James soon arrived to the number of three hundred, including the sheriff and "many of the most conservative men." When some of the more cautious citizens took James aside to warn him not to allow his men to kill any of their captives, James responded that "it does not set very well with me to be ambushed by a lot of negroes and get no satisfaction for it." He had his captives thrown in jail, however, instead of killing them; and after they had supplied him with certain information that he wanted, he allowed them to be released.⁹

This was the most violent action James chose to record from his Reconstruction experience, but it was hardly the most clever. As election day approached, James and his friends began to fear that the voters in one of the wards in their parish would not vote "right." James engineered a special ruse to save the day. On the Saturday night before election, he broke into the registrar's office and stole all of the unused voter-registration blanks. These he filled out in imitation of the originals. He then dressed four of his men in the uniforms of the United States Army and sent them at night to visit the homes of Negro voters. Their job was to persuade the Negroes to exchange their genuine registration papers for the bogus ones. "The first night they got more than 300 genuine registration papers," reported James.¹⁰

With the election of 1876, Louisiana once more came into the political control of white Democrats. James, who had contributed his share to the victory, took no more part in politics. He now occupied himself in turn as a farmer, a partner in a firm supplying timber for railroad construction, the manager of the Roswell (New Mexico) Land and Water Company, and a Texas cattle rancher. None of these activities, however, allowed him to outgrow his martial past. Indeed, James never quite got over the Civil War; perhaps no one who lived through it did. His war experience was, after all, the great event of his life, and, like Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., his

9. *Ibid.*, 95-100.

10. *Ibid.*, 101-103.

heart was "touched with fire." But in James the fire remained chiefly as an old soldier's nostalgia for things military, a respect for force, and an almost childish desire to have society recognize in him the valiant officer, the martial authority. Violence, as C. Vann Woodward has pointed out, was "if anything more characteristic" of the South after 1876 than before.¹¹ Certainly throughout most of his own life, James retained a penchant for strong, vigorous, even violent, action. Although it was apparently poverty, not necessarily a love for action, that led him to join Company E of the Frontier Battalion of the Texas Rangers in 1884, his activities in that organization followed a pattern already familiar in his life: violence in the name of a worthy cause. One of his adventures in his capacity as Ranger required him to kill a man, and though he was at pains in his memoirs to indicate that he had killed in self-defense, one cannot, even as he reads both the description of the event and the disjoinder, quite blot out the picture of James the border terror burning the houses of Yankee sympathizers, of James the Klansman riding through the Louisiana countryside in pursuit of Negro voters.¹²

James's move to Roswell, New Mexico, in 1892, gave him a chance he had not often enjoyed since 1865 to indulge his military tastes. At Roswell lived Joseph C. Lea, Confederate Colonel and war-time associate of James. A man of considerable local reputation, Lea is credited with being largely responsible for the idea of establishing the New Mexico Military Institute at Roswell and was a member of its first board of regents.¹³ James gloried in his association both with Lea and with the school. He now had a socially respectable opportunity to satisfy his propensity for military affairs. He took a personal interest in the corps of cadets and arranged to give them equipment for target practice at a time when such facilities were not otherwise regularly furnished.¹⁴ In his honor

11. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 158.

12. James, *Memorable Events*, 45, 51, 107-110.

13. James R. Kelly, *A History of New Mexico Military Institute, 1891-1941* (Albuquerque, 1953), 20n., 9, 18.

14. James W. Willson to Jason W. James, Aug. 21, 1907, Superintendents' Letter Books, no. 15, Willson Hall, New Mexico Military Institute, Roswell; James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 78-80.

the Institute's superintendent named the awards for excellence in marksmanship the "James Medals." James reciprocated by providing funds for the granting of the medals in perpetuity, and as an additional gesture, he presented his portrait to the school.¹⁵

James frequently used the occasion of the presentation of his medals to deliver an address to the assembled corps of cadets. Often these were developed around a military theme. In a speech delivered at the New Mexico Military Institute in the spring of 1909 on "The Need for Military Preparedness," he informed the cadets that while Americans had been busy developing the arts of peace, aggressive nations had produced "breech-loading artillery, rapid-fire guns, smokeless powder, battleships, submarines and hundreds of other death-dealing instruments . . ." ¹⁶ It was perhaps natural that James, having recognized the existence of an armaments race, should adopt as his own some of the swaggering posture in international affairs assumed by the United States during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt. "The strong military governments," he once told the Institute cadets, "are today, and will remain, the rulers of the earth, besides [*sic*] whom the political governments are and will continue to be powerless to oppose, and they will be compelled to submit to all demands and exactions made on them."¹⁷ Probably this was his explanation for the Southern defeat in 1865; certainly the moral he intended to teach the new generation was clear. The United States ought to become "military" and cease being primarily "political."

If James easily accepted the necessity for America's large role as a world power, he accepted as willingly the industrialization that had made such a role possible. Perhaps the most striking change in the United States during James's lifetime was the growth of the giant manufacturing industries that had come to dominate great sections of the country. Some of the leaders of the South, likewise smitten by business, proclaimed their region the "new South," and dreamed of the day the factory system would contend with their

15. James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 81-82.

16. *Ibid.*, 164.

17. *Ibid.*, 182.

agrarian economy. James, an intensely practical man, an admirer of ingenuity, ambition, and initiative, welcomed these changes. At the same time a streak of conventional sentimentality impelled him to admit his regret for the passing of the old, simpler society.¹⁸ It was, however, nostalgia for the yeoman farmer class that he felt. James was never a mourner for the Lost Cause; he did not weep for the antebellum South. At no time himself a member of the planting aristocracy, James shared only a part of its ideals. He could not, therefore, after the passing of years and upon mature reflection, regret that the Civil War had been fought. Disastrous though it had seemed at the time, the War had proved in the long run a blessing for the South, "a step," wrote James, and much of nineteenth-century thought echoes in the phrase, "in the march of progress."¹⁹ True, the war had had certain unfortunate long-term results. The Negroes' morals had been worsened, they were less happy, they died sooner than in the beneficent days of slavery. (James could accept such an analysis as easily as any other Southerner.) And in the North the War had created a horde of pension seekers who were responsible for much of the corruption that had lately crept into the government. But when all of this had been admitted, one could still insist that it was for the best that the War had been fought and that the South had lost—and here James differed most sharply from the stereotyped Southerner, was most like the prophets of the "new South." The War, he thought, had freed the South from domination by the agrarian-aristocratic ideal. Its young men, finally emancipated from their bondage of indolence and ease, were now hastening to create a new South in the image of the conquering North. James approved of what he saw. He was, in short, thoroughly pleased with the material achievements of his day, and his pleasure was the greater because he believed that the historical events in which he himself had participated could be credited with their accomplishment.²⁰

Such a thing as material progress does exist. James was as sure of it as were Americans generally. Certainly the evi-

18. *Ibid.*, 103-104.

19. James, *Memorable Events*, 142.

20. *Ibid.*, 139-143.

dence of its work was all about for everyone to see—in the reaper, the automobile, the irrigated farms surrounding Roswell. Yet James could not bring himself to agree that all was right with the world. After all, had “progress” made Americans “better citizens and better neighbors, happier and more contented” than they were in 1843, the year of his birth?²¹ James decided that the answer was probably no. He remained unconvinced that “all of our fine schools with the moral teachings they are supposed to inculcate” had been able to make men “better and more honest than they were.” The population of the country was simply lacking in the elements of morality. Witness, for example, the “pension grabs” of the 1880’s and 1890’s.²²

A reservation as to the fundamental goodness of man lay at the root of James’s pessimism. It did not leave him, and as he grew older, his doubt became conviction. This was not, however, a conventional Christian belief in original sin and imperfection; nor was it the result of any Melvillian obsession with doubt and insecurity. America and Americans, like the Romans of the Republic, had once been virtuous, James believed. The Founding Fathers had created a nearly perfect government, but that government had soon fallen into a decline. Worse and worse times had succeeded the days of its youth until now corruption was everywhere. “In 1913 hell broke loose,” he declared.²³ By 1920 he had become convinced that the country had taken the road to national, perhaps racial, ruin.²⁴

James’s dark view was prompted by the political changes that had occurred during the administrations of Roosevelt, Taft, and Wilson. Although James could enthusiastically approve the foreign policies of this period, he adjudged the constitutional achievements of the Progressive Era to be merely additional flagrant examples of the contemporary degradation. A prime purpose of state and national legislation during the two decades before the first World War had been to establish a greater degree of political democracy, apparently upon

21. *Ibid.*, 141.

22. *Ibid.*, 148-149.

23. James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 92.

24. *Ibid.*, 94-95.

the premise that the ills and inadequacies of American democracy could be cured by administering larger doses of democracy. With such a point of view James was in total disagreement. He finally allowed himself to conclude that universal democracy itself was a mistake, its results all grievous.²⁵ This verdict, so extreme for an American of his day, although hardly unique, had been reached partly because of the racialism that James had espoused. The first decade of the twentieth century saw throughout the nation a vast increase in the popularity of such views. Those were the years that "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman was touring the Chautauqua circuit spreading his opinions of the Negro's inferiority. At the same time, Tom Watson was writing in *Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine* about the menace of the Negro. Charles Carroll's work, "*The Negro a Beast*": or, "*In the Image of God*," was published in 1900. Thomas Dixon's anti-Negro novel, *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*, appeared in 1905, and Robert W. Shufeldt's *The Negro, a Menace to American Civilization* in 1907.²⁶ Obviously James did not arrive at his prejudices in isolation.

James, however, did not limit his attacks to the Negro. He was an enemy to all non-Nordics, whose biological inferiority he took for granted. Exactly where he acquired this idea cannot now be determined. It was, in any case, not an uncommon opinion among Americans at the turn of the century. His views of the superiority of the "Nordic race" constitute a generalized reflection of the works of J. A. Gobineau, H. S. Chamberlain, and Madison Grant, whose books were either published or re-issued shortly before James began expressing views similar to theirs.²⁷

Scarcely a hint of these sentiments appears in James's *Memorable Events* published in 1911, but they provided him with a major theme for his *Memories and Viewpoints* written in the 1920's. By that time, James had been captivated by the view that the Anglo-Saxon or Nordic is a superior crea-

25. *Ibid.*, 95, 133-134.

26. Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, 352.

27. For a discussion of racialism in the United States, see Harvey Wish, *Society and Thought in Modern America, a Social and Intellectual History of the American People from 1865* (New York, 1952), 423-425.

ture beside whom the Mediterranean races, to say nothing of the African and Oriental, are distinctly inferior. Such evils as existed in the United States of his day James believed might properly be charged to these races. Universal suffrage had been the device by which the lesser breeds had secured political control of the country. Progressive legislation had only allowed them to work greater damage. Their intent from the very first had been sinister. Representatives of the Mediterranean races had created the abolitionist agitation of the preceding century in order to "destroy the Nordic race" in a great civil war.²⁸ It was they who were responsible for disastrously altering the constitution in the first two decades of the twentieth century. They were always trouble makers, disturbers of the peace, if not downright depraved; and if their influence were not curbed, universal destruction was bound to follow. "Anglo-Saxon civilization will stand as long as the constitution of the United States stands," James warned. "When that constitution falls, Anglo-Saxon civilization will fall." "All *mongrel* races of people have had a short life," he added. "Will this government be an exception? I cannot think so."²⁹

When Bastrop, Louisiana, had been in distress some fifty years earlier, James had known what to do. He had joined the Ku Klux Klan and resorted to the use of extra-legal methods in order to save society. Now when the United States and all the rest of Western civilization seemed to him to be in peril, James repeated the action. He became a member of the Pioneer Klan number 15 in Roswell and took a leading part in its work during the 1920's. The Klan in its modern, revived form, reported one Southerner in a spirit of unfairness, was "the fun-making social side of the Masons . . .'"³⁰ However inaccurate and exaggerated such a generalization may be, James, at least, thought of the two organizations as partners, bulwarks against the onslaught of foreigners and Roman Catholics. He was a member of both societies in Roswell, and the speeches he delivered to them

28. James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 146.

29. *Ibid.*, 92, 100.

30. Quoted by Raymond Brooks in *El Paso Times*, Sept. 28, 1954.

indicate that he thought of their purposes as practically identical.³¹

"The members of the orders of the Ku Klux Klan are the Nordics of America today," James declared. "They are the foundation upon which rests its civilization, and are responsible for the leading position we occupy in the world today."³² The purpose of the new Klan, James told its members, "was to preserve and perpetuate the Nordic race, and the Protestant religion"³³ Aside from these grand goals, however, the Klan attempted to promote order and morality in the community. Roswell itself was probably little troubled by violence at the time. Although the local newspaper observed editorially in 1926 that "laws are broken wilfully and boldly every day," it reported in the next issue that the "people of Roswell [had been] extremely law-abiding . . . and serious crimes" were "very rare."³⁴ Nevertheless, there were other things not precisely of a criminal nature for James to worry about. He had developed an almost overpowering fear of the Papacy, and the Roman Catholic element in Roswell was undeniably large and influential. He was worried about radical political theories, and the rumor spread that a secret convention of the Socialist Party of New Mexico had met in Roswell.³⁵ He was interested in protecting the morals of Nordic youth, and moral conditions in Roswell were distressingly lax. In evidence everywhere, said James, were "lewd women, young libertiness [*sic*] with expensive cars, [and] the insidious bootlegger."³⁶

James was equal to the great need. Although he did not this time organize a company to drive out the lewd women and the libertines (he was now past eighty years old), he did deliver little speeches at the meetings of both the Klan and the Masons warning the members of the danger the nation faced from the Pope through his agents, the Knights of Columbus, and from Negroes and non-Anglo-Saxons in general.

31. These speeches make up the last portion of *Memories and Viewpoints*.

32. James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 145.

33. *Ibid.*, 148.

34. *Roswell Daily Record*, July 14, 15, 1926.

35. *Ibid.*, Sept. 31, 1926.

36. James, *Memories and Viewpoints*, 161.

He even hinted that the Klan might eventually resort to military action in order to save itself as the agent of civilization. "While we are a unit," he declared, "we can put a larger and better army in the field when necessary than General Pershing had in France."³⁷

James's work for the new Klan may not have been spectacular, but his efforts were appreciated. To show him their respect for what he was now doing and for his services during the years of Reconstruction, the members of the Roswell Klan presented him with a gold "Hero Cross" bearing both the features of General Nathan Bedford Forrest, who had been the first Grand Wizard of the order, and a representation of "the beautiful fiery cross."³⁸

James knew very well that his views on racialism and political democracy were not shared by all the people who listened to his speeches, particularly not by the Masons: ". . . it is perhaps too much for me to expect," he admitted, "that the younger generation of Masons will be able to see things as I see them. . . . Universal suffrage, with all that it implies, appeals to you men as a mark of progress; it does *not so appeal to me.*"³⁹ By the time James died on September 14, 1933, his Klan had been generally discredited, his opinions become a decidedly recessive strand in American thought. Economic dangers and an external menace to democracy led by the "Nordics" of Europe were attracting, or were about to attract, the attention of the country; and the United States had already launched on new national projects in the name of democracy. James's Cassandra-like books, therefore, had little to say to Americans after his death, nor are they likely to prove very appealing today. James remains of interest, however, not for what he did or for whom he may have influenced or even for the substance of his philosophy; but rather, he is of interest because he provides us with evidence of the reaction of one Southwestern frontiersman to the great events and the changing society of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

37. *Ibid.*, 154.

38. *Ibid.*, 156-157.

39. *Ibid.*, 133-134.

A LETTER TO CLIO

By FRANK D. REEVE

Dear Lady. Having a moment to spare, and being in a mood to write, I shall address a few comments to you, long revered Goddess of History, on a recent offering by one of your disciples. It is entitled *Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History*. Written by Paul Horgan, a long time resident of Roswell, New Mexico, it was published in two volumes by Rinehart & Company, Inc., New York, in 1954.

Seven novels, four items classified as shorter fiction, and four more in history and belles-lettres have come from the same pen. They constitute an enviable record. But his latest work does not do justice to your Mystery, and thereby hangs a tale.

In the preface to *Great River*, Mr. Horgan informs the reader that he "wanted to produce a sense of historical experience, rather than a bare record. This required me wherever possible to see events, societies, movements, through human characters in action. Without, I hope, departing from the inflexible limits of respectful scholarship, I took every opportunity to stage a scene. . . . If here and there I halted the narrative of events to describe various ways and customs of the people, then I had precedent for it; for Herodotus did this, to our enrichment. Only when events are rooted in the soil of the culture might they seem to have true reality."

Mr. Horgan also found inspiration from other writers. One was "The Literary Historian" in the *London Times Literary Supplement* (January 16, 1953), who believes that "Macaulay wrote to stimulate the reader, not to contribute an original piece of research. He wrote, in fact, much as he talked. . . ."

From Aldous Huxley's *Vulgarity in Literature*, Mr. Horgan drew the reflection: "What is the smallest amount of simplification compatible with comprehensibility, compatible with the expression of a humanly significant meaning? It is the business of the non-classical naturalistic writer to dis-

cover. His ambition is to render, in literary terms, the quality of immediate experience. . . ." And from Eugène Delacroix in his *Journal* (July 21, 1850) : "The historian's task appears to me to be the most difficult of all because he needs to give unceasing attention to a hundred and one things at the same time, and must preserve through quotations, precise recitals of events, and facts that are only relatively important, the enthusiasm that gives life to his story and makes it something more than an extract from the newspapers. . . . We need to be very bold. Without daring, without extreme daring, even, there is no beauty. . . . (Translated by Lucy Norton, London, Phaidon Press, 1951)."

Finally, Mr. Horgan confesses that he agrees "with Professor Nevins that the writing of history, in addition to being a technical craft, is also an art. Its proper aim is to produce, in literary form, to whatever degree the author may command, a work of art."

Great River has received wonderful recognition. It is one of "35 books chosen by the American Library Assn., as the 'Notable Books of 1954.'" The author was awarded a Bancroft prize of \$2000 "for distinguished writing on American history," and received the Pulitzer Prize.

In arrangement, the first volume has a subtitle, "Indians and Spain." This in turn is subdivided into Prologue, River-*scape*; Book one, The Indian Rio Grande; Book Two, The Spanish Rio Grande. Under these headings are a total of forty-nine lesser subdivisions that can be called chapters. Volume two has a similar outline; it also contains a general bibliography. Both volumes have a list of sources for each chapter.

I hope, Mistress Clio, that you will not be too annoyed on learning that the author did not give footnote reference to specific books or pages, at least for quotations. As he writes: "I followed this course not because I did not have precise references for my facts, or because I did not want to share these with the reader; but because it seemed to me more to the reader's advantage to give him the story without diverting his interest to the anatomy of my framework. But of course I must identify my sources, under two obligations:

one is to acknowledge my debt to those authors whose works I have consulted; the other is to provide anyone interested in the source material—its range and authenticity—with general evidence for my statements” (p. ix).

I wish that he had been more interested in “anatomy.”

The critics have judged this publication with varying degrees of enthusiasm. E. W. Foell writes: “Mr. Horgan relishes every detail of his subject, but though this often enables him to sublimate the prosaic, it never forces him to drop the demands of objectivity . . . All of the peoples, as well as their country and river, are recreated with poetry and integrity in this wide-screen history of the Rio Grande.” (*The Christian Science Monitor*, October 14, 1954.)

The distinguished J. Frank Dobie thinks that “Some defects of the book are not as urbane as Mr. Horgan’s irony. The essay on cowboys is more belletristic than realistic. For some readers the long treatment of American pioneers will seem in places redundant and labored, in contrast to the subtle understanding of the reposeful Pueblos. . . . But a work that a fine writer, a gentleman of noble mind, and a painstaking scholar has taken thirteen years to write is not to be finally considered for flaws but for the bounty of life and beauty it holds.” (*New York Times*, October 10, 1954, in *Book Review Digest*).

Walter P. Webb comments: “His acquaintance with the sources, and with individuals along the river and away from it that know them, is amazing.” *** “I would not say in public that he has turned out the most comprehensive and adequate history of an American river, but I will say that he is as good as the best.” (*The Saturday Review*, October 16, 1954).

A fourth one believes that “The author, with many novels and histories of the Southwest to his credit, has released a monument to diligent, painstaking research that is as interesting as it is definitive. The at times almost poetic prose is a joy to read. Recommended for all college, university and large public libraries for circulating and reference collections.” (M. S. Bryan, *Library Journal*, 79:1498, quoted in *Book Review Digest*).

And Stanley Walker: "With the greatest reluctance, it must be argued that the Horgan book, although of high merit in many respects, need not be viewed with either awe or unqualified approbation. In the first place, there is the style. Some people will like it; others, with considerable evidence on their side, are bound to be confused and even embarrassed by its occasional lofty pretentiousness." (*The New Yorker*, December 4, 1954).

Oliver La Farge writes that "Great River is logically and interestingly organized. The writing is extraordinarily well sustained. Not only feeling for the subject and poetic gift but a real craftsman's technique, control and use of restraint are necessary to hold so high a level in a narrative of this length. There is a great deal to be explained, yet the explanations do not lag. Always the story moves." (*N. Y. Herald Tribune*, October 10, 1954, p. 1).

One more comment: "In a limpid, smoothly-flowing prose that approximates poetry an author identified with the southwestern U. S. traces the romantic, eventful history of the Rio Grande country. Volume one begins with the Valley inhabitants known only by the dwellings and objects they have left behind, and continues through the Indian and Spanish eras; volume two brings the account up to modern times, with the entrance of Mexico and the U. S. Twenty-page bibliography. A distinguished addition to U. S. history." (*The Booklist*, December 1, 1954, p. 149).

In a magazine (name unknown to me) advertisement by Rinehart & Company, the following comments are printed: "A masterpiece . . . a most remarkable literary achievement."—Tom Lea. "Fuses the imagination of a good novelist with a remarkable sense of a region's character."—*Time*. "The authoritative work on the subject for a long time to come."—Russell Davenport. "Monumental . . . a genuine event . . . A grand sweep of history."—Oliver LaFarge.

I suggest, Dear Lady, that you take some of the above with a grain of salt, especially the words "definitive" and "authoritative work." It is far from being either one.

The physical description of certain areas of the country wherein the story is laid confuses me. An initial statement,

for instance, referring to the whole length of the Rio Grande, so I judge, is as follows: "always visible on either side are reaches of desert . . ." (p. 5). This could not be literally true.

The localized area between the river and the mountains to the east of Albuquerque, a distance of about ten miles, is described as "a band of desert rising far away into a long range of blue mountains . . ." (pp. 113, 124). And yet I read farther on (in reference to this same area): "Cattle and sheep were grazed in the foothills rising away from the bottom lands . . ." (p. 353).

From the Pueblo of Isleta, about thirteen miles south of Albuquerque, travelers "turn west over the desert . . ." (p. 146), so Mr. Horgan writes. And again, "the rocky towns to the west, in the deserts, where Zuñi people lived" (p. 109). (The Zuñi people would not approve of this statement). "There were people always moving on the long trails that went from the western deserts to the eastern plains" (p. 110). And yet the text reads: "Beyond the mountains on each side of the cultivated valley lay immense empires of unworked soil" (p. 549).

Wondering what a desert is in the light of the above statements, I find that it is "a term for those lands which produce insufficient vegetation to support a human population" (*Britannica*, 14th ed.). Or, an unoccupied region—a deserted region. Arid region. Desert rainfall usually less than 10 inches (*Dictionary*). If population is the criterion, a population has lived in and around the Valley for countless generations, according to the story in *Great River*. If rainfall is the criterion, the average annual for New Mexico varies from about 10 inches to 25 inches. In the San Luis valley of south-central Colorado, where run the headwaters of the Rio Grande, the rainfall is about eight inches, possibly nine, and likewise in the lower part of the Valley in New Mexico. And yet *Great River* reads: "Even at its [Rio Grande] high sources the precipitation averages only five inches year-round" (p. 6). A single definition of a desert is not agreed upon among scholars, but aside from this the picture here presented involves too much literary license. As a setting for the story, it is not in harmony.

I might call to your attention also that the text does not reveal care in regard to streams. It states that the "major" tributaries of the Rio Grande in New Mexico are "the Red River, the Chama River, and four great draws that are generally dry except in storm . . .—Galisteo Creek, the Jemez River, Rio Puerco and Rio Salado" (p. 5) ; many pages later you will read that "In the canyon of the Rito de los Frijoles the river is an everflowing stream" (p. 20). This is another tributary between the Rio Chama and Rio Jemez. The Rio Jemez has been used for irrigation for centuries. It is not generally dry, except at the mouth. Taos Creek is marked on the map (p. 12), but is not mentioned in the text. Red River, mentioned in the text, is not marked on the map, nor is the Rito de los Frijoles.

The map draftsman was a bit careless about mapping the trail of Cabeza de Vaca. The author presents Mr. Hallenbeck's interpretation (a sound one) that this sixteenth century traveler moved westward from the Rio Grande valley at a point considerably north of El Paso, but the map (p. 82) marks his route as southwestward from El Paso in keeping with an earlier historical interpretation.

These few comments, Dear Lady, lead me to forewarn you that *Great River* is marred not only by a (1) carelessness of description, but also by (2) questionable statements of historical interpretation, (3) weakness in bibliography, (4) and errors of fact.

(1) For carelessness of description I submit a number of statements from the text. The First Americans, coming across the Bering Strait (or Isthmus), had to move southward "between the sea and the mountains" (p. 13). How far south? If very far, they would have been confronted with very difficult mountain barriers. The better judgment is that they soon moved inland and came southward along the eastward side of the mountains that border the Pacific ocean.

The hulls of Pineda's ships "were perhaps a *third* as long as the masts were high" (p. 86). I doubt it. According to Samuel Morison, the *Santa Maria* (flagship of Columbus) had a mainmast that was *higher* than the length of the hull, measuring the mast from the keel, but the other two masts

were about one-third as high. The height of mainmasts on later day three masters, when actual information is available, was about equal to the length of the hull.

"Seeing in one place a white woman with painted chin . . ." (p. 137), should read an Indian woman who was light (or white) colored. The expression "white woman" implies a member of the Caucasian race. She might have been an albino.

In 1746, Don José de Escandón was selected "to command the settlement of the last Spanish frontier" (p. 340). The shades of Spanish-California pioneers should certainly protest this historical judgment in view of their labors in founding missions and presidios of Upper California in the 1770s.

Travellers left for the West from St. Louis, "floating down to Independence," where the trails began (p. 718). These travellers, of course, took boat *up* the Missouri river to Independence.

At the time of the annexation of Texas to the United States, "she had been guaranteed the right to divide herself by vote of her citizens into as many as five states . . ." (p. 800). The statement is well meant, but not correct. Statehood requires an act of Congress; it is not achieved by a simple expression of Territorial or Texan will. The text of the law reads: four more states "may hereafter, by the consent of said State [Texas], be formed out of the territory thereof, which shall be entitled to admission under the provisions of the Federal Constitution." Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, 2:2.

After a discussion of the establishment of forts in the Valley above El Paso in the 1850s, the text reads: "In later decades Fort Macrae . . . and Fort Selden were added to valley defenses" (p. 812)—a rather vague statement. These two named forts were established in 1869 and 1863 respectively.

"Every small party travelling the road from San Antonio to El Paso was attacked by Comanches . . ." (p. 813). I have read a statement of this sort elsewhere referring to the year 1852, but I doubt that it would apply to every year; the author may be referring to 1852, but if so his discussion does not make that clear. To generalize so for the decade would be incorrect.

“Private inspiration was also the cause of much public disorder and suffering on the Texas river in the years that bracketed the Civil War . . . it was organized into bands of outlaw Mexicans (sometimes allied with Indians) that killed ranchers and travellers, destroyed property, and stole stock animals.” They were chased by the authorities of the United States and Mexico (p. 834). But on p. 853 one reads: “After the period of relative calm during the Civil War on the border, river outlaws [American and Mexican] came back to dominate the country with more violence than ever.”

Describing the Cliff Dwellers in the Southwest: “In one typical community house fifty million pieces of stone were quarried, carried and laid in its walls” (p. 17). This “typical” house is not named, but in describing the missions of Gran Quivira, I read the following: “Each church and its convent were made of millions of pieces of shaped sandstone, set layer by layer in earth mortar” (p. 261). This time some data is presented for analyzing the statement. The *nave* of the church at Quarái is 102 feet long and 57 feet wide; the ceiling was between 30 and 40 feet above the floor. Mathematical calculation reveals the weakness in the statement concerning the number of stones. And the data is not correct.

L. Bradford Prince (*Missions of New Mexico*) claims that he measured the church and gives the following dimensions: nave 64 feet, transept 24 feet, chancel 15 feet—or a total length for the church of 103 feet. The nave is 27 feet wide, the transept 48 feet, and the chancel at the far end is 8 feet wide. Accepting *Great River's* higher figure for the height of the walls, and without taking into account the area for mud plaster and entrance ways, there were about a quarter-million stones in the church. (Mr. Prince states that the stones varied from one to five inches in thickness and were seldom broader than a foot square). The stones in the convent would not increase the overall total sufficiently to even come close to the figure given by Mr. Horgan.

(2) Another blemish in *Great River* is the number of questionable statements on historical events, despite the desire of the author not to depart “from the inflexible limits of respectful scholarship.” For instance, after discussing the various scholarly suggestions in regard to the abandonment

of the cliff dwellings in the Mesa Verde, he gives full reign to his imagination with the conclusion that "Fear of their gods may well have sent the cliff people from the mesas to the river" (p. 23). Likewise the abandonment of Pecos Pueblo, about 1838, is attributed to the escape of the legendary black snake (p. 22). If one wishes to accept the legend for the end of Pecos Pueblo, the extinction of the fire of Montezuma would be acceptable also. But serious-minded scholars judge that attrition from disease and Comanche attacks were the real factors. I might add that most of the few survivors, around a dozen, migrated to the Pueblo of Jemez, not to one on the "river."

Fray Marcos "saw the city with his own eyes, from a safe distance" (p. 107), is a straightforward acceptance of the Friar's own version of his experience. The weight of scholarly opinion doubts that Fray Marcos saw Cíbola. Even the eminent Professor Bolton did not accept the claim, although he admits that new evidence may come to light some day that will modify the current judgment (*Coronado on the Turquoise Trail*, p. 35). Nor is it correct to write that Estevanico, the advance representative of the Friar, was killed on first arrival at Cíbola because he did not promptly leave at the command of the Indian Chief (p. 107). On the contrary, he was lodged over night and on attempting to flee was killed during the forenoon of the next day, as the Friar states, or three days later according to Castañeda, the historian of the Coronado expedition. (See Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, pp. 75, 177, 199).

In describing the battle that led to the subjugation of the Pueblo of Arenal, the mounted soldiers are pictured as making "charges forward on horseback to cover efforts on the ground against the very walls" (p. 124). A charge was made in the battle at Zuñi, but it proved to be fruitless and the men were dismounted to fight better. Why the same tactics should be repeated at Arenal is hard to understand, nor do the sources reveal that a charge was made.

The Battle of Arenal was marked by some extreme examples of brutality in warfare, but it is incorrect to write that Coronado "approved his [Captain Cárdenas] whole

action in the victorious battle" (p. 126). Coronado himself denied responsibility for the brutality, specifically the burning of some Indians. The mature judgment of scholars attribute the cruelty to soldiers stimulated by the heat of battle. (Bolton, *Coronado*, p. 393; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives*, p. 25).

The killing of the Turk, Coronado's guide on the journey to Quivira, was due to more reasons than merely that of lying about the prospects of wealth (p. 141). He also plotted to stir up the Quivira people against the Spaniards and to bring about their destruction by curtailing the supply of corn on which they were dependent. (Bolton, *Coronado*, p. 300f; H. and R., *Narratives*, p. 336).

The only significance granted to the Coronado expedition by Mr. Horgan was that the commander had failed to find "the land of his imagining . . ." (p. 147). But it was not the land of *his* imagining that was not found, but the land of abundant wealth that many believed existed and hoped to find. The Viceroy of New Spain was responsible for sending forth this venture whereby land unknown to the white man was explored along a route from the Colorado river on the west to the present-day state of Kansas, with many a detour between the two points. The Grand Canyon was first seen by white men, the Pueblo people were made known, and the first blood of Christian martyrs was shed on the soil of the United States of America. Professor Bolton devotes nine pages to discussing the significance of the Coronado expedition.

A note of probability (of which I approve) creeps into another judgment in *Great River*. It is in keeping with the doubt, Mistress Clio, that your earliest disciple, Herodotus, sometimes expressed when not sure of his information: "Perhaps more than any one other motive it was a belief in their own inherent greatness that took the men of the Golden Age to their achievements in geography and colonization" (p. 191). You may draw your own conclusion as to the validity of this judgment.

Looking eastward from Tabirá (a pueblo on the southeastern edge of the Manzano mountains) toward "the plains,

where hidden in space lived the quick and starving enemy"—meaning the Apache (p. 262)—is a return to the less critical-minded statements. The Apache on the eastern side of New Mexico lived on the buffalo, a rather secure source of food, and their plight as described does not ring true. Nor does the episode about cannibalism among them, as presented on p. 263. The impression is received that the latter story comes from the letter written by a Friar in 1669, but it originated from a story by Captain Aguilar under date of 1663 (C. W. Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents . . .*, 3:144). But that is aside the point. The more important aspect is that it can leave the reader with the notion that citizens of Apache descent have a cannibalistic ancestry. That is an extreme judgment and does them an injustice.

Late in the day of August 9, 1680, the Indian governors of Pecos and Taos Pueblos warned Governor Otermín of the pending rebellion of the Pueblo folk, so Mr. Horgan writes. The Governor thanked them. "He then sent warnings to the officials in all Spanish districts. . . . He asked them to muster aid and come to the defense of the capital" (p. 284f). The version in the more authoritative discussion of the subject reads that "On August 9 Otermín learned from the Tanos [not Taos], San Marcos, and La Ciénega chiefs . . ." of the revolt (Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians*, 1:xxvii). He then sent warning messages to the outlying district leaders "that they might exercise the care that the case demands" (*Ibid.*, 1:4).

The uprising of the Pueblo folk in 1680 was precipitated by runners carrying a knotted cord. The Gods had told the rebel leader Popé "to make a cord of maguey fibres 'and tie some knots in it which would signify the number of days' for each pueblo to 'wait before the rebellion.' Each knot was a day apart from the next one. . . . Each pueblo agreeing to the revolt untied its own knot and . . . the runners went on to the next" (p. 296). This is Hallenbeck's interpretation of the knot story (*Land of the Conquistadores*) based on W. W. H. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*. The sensible interpretation of the purpose of the knot, and the one advanced by Hackett (*Pueblo Revolt*, 1:xxvi; 2:234,

246), is that one knot was untied *each day* as the runners traveled their route. Thus each Pueblo would know the number of days remaining and could revolt on the prescribed day.

Great River also reads that "The earliest New Mexico [land?] grant under title was given in 1685" (p. 353). This grant was for a mine (R. E. Twitchell, *Archives of New Mexico*, v. 1). There were land grants prior to the Rebellion of 1680.

"Traders came to Texas, trappers entered northern New Mexico, and by 1804 sixty-eight foreigners had come to Texas to stay" (p. 396). It should be made clear that the few who entered New Mexico were law violators; they were placed in the calaboose for varying lengths of time, or remained in New Mexico under duress.

The statement that "Nolan evidently had the implicit support of the United States . . ." (p. 397) is far too strong, and places our government in a position of positive support of illegal activities. This adventurer into Texas, who operated about the end of the century in catching wild horses, *might* have had the support or encouragement of an American official, namely General Wilkinson, commander on the Southwestern frontier. (Cf. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, 5:232ff; Robles, *Coahuila and Texas*, 1:37; *Texas Handbook*).

"An American lieutenant with a small band of men travelling as traders, and perhaps even as settlers, had been dispatched by General Wilkinson to examine the plains and enter New Mexico from the north" (p. 403). To label this small band of soldiers under command of Lieutenant Zebulon Pike (taken into custody in 1807 by Spanish authorities of New Mexico) as traders or settlers is indeed far fetched. They were enlisted men of the army. They were not provided with trade goods, and least of all could they be described as settlers. The evidence is inadequate to state that they were dispatched to *enter New Mexico*.

For the life of me I cannot understand the statement about the Mexican tariff law of 1830 as applied to Texas. *Great River* reads: "It may have been a measure in retaliation for abuses of the customs laws by the Texans, who for

years had taken advantage of exemption from duty on goods to be used for building the colony to introduce all sorts of other goods in great quantity which they illegally used in commerce" (p. 492). The secondary authorities speak as follows: under the national colonization law of 1823, "the government had granted to the colonists an extension for six years the right of importation for everything they would introduce for their use and consumption, it had not been necessary to establish one single custom-house on the frontier or coast of Texas" (Alessio Robles, *Texas and Coahuila*, 1:401, 105). In John Henry Brown's paraphrase: "As an inducement to immigration, immigrants were to be relieved of all tithes, taxes, impost duties, etc., for six years" under this law (*History of Texas*, 1:110). E. C. Barker and Carlos Castañeda agree with the statement.

By the state law of 1825, "exemption from general taxes for a period of ten years was granted to all settlers" (Barker, *Life of Stephen F. Austin*, p. 198).

The colonization law of 1823 reads: "During the first six years from the date of the concession, the colonists shall not pay titles [tithes?], duties on their produce, nor any contribution under whatever name it shall be called," and instruments and utensils "at the time of their coming . . . shall be free," also merchandise to the value of \$2,000 per family (gammel, *Laws of Texas*, 1:30). The state law stipulated that the settlers should be "free from every contribution under whatever denomination . . .," except in the case of invasion; and their "produce and effect" from agriculture and industry shall pay no duty on transit or sale (*Ibid.*, 1:104, 44).

In a discussion of events during the Texas revolution, the statement appears that "a force of prisoners numbering over three hundred, including the Texan commander Fannin, was under guard at Goliad" (p. 533). But on p. 777 I read that "Santa Anna's subordinates, under his order, massacred five hundred Texans at Goliad after they had surrendered." Colonel Portilla records that there were 445 prisoners, eighty were exempted from execution and the number shot was 365. A recent study lists 352 killed (*Southwestern His-*

torical Quarterly, 43:33; The *Texas Handbook* reads 342).

During the 1830s, under Mexico as under Spain, "organized life clung to the valley of the Rio Grande from Taos to El Paso, leaving the rest of the huge territory virtually without population except for the travelling Indians . . ." (p. 541). The description is misleading. There was a long unsettled area between El Paso and the first of the up-river villages. New Mexico was literally surrounded with Indians. Furthermore the description does not harmonize with the statement that there was a presidial company of soldiers at Santa Fe to protect the northern frontier, "and to deal with civil disturbances throughout a province of over a hundred thousand square miles"! (p. 545). If 400 miles is taken as the estimated distance from the San Luis valley, north of Taos, to El Paso and is multiplied by 40 miles as the estimated average width of the valley, both settled and unsettled parts, and a generous estimate it is, the square mileage is only 16,000.

In New Mexico as of the 1830s, "there were no paupers . . .," because if a man did not have land, he could get sheep on shares (p. 550). But on p. 552 is found the description, "New Mexico in her wretched subsistence economy. . . ." A wretched economy without paupers is a contradiction. Josiah Gregg observed "crowds of *léperos*" in Santa Fe (*Commerce of the Prairies*, p. 78 (1954 edition)). I doubt that it was easy to get sheep on shares, or that there were sufficient sheep owners to make a sizable dent in relieving paupers as described above. A description of peonage and slavery in New Mexico at this point would have been appropriate for a picture of the social scene.

The description of military equipment for the same period puzzles me. When Governor Armijo marched against the Texan invaders in 1841, "With him were about a thousand men-at-arms—Mexicans with guns and cutlery, Indians with lances, bows and arrows" (p. 576). On p. 717 the text reads that Mexican laws prohibited the introduction of firearms among the population; "But for a handful, ranchers, farmers, and town dwellers were armed only with bows and arrows." More than a "handful" of Mexicans marched against the Texans. I suspect that poverty was the real

reason, not the laws, for the scarcity of firearms among New Mexicans.

The discussion of the declaration of war against Mexico in 1846 (p. 692) is not satisfactory. It reads as though war were dependent on a hostile act by Mexico, and President Polk's diary is cited as authority for the statement. A closer reading of the diary will reveal that a message to Congress recommending a declaration of war was agreed upon Saturday morning, May 11, in cabinet meeting, with the President having stated, and on more than one previous occasion, that there was ample cause for war other than a hostile act. So the presidential decision for war was made before news of the hostile act on the Rio Grande in April reached Washington. This news was subsequently incorporated in the message to bolster the plea for a declaration of war.

"As the American movements of the whole Mexican war, but for the California naval campaign, had been based on the Rio Grande . . ." (p. 774)—this is an odd statement in view of General Scott's major campaign based on Vera Cruz.

President Polk told Congress in December that the United States "'might have to take the full measure of indemnity into its hands'—which all understood to mean the annexation of the whole of Mexico" (p. 778). This is an exaggerated interpretation of the presidential message. He did not say or mean this, nor did *all* so understand. (The author's quotation, Dear Lady, is from any one of nineteen sources).

"In 1802 the French declared it [Rio Grande] the farthest limit of Louisiana . . ." (p. 780); but not so after the purchase by the United States. According to S. F. Bemis (*Diplomatic History* . . . p. 184, 1941 ed.), France supported Spain diplomatically in the argument over the western boundary of Louisiana. And Jefferson informed Congress, December 6, 1805: "her [France] silence as to the western boundary leaving us to infer her opinion might be against Spain in that quarter."

I also read in *Great River* that President Polk instructed Mr. Trist "not to take a line north of the 32nd parallel," and that he had ignored his instructions (p. 804). The author is

quoting any one of eight sources; I have no intention of trying to find the one that led him astray. Sufficient to say that on April 15, 1847, Mr. Trist was instructed to secure, as the international boundary, the Rio Grande to the "southern" boundary of New Mexico, thence west to the southwest corner of New Mexico, northward to the Rio Gila (far above the 32nd parallel). Later instructions (July 13) called for a line from the mouth of the Rio Grande to the 32nd parallel, thence west and north to the Gila, *or* west to the Gulf of Lower California; *or* (July 19) to the Gulf or the Pacific coast. But the contents of the latter two missives were *not a sine qua non* for a peace treaty. Trist did violate his instructions in one particular, but no agreement thereby was made with the Mexican government; and in later negotiations he secured the Gila boundary line.

"To guard a fifteen-hundred mile frontier containing fifty thousand Indians—of whom over twenty thousand were actively hostile—New Mexico in 1854 had a total of sixteen hundred and fifty-four officers and men, scattered among less than a dozen forts (p. 806). I count five forts along the river in New Mexico in 1854, including Fort Bliss. But the length of the frontier as stated must mean the inclusion of the Rio Grande to its mouth! There were five additional forts along the river in Texas. I might add that there was not a frontier *line* in New Mexico in the 1850s. Uncle Sam's fighting men had established forts in the *midst* of the Indian country, so there were more than just the ones along the river. And there were not 50,000 Indians in New Mexico at that time.

"Each fort on the border river had units of artillery, infantry and mounted infantry, a band, quartermaster's and ordnance departments, occasionally a chaplain; and invariably a component of laundresses—some of whom were soldiers' wives . . ." (p. 807). This is a too ideal picture of border forts. A unit of artillery was not stationed at each fort, nor was it needed. Each fort did not have a band. The term "mounted infantry" is too restrictive for the period under discussion. The Dragoon was also the mounted man of the army. Laundress? *Quien sabe*.

In regard to the famous camel experiment in the South-

west, Mr. Horgan states that an Inspector General of the Army inspected the animals "and approved the first stage of the experiment, which was to keep them for breeding" (p. 810). But Lesley states that "Major Wayne seems to have misunderstood his orders, for he was roundly scolded by the Quartermaster-General at Washington for expecting to experiment with camel-breeding rather than determine on the fitness of the animals for military service" (*Uncle Sam's Camels*, p. 11). Their subsequent fate was much more involved and interesting than is pointed out in *Great River*.

That New Mexico did not encourage slavery in the 1850s, the author states, was indicated by the small number, some twenty-two in all (p. 821). Does he imply anti-slavery sentiment? There was little need for Negro slavery in the Territory due to the local practice of peonage and a supply of cheap non-peon labor. Sentiment in favor of paving the way for the introduction of Negro slaves when wanted was revealed when a pro-slavery law was passed by an overwhelming majority in the Territorial legislature in 1859. A legislative committee reported the following year that "We have room enough and employment enough for all that will come." The Civil War ended the discussion. (The subject is treated in Loomis M. Ganaway, *New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861*, Santa Fe, 1944).

The discussion of the Indian problem in Book Four, Chapter 36, leaves me unimpressed. The Peace Policy of the Government is confused with the policy of placing Indians on reservations. The latter was started in California and Texas in the early 1850s and abortive attempts were made in New Mexico later in the decade. The Peace Policy was adopted in the first administration of President Grant as an alternative to the Indian wars. The Army took temporary control of the numerous reservations until a new group of Indian agents, nominated by various Churches, could be appointed to office. Therefore the statement that, "In 1867, either by treaty, or by direct order of the President of the United States, the Plains Indian nations were limited to reserved lands. The borderland tribes were assigned to the Indian Territory . . ." (p. 852), leaves an unsound notion in

the mind of the reader. If the term "borderland" tribes refers to the Ute, Navaho and the bulk of the Apache people, the Indians more closely associated with the story of the Rio Grande in New Mexico, it is certainly incorrect. Scarcely a handful of these Indians ever saw the Indian Territory (a part of present-day Oklahoma).

A fairy tale is still passed along in Mr. Horgan's discussion of Judge Roy Bean, popularly associated with the expression "law west of the Pecos." "His village, first called Vinegaroon, Texas, he renamed in her honor," that is, the famous actress, Lily Langtry (p. 904). The sounder version of the story reveals that Vinegaroon and Langtry were two different locations and the latter was named for a man associated with building the railroad across West Texas. The available evidence is found in Ruel McDaniel, *Vinegaroon: The Saga of Judge Roy Bean . . .*; Everett Lloyd, *Law West of the Pecos: The Story of Roy Bean*; C. L. Sonnichsen, *Roy Bean*; *Texas Handbook*. (None of these is listed in the bibliography of *Great River*).

In 1914, during the aftermath of the Huerta revolution in Mexico, some American sailors were taken into custody by Mexican soldiers in a restricted area at Tampico. The detachment had made an innocent mistake. "They were released in two hours," so *Great River* reads, "and General Huerta hastened to explain that . . . his soldiers had only done their duty" (p. 914). This was not so. General Huerta did not hasten to explain anything. The local commander, Zaragoza, made the explanation, but the incident developed into a full-blown diplomatic incident between Huerta and the Government of the United States. A serious situation was finally relieved when the ABC powers offered to mediate, an offer that was accepted by the two contentious powers.

(3) I have had a special interest, Mistress Clio, in the history of the Navaho people for some time, so a statement on p. 743 was intriguing from the standpoint of bibliography: on the day of General Doniphan's departure from Santa Fe, October 26, 1846, "the Navajos, as though to confirm the need of his discipline, raided the old river villages south of Albuquerque—Tomé, Valencia and the rest—killing many

people and driving off five thousand sheep from the valley farms" (p. 743).

I wanted to know the source of information for this raid, but it was difficult to find. The chapter bibliography in *Great River* lists nine items. I judged that two of them would not be pertinent. Five others did not contain the facts (and remember, Dear Lady, there are no specific citations to page numbers). A secondary source (Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, p. 23) reads: General Kearny left Santa Fe, September 25, 1846, "They [the Navaho] trailed his beef herd and stole several head from it at Algodones, 23 miles north of Albuquerque. They raided settlements at various places between Albuquerque and Polvadera; killed seven or eight settlers, and stole thousands of cattle, sheep and horses. Kearny learned of the raids at La Joya." Polvadera is about 60 miles south of Albuquerque.

Keleher cites Emory's *Report*, which states, under date of October 2, that a message was received at La Joya that 40 Navahos had passed the Rio Grande the previous night; on the 3rd, a New Mexican arrived in camp and reported an attack on Polvadera; on the 4th about 100 Indians had driven off all the horses and cattle; they retreated with the "cattle & goats," but were cut off by pursuers. They slaughtered as many as possible of the cattle and goats and scampered away with the horses and "mules."

In Hughes, *Doniphan Expedition*, p. 79f, 1847 edition (a book not listed in the chapter bibliography), I found the following statements: about November 3, 1846, soldiers at Isleta were informed by the Pueblo residents that about three days previous the Navahos had seized one woman, five children, great number of sheep, cattle, mules, and had killed eight Mexicans and Pueblos. They were pursued with some success. Under date of October 2 (*Ibid.*, p. 83), at La Joya, Kearny ordered Doniphan to the Navaho country. He had been informed when near Socorro that Navahos had recently crossed the mountains, killed seven or eight men, taking as many more women and children prisoners, and had driven off 10,000 sheep, cattle, and mules.

The statement in *Great River* is a rather loose comment in view of the sources cited.

Becoming fearful lest I couldn't see the forest for the trees, I decided to investigate fully one chapter, selecting Book Two, Chapter 38, entitled "Hacienda and Village" (pp. 352-390). Thirty-three items are listed in the chapter bibliography (no specific citations to the sources, *caramba*). The description is for eighteenth century New Mexico. Three of the items listed are general histories and cannot be drawn upon safely for this isolated frontier province of New Spain. They are Madariaga's *Rise of the Spanish American Empire* and *Fall of the Spanish American Empire*. Mr. Horgan uses one quote from Humboldt via the first named book; it is of doubtful value for New Mexico. The third item is Priestley's *The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848*.

Four other works provide little insight for this century: Benavides' *Revised Memorial of 1634*, Perez de Villagra's *History . . .*, Bolton's *Coronado . . .* and *The Spanish Borderlands*.

Three eighteenth century works are valid, but furnish little information; Hackett's *Historical Documents . . .* (v. 3), Twitchell's *Spanish Archives*, and an excellent item based on research but of little assistance for Mr. Horgan, namely, Fray Angelico Chavez, *Our Lady of the Conquest*.

The balance of this chapter bibliography consists of twentieth century publications. Some of them are of no value whatsoever for the purpose listed. A few are good studies within their own limitations, but again not reliable for eighteenth century history. When documentation appears, it is nineteenth century sources, usually observations by Americans who appeared on the scene nearly a century and a half after the re-establishment of Spanish control in New Mexico.

"Hacienda and Village," in relation to the bibliography, is largely a figment of the imagination. If traditions among New Mexicans of Spanish ancestry were drawn upon, credit is not given.

While discussing bibliography, Dear Lady, I shall add a few more comments at this point. The discussion of the Penitentes in New Mexico (p. 376f) is confused. The author did not have the benefit of Fray Angelico Chavez, "The Penitentes of New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 29:97, because it was published too late. But he does credit

Fray Angelico with a reading of *Great River* in manuscript, so I cannot account for the confusion. The worthy Fray has published the best account of the Penitentes based on research.

Poor Doña Bárceolo takes another beating; the Lady "who presided over much of the vice of Santa Fe . . . with her wig and false teeth" (p. 762). I hope that future writers will pay more attention to a closely reasoned revision of this person's character and place in New Mexican history (see Fray Angelico Chavez in *El Palacio*, 57:227-34).

For the seventeenth century part of *Great River*, the several studies of France V. Scholes on New Mexico, published in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, should not have been overlooked, nor the initial study of Oñate by George P. Hammond (*Ibid.*). The eighteenth century still awaits much historical research, but any beginner in the period should read H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, and C. F. Coan, *History of New Mexico*.

The description of New Mexican government in the Mexican period is quite inadequate. L. B. Bloom, in *Old Santa Fe* (a magazine, not Twitchell's book) should be read. Additional articles, although not as thorough as might be desired, can be found in late volumes of the *New Mexico Historical Review*. Important for the whole period of *Great River* are the several regional journals of history, especially *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, and occasional periodical articles published in more general magazines of history.

(4) Well, Dear Lady, returning again to the text of *Great River*, I shall make a few more comments.

For instance, Henry VIII's essay written in defense of the Church at the time of the Protestant Reformation was published in 1521, not in 1519 (p. 84).

"A few elite soldiers handled the heavily chased flintlock muskets . . ." on the Pineda expedition to the Rio Grande (p. 88). The year 1519 was too early for the flintlock; it was invented about a century later (*Britannica*, 14th ed.)

Fray Marcos did not return to Mexico by "early summer," as the text reads, from his journey to find Cíbola (p. 106). That was too early to complete the round trip. He arrived home in *late* summer.

Coronado in the battles at Zuñi did not wear "a helmet of gold" (p. 109). Elsewhere the author refers to *gilded* armor which is more accurate according to the sources. Gold would not make a good protective headpiece anyway in comparison with iron.

Enroute from Zuñi to the Rio Grande, Alvarado "passed other towns, notably Ácoma . . ." (p. 113). The "other towns" were old ruins. (cf. Bolton, *Coronado*, p. 182f; Hammond and Rey, *Narratives*).

"Cárdenas came to the twelve towns of Tiguex, and near the most southerly, on the west bank . . .," prepared camp opposite Bernalillo (p. 115). The author has followed Bolton (*Coronado*, p. 193) in this statement, but there were probably fifteen pueblos and the camp site was nearer the northern border of Tiguex province (cf. Hammond and Rey, *Narratives*, p. 22 note).

"The royal treasuries had supported the expenses" of the Coronado expedition (p. 147). On the contrary, it was what might be termed a joint-stock company venture. Viceroy Mendoza and Coronado were heavy investors and lost accordingly. Spanish rulers in general did not pay for exploring the New World.

Alexander VI (the Pope) did not give all the New World to the King and Queen of Spain in 1493 (p. 177). Portugal, according to the original line of demarcation, received the tip of Brazil and, the following year, a larger part by the Treaty of Tordesillas, a more significant act than the so-called "gift" of the Pope. For a fuller discussion see Silvio Zavala, *New Viewpoints on the Spanish Colonization of America*, 1943.

The Indians were taught "more often in the Indian tongues which the Friars learned rapidly . . ." (p. 181). Unfortunately, the Friars in New Mexico were very lax about learning the Indian languages.

The discussion of the *encomienda* is incorrect (p. 241). It was a system of tribute from the Indian to the *encomendero* for the support of the latter who in turn rendered service in defense of the province. (Zavala, *op. cit.*)

In New Mexico, the "Governors came and went every three years with the supply trains . . ." (p. 245). Neither the

Governors nor the trains were that regular; and the discussion of the trains (p. 268) is incorrect in other respects. (cf. F. V. Scholes, *op. cit.*). Fray Ysidro Ordóñez was not in Taos when he quarreled with Governor Peralta in 1613 (p. 245). The issue arose at the Pueblo of Nambé where he met the soldiers and countermanded orders of the Governor.

“the old colony left El Paso for the north. All their difficulties in the undertaking were by now familiar ones . . .” (p. 316). The resettlement of New Mexico by De Vargas was not accomplished quite so easily. Many of the old settlers did not return; they were *too* familiar with the difficulties. (cf. J. Manuel Espinosa, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande.*)

Nor is it correct to write that De Vargas, when imprisoned by Governor Cubero, “lived isolated in his cell like a criminal” until released (p. 319); at least not unless the author has better sources of information than Espinosa (*op. cit.*). The confinement of De Vargas was not so rigorous.

It is not correct to write that on April 23, 1706, Santa Fe “decreed” the establishment of Albuquerque (p. 328). The document referred to is a letter from the Governor of New Mexico to the Viceroy stating that the new villa *had been* founded. By the above date the settlers were established in their new homes. Incidentally, El Paso was not a royal town—it was the site of a mission and a presidio. It could be referred to by the Spanish word *real* because the word means a military site or encampment.

After discussing the founding of Albuquerque, the text reads: “Bernalillo was already six years old” (p. 329). The former was founded in 1706. According to Espinosa, the date for Bernalillo is late 1695. However, there were settlers in that locality during the seventeenth century, prior to the Rebellion.

A mid-eighteenth century census estimated a population of 771 households, comprising approximately 10,000 people (p. 348). Household is not usually cited as the basis for population. Bishop Tamaron’s census of 1760 lists 1517 *families* or 7665 persons, not counting the Pueblo folk. There are various enumerations for the century (see Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*).

San Marcos, Texas, was founded in 1806 (if I read the text correctly), "as an outpost against organized American intrusion. It was the old design that had been followed over Texas so often before; and it suffered a familiar fate" (p. 402). The town was founded in 1808 (Texas *Handbook*; Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, 5:315, 333; 6:56). Its fate was that of abandonment after a few years; otherwise I cannot understand the statement.

Mier and Terán (which should read Mier y Terán) "established a dozen or so military posts in Texas . . ." (p. 493). What this Mexican leader did was to establish five (maybe six) new garrisons and strengthen three long established (Robles, *op. cit.*, 1:373; Barker, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 326).

"No new pueblos and only a few Mexican towns were founded after the turn of the nineteenth century. Above Taos, Arroyo Hondo, in 1823, and Questa, in 1829, were added to the Mexican communities" (p. 542). This statement overlooks the Mexican settlements in the San Luis Valley (present-day state of Colorado); the settlements at Doña Ana, Las Vegas, Carñuel, Tijeras, Cebolleta, and Anton Chico.

In presenting a picture of New Mexico in the 1830s, the author writes: "A farm here, a flour mill there, a lumberyard, a brickkiln, a tannery . . ." (p. 551). This is much overdrawn. There was scarcely a piece of sawed lumber in all New Mexico prior to the American occupation, and I assume that is the kind referred to by the word *lumber yard*. The sun dried brick, or adobe, was the common building material. There were at least two and possibly more flour mills.

Texans would not like the statement that General Houston was their first President (p. 586). They credit David Y. Burnet with that distinction, and rightfully so.

Mr. Snively, in the name of the Texas Republic, planned to attack a rich caravan from Santa Fe to St. Louis in 1843, "which on its return trip from Saint Louis was accompanied by Governor Armijo in his amplitude" (p. 600). The Governor did not accompany the caravan.

When trying to stave off war with Mexico in 1845-46, Mr. Horgan writes that the American diplomatic representa-

tive was instructed to secure as a boundary line the Rio Grande from its mouth to El Paso, thence due west,—Mexico to receive \$25 million in compensation; “and in addition,” the Rio Grande from mouth to source, the United States to assume debt claims against Mexico to a minimum of \$2 million (p. 606). The statement not only is incorrect, but doesn’t make sense on its face. In the first place, Dear Lady, please substitute the word *or* for the phrase “and in addition.” They were two separate and distinct alternative offers. But that is not all. President Polk offered Mexico *four* separate propositions. The minimum was Mexican acceptance of the Rio Grande as the boundary from mouth to source, thence north to the 42 parallel, in return for American payment of American monetary claims against Mexico, the amount to be adjudicated. This could have prevented war if the Mexican government had been in a position to accept it. The propositions are clear in W. R. Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, 8:182f.

Francisco García Conde is named as one of two interim governors of New Mexico between the second and third terms of Manuel Armijo (p. 716). José Chávez y Castillo, not Conde, was the second of the two.

“At Querétaro on May twenty-fifth [1848] the treaty was ratified by the Mexican government . . . and ratifications were exchanged. . . . In the same month . . . gold was discovered at Sutter’s Fort . . .” (p. 780). The discovery of gold in California occurred on January 24, 1848, and the treaty was *signed* February 2.

The Gadsden Purchase, 1853, included the town of Mesilla “and also Lemitar,” where Manuel Armijo died; “He did not live to see his remaining property formally annexed with southern New Mexico” (p. 805). He could not have witnessed such an action if he had lived; Lemitar was not within the Gadsden Purchase.

In the Purchase, since the War with Mexico, there was “an unremitting terror laid down by Apache, Comanche and Lipan Indians . . .” (p. 806). The Comanche and Lipan did not raid in the area of the Purchase; they lived far to the eastward.

"When first the Apaches and later the Navajos broke out of the reservation [the Bosque Redondo on the Rio Pecos], they were allowed to return to their old lands" (p. 833). These two peoples were placed on this one reservation in 1863-64. They did not get along together for several reasons, so the Apache decamped in 1865 and were not brought back by the military. The Navahos were returned to their homeland by terms of a treaty with the United States negotiated in June, 1868; not because they "broke out" (only a few did so), but for other reasons. (See *New Mexico Historical Review*, v. 13).

"The Texas and Pacific reached eastward from San Diego to El Paso in 1877 . . ." (p. 886) is not an accurate statement. This railroad was constructed westward through Texas and never reached a point farther than 90 miles east of El Paso. There it joined with the Southern Pacific railroad which was built eastward from the Colorado river at Yuma.

The statement that "the first World War began in Europe" on August 4, 1914 (p. 917) is certainly an over simplification. Austria declared war on Serbia, July 28; Germany declared war on Russia, August 1; Germany declared war on France, August 3; the British ultimatum to Germany expired at midnight on August 4.

A few statements in *Great River* might be described as the romantic version of history, or a love of the lurid, selections I assume intended to heighten reader interest in keeping with Mr. Horgan's professions in the Preface. This in itself is not bad, but the implications as historical interpretation or judgment are not sound. For instance, in a striking, interesting description of the Spanish crew of Pineda's ship (p. 87), they are all brunettes. I am surprised in view of Spain's cultural heritage that there was not at least one blonde.

When Otermín made his re-entry into New Mexico after the retreat of 1680, he gave up the attempt at reconquest when informed of the plan of the Indians at Cochití to massacre his advance party while they were being seduced during the night by a bevy of maidens assembled for that purpose. "The whole seventy men were in mortal danger" (p. 296).

This interpretation does not jibe with the belief of the Spanish "in their own inherent greatness" (p. 191). The story can be found in the source material, but it sounds silly to me. Furthermore, a more valid reason for the failure of the expedition can be found in the same documentary source.

Great River presents a sharp contrast in the Mexican character between the colonial and post-independence period. "The politics of the new nation seemed to care little for the individual human life [beginning in 1821]. Such indifference was deeply rooted in the sacrificial rites of the ancient sun priests," etc. (p. 456). Indifference to the individual human life in the *Colonial* period seems well attested in the preceding pages of the book.

"An observant citizen was convinced . . ." that the decline in Pueblo Indian population by the 1830s was due to "an abuse which is deeply rooted among Indian women; they refuse to bear more than four children; they succeed in this matter by drinking certain beverages which they prepare for that purpose" (p. 542). I think that this conviction exceeds the powers of observation; it cannot be substantiated, of course, but colleagues of mine, more learned in the history of Pueblo folk, tell me that this statement is, well, to put it mildly, nonsense. Incidentally, "the observant citizen" was Antonio Barreiro, *Ojeada . . .*, 1832, not Bautista Pino, *Exposición . . .*, 1814, as cited by Mr. Horgan.

The statement that the Rio Grande boundary line was won by the "whole American nation . . .," etc. (p. 781) overlooks the sharp political cleavage in the country over the war with Mexico. Even Abraham Lincoln was a caustic critic of the "Democrats" war. The author accepts Walt Whitman's patriotic interpretation too literally.

Great River informs the reader that the army tried to solve the Indian problem by making peace with them; each commander tried it. At peace scenes Indians camped in tepees. After a treaty was signed, "The soldiers relaxed, and a few drifted among the Indians to see them closely, and discover if they carried gold bullets, and if so, as many did, to trade a dozen leaden balls for one gold. By dark the soldiers were back in their own camp . . ." (p. 814). I would like to

know the source of this yarn. The way it is told implies that it was a regular occurrence in treaty making. I rifled through four of the twenty books cited for the chapter, but wearied of the task. The only story that I know about gold bullets was told by Felix Aubrey and he was not making a treaty with the Apache. Trading for gold bullets was labeled a tall tale over a century ago.

Another example: Apaches perfected the art of sheep stealing. They formed a flock in an oblong pattern, "never wider than thirty feet," and lashed the strongest together by their horns, two by two, for "a living fence"; "Indian drivers strode along beside and behind the flock, and at its head a squad of young, hardy Indians set the pace. Running night and day, the desert thieves could take twenty thousand sheep from fifty to seventy miles in a day, sometimes making swift marches of up to fifteen hundred miles, far out of reach of organized pursuit" (p. 813). If there is a grain of truth in this, Dear Lady, please let me know.

The goriest of the stories about Governor Perez' fate in 1837 is incorporated in this book. His head, so Kendall reported, was kicked around Santa Fe like a football. And also the improbable story of Manuel Armijo stealing the same sheep twelve times and selling it to the owner. The period of Perez and Armijo has never been adequately studied. I hope that some day a serious minded student will take hold of it and work out a valid story. Meanwhile, L. B. Bloom (*op. cit.*) should be read.

"Below the intense scowl of his domed brow gazed his great eyes—the right, level and calm; the left, alight and piercing" (p. 457). In the pictures that I have seen of Austin, there is no such difference between the eyes. There may have been a photographic or printing defect in some picture.

I hope that a scholar will delve into the history of the Southwestern Indians and present a more reasonable interpretation of the relations between the red man and the white man. *Great River* is objective on the whole in the sense that it does not break a lance for the Spanish or Anglo. But the superiority complex of the white man still peeps forth toward the poor red man. Speaking of Indians when posed for

battle: "Sometimes they had with them their rag-bundled women. The warriors were polygamous, and their striding women were fiercely contentious for the man who owned them. Aprowl like cats across the thorny land, they clawed their way after their thieving, murdering, lying, lords" (p. 816). The moving picture producers present a more honest picture of our Indian citizens' ancestors.

In resumé, *Mistress Clio*, I submit for your judgment that an attempt to stimulate the reader a la Macaulay is alright, but it is well to keep in mind that the famous English historian was breaking a lance for Whiggish political principles. This is not the proper approach for presenting good history. In seeking the "expression of a humanly significant meaning," a la Huxley, it is advisable to select historically "significant" facts; or, as Delacroix wrote, the "relatively important." The relatively *lesser* important historical facts have been selected too often in composing the story of *Great River*.

In seeking to present a work of art in keeping with Allan Nevins' point of view, *Great River* reveals too much labor expended on the chapter picture and not enough thought devoted to the whole. There is no over-all theme; no over-all conclusion; no final summation of the significance of the story. The end of the story just fades away. As a work of art, it is comparable to a collection of miniatures, some of them exceedingly well done. But this approach to the story of the Rio Grande leads to a conflict in interpretations and an over-all tone of falseness.

Carried away by the sensitivity of the artist, the mind of the author sometimes goes to sleep. For instance, in the concluding chapter, "The Rio Grande as the oldest vein of civilized life and communication in the area of the United States was unique in the settling of the West; for unlike other communities and areas of settlement, those of the Rio Grande were not born of the westward movement, but were already long established, with their own various patterns of life, when the recurrent American frontier reached out and put over them a new complex of living ways" (p. 941). The word *unique* is inappropriate because the same statement can be applied to California.

Mr. Horgan was influenced too much by Herodotus the story teller. Thucydides the critical-minded historian should have been heeded also. "If Thucydides lacks some of the graces which make Herodotus a delight, he is free from the sort of 'systematic error' which mars Herodotus' interpretation." (Francis R. B. Godolphin, ed., *The Greek Historians*, p. xxvi). The "systematic error" in *Great River*, I suspect, lies in building the story along the Rio Grande. A river is not a valid basis for writing history. An author, using such a basis, is forced to become a Procrustes who shortened or lengthened travelers to fit the size of his beds. The river historian likewise shapes his material to fit the preconceived form, rather than permitting the material to dictate the form. The ancient Greek should have fitted the bed to the traveller, rather than vice versa.

History is the never ending search for the closest approximation to the truth of what happened, why it happened and when it happened. It is governed by accepted canons of scholarship. Many are the workers in the search. The end result is a product of collective effort. He who spreads abroad unsound history, renders a disservice in the joint effort to find the truth.

Embellishing with a fine literary style enhances the pleasure of the reader, but the *substance*, not the *style*, is the prime consideration. When the historian-artist neglects the former, he renders justice to neither.

"One might add quotation to quotation, merely to show that for almost 2500 years, in the Hebraic-Hellenic-Christian civilization that we inherit, truth has been recognized as the essence of history. In other words, the historian must be intellectually honest. Sublimating his own views of what ought to have been or should be, he must apply himself to ascertaining what really happened" (Samuel Eliot Morison, "Faith of a Historian," *American Historical Review*, January, 1951).

In "ascertaining what really happened," Mr. Horgan has fallen short both in accuracy of facts and soundness of interpretation. These failures stem from an inadequate bibliography. The general studies listed are not sufficient for a good grounding in the history of New Spain as a foundation

for his attempted interpretation of the Rio Grande in history, and specific studies were overlooked that would have prevented many a factual mistatement. I recall, Dear Lady, that Stanley Walker closed his review of *Great River* with the query, "Pretty, but is it history?" It is sometimes pretty, but it is not good history.

Affectionately yours

PS: If the publisher reprints *Great River*, consideration should be given to the following: Leyda de Bonilla should read Leyva (or Leyba), p. 159. The quotation on p. 218 should probably read, "you will detain him," rather than "detail" him. Mesina river should be changed to Medina, p. 472. "When the centralists entered Revilla . . .," should read when the "federalists" entered, p. 562. Harland should be Howland, p. 577. "Their ranks were broken and hundreds of them moved down . . . ;" I suspect this should read "mowed down," p. 684.

THE EDUCATION OF KIT CARSON'S SON

By ROBERT G. ATHEARN *

ONE day in the spring of 1848, a young first lieutenant stationed at Monterey, California, learned that the far-famed Kit Carson, trapper and scout, had arrived from Taos with mail and dispatches. Having seen Fremont's recent writings, the officer was anxious to look upon this man who had come to international notice through his feats of daring in the western wilderness. Making his way to the tavern he found a small, round-shouldered individual with hair that was not quite as red as his own and whose appearance was somewhat less spectacular than he had imagined. Carson proved to be a further disappointment in that his speech was monosyllabic and he displayed little tendency to talk about the exploits that were claimed for him. Yet, in their modesty, the two men were much alike and shortly a warm friendship developed. The officer, William Tecumseh Sherman, treasured it the rest of his life.

Nearly twenty years later, when Sherman had risen to the rank of lieutenant general and was in command of the vast Military Division of the Missouri that stretched out across the high plains to the Rockies, the two met again. In the fall of 1866, the General made a trip westward along the Platte River and then swung southward to Denver and on to Fort Garland where he sought a conference with the Ute Indians. He found the fort commanded by his old friend Carson, now a brevet brigadier general of volunteers. As Sherman and Governor Alexander Cummings, of Colorado, put their questions to the Indians, Kit Carson acted as interpreter. The talks went on for several days.

Such negotiations were always long and tiresome. The Indians were given to vexatious periods of silent contemplation between questions and as the time dragged on Sherman had an opportunity to acquaint himself with Carson the family man. The General was quite fond of children and as youngsters of all hues played around the fort he watched them with interest and amusement. General James F. Rusling, who was

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present, later wrote that during one of the talks Sherman noticed a small brown child wandering inquisitively around the room. Taking the startled boy in his arms, he sat holding him until the anxious Indian mother discovered her offspring in the council room, his head nestled comfortably against the gold-starred shoulder straps.

Between sessions Sherman visited with Carson and his family. The children, a half dozen of them who Sherman described as "wild and untrained as a band of Mexican mustangs," aroused his curiosity. One day as the young ones streamed through the room in which the men were seated, scantily clad and noisy, the visiting general turned to his host and said, "Kit, what are you doing about your children?"

"That is a source of great anxiety," the aging westerner confessed. "I myself had no education. I value education as much as any man, but I have never had the advantage of schools, and now that I am getting old and infirm, I fear I have not done right by my children." Sherman could appreciate such feelings. He later wrote that Carson could not even write his own name and that his official reports were signed by his wife.

Anxious to be of assistance, Sherman explained that the Catholic College at South Bend, Indiana (now Notre Dame University), had given him a scholarship good for twenty years. He offered to divide it, giving half to Kit, so that two of the Carson boys could each have five years at the school. Kit expressed his appreciation for the offer and said that he would keep it in mind.

In less than two years the elder Carson was dead. He passed away at Fort Lyon, Colorado, in May, 1868, and was buried at Taos, New Mexico. Before the end came, he asked his relatives to send his eldest son on to General Sherman who, he said, had promised to educate him. Before long there appeared before the Sherman home in St. Louis a husky looking young man who identified himself as William Carson and said he had come to fulfill his father's request that he go to school. His sole possessions consisted of a revolver, a copy of Dr. Peters' *Life of Kit Carson** and about forty dollars in cash.

* DeWitt Clinton Peters, *Pioneer Life and Frontier Adventures. An Authentic Rec-*

Sherman was probably somewhat surprised by William's arrival at his doorstep. While he had offered the use of the scholarship to Carson's sons, he had not expected to assume the complete responsibility of educating one of them. As he later admitted, "I found that 'Scholarship' amounted to what is known as 'tuition,' but for three years I paid all his expenses of board, clothing, books, &c., amounting to about \$300 a year." Nevertheless, William was welcomed into the family and after staying on for a while with the Sherman children, he was sent on to South Bend to commence his studies.

The time-honored lament of college professors that their students come to them unprepared for higher education certainly applied to William Carson. Although he had commenced his studies at the Lux Academy in Taos, New Mexico, at the age of four, he appears to have gained little recognition from school authorities for anything except good conduct.* From time to time, Kit had urged upon his wife the necessity of the boy's education and when the youngster was nine he asked her to "tell him for me to apply himself as much as possible so that he may learn for if he applies himself I shall have the greatest pleasure in doing for him." How successfully William wrestled with his academic problems cannot be determined, but his years at the Catholic College indicated clearly that his earlier schooling was insufficient for the hurdles of higher education. Of course, to subject a fifteen year old boy, fresh from the relatively unsettled regions of the Rockies, to the kind of competition he now faced was perhaps asking a great deal, even as a death-bed request.

Records at the University of Notre Dame show that William paid the required five dollar entrance fee at that institution on September 9, 1868.* On that day also he paid \$150

ord of the Romantic Life and Daring Exploits of Kit Carson and His Companions. Peters was a surgeon in the U. S. army who had copied down Carson's life from dictation. The work was published in 1856 or 1857.

* John T. Lux, principal of the Lux Academy at Taos, certified on February 25, 1858, that "William Carson merits the approbation of his instructor for good conduct the past three months."

* No transcript of William's grade is available. The academic records for that period were lost in a fire, but an old ledger from the Office of Student Accounts was saved and on page 576 appears the account of "Wm. Carson, New Mexico." (Letter from Rev. Robert J. Lochner, C.S.C., Assistant to the Vice President to R. G. Athearn, February 18, 1955.)

for a year's board and room. Among his supplies were a Reader, \$.75, an Arithmetic, \$1.00 and a slate, \$.25. Within a few days after he was settled, he wrote a letter to his sponsor. When Sherman read the words that had been painfully etched upon a narrow, lined sheet of stationery, he knew he had a boy in college, for it contained a request as old as education itself. William needed money. "I was very glad yesterday when I reseave your leater," the writer opened his communication pleasantly. "I dont have write you because I was wating a leatter from you every day And please tell me when you write me when you are coming to veaseat us." Then he got down to business. "And please tell me where shal I gate some money. I dont recolect where dead you tell me to geat some." The essentials dispensed with, William closed his letter with "best regards [to] you and Misess Sherman and all the famlay."

During the remainder of the academic year the account shows that William bought the usual things a college boy of that day needed. In December he was charged for a new slate (\$.25), stationery (\$.18) and some collars (\$.25). In February he required "Pants Rep., \$.30," and "Boots Rep., \$1.35." In March he received another reader (\$1.75), thirty-two socks (\$1.50) and some collars (\$.25). In May he was credited with \$.40 for the reader he returned.

In the fall of 1869, now in his second year, William reported to his sponsor that he was getting on quite well. At the General's request he had gone to see one of Sherman's friends who supplied him with some new clothing. "I got from him a pare of pants and a coat and a hat all amounted to twenty one dollars." This was in addition to a "whole soot of clothes" and "two moar shurts" received on an earlier occasion. His ledger sheet indicates that he also purchased the usual handkerchiefs, collars, stationery, and stamps as well as a periodic "H. cut." The latter item cost \$.20. At the opening of his second year he required a Geography (\$1.20), a History (\$1.70) and a linen coat (\$2.00). That term he got to November before the bookkeeper noted "Pants rep. \$.35." He must have paid an unusual amount of attention to his books that fall, for in December the item "Pants rep." again appeared against his account. This time the damage was more serious and cost

ninety cents to repair. By March (1870) he needed boots (\$7.50) and more shirts (\$8.00). During that month he wrote to his benefactor that while he was progressing with his studies, "I am in the same classes I ware last session." Sick-ness had pulled him down, but, he insisted, "I am tring to do my best. . . ."

His best was not enough. At the end of three years Sherman learned from the authorities at the College that while William was a good natured boy, perfectly willing to try, he had, as Sherman admitted, "no appetite for learning." The General accepted the decision and acknowledged that "His letters to me confirmed this conclusion, as he could not possibly spell." The problem now became one of what to do with William. After giving the matter some careful thought, Sherman decided to send the boy to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. General Langdon Easton of the Quartermaster Corps could find enough for him to do to earn his board and room while he studied for a commission in the army.

Accordingly, William went to Leavenworth where he was employed as a messenger. In his off-duty hours he reported to Lieutenant George W. Baird, Fifty Infantry adjutant, for instruction. In October of 1872, William reported his progress to Sherman, saying he was under Baird's tutelage and hoped to pass the coming examination "for to go in the Army." He mentioned that on September 1 he had become twenty years old. William's newest instructor was very little more optimistic about his academic future than the fathers at the Catholic College had been. In August, 1873, Baird wrote directly to Sherman, describing the scholastic campaign and admitting defeat. "While Mr. Carson's studies were much interrupted, by sickness, he informed me, and from other causes from what I saw of him I infer that he is naturally very dull in all matters relating to books and that he suffers from the effect of having received little, if any, systematic instruction in his earlier boyhood," the Lieutenant explained to his superior. He stated flatly that William could never pass the examination prescribed by Army Headquarters and the only possible solution was to place him under a "conscientious and patient company commander to learn the trade that way."

The future of General Sherman's protege now became an

army problem. Colonel Edward Hatch, stationed at Ringgold Barracks, Texas, volunteered to take him on. Young Carson, he said, would be quite useful on the Texas frontier. He knew the Mexicans well. In fact, "he would make a valuable officer for all scouting purposes." General Stewart Van Vliet, a West Point classmate of Sherman's and a long-time friend, wrote from Fort Leavenworth that unless William were "examined *judiciously*" he would be in deep trouble trying to pass an examination. "He will make a good cavalry officer if he gets in," Van Vliet admitted, "but he is not much on 'larnin.'" As the time for an academic showdown drew near, William joined in the general concern. In August of 1873 he wrote to Sherman, expressing anxiety about the hurdle he must clear. In what subjects would he be examined, he asked? Would he really have to take the examination? He knew that enlisted men who were appointed lieutenant were examined under regulation G. O. 93-1867, but since he was a "sevelian," would this rule apply?

Sherman had done all he could in the matter. He had gone to Grant, in person, asking that William be appointed a second lieutenant in the Ninth (Colored) U. S. Cavalry. Grant promptly ordered the appointment, subject to the examination required by law. Reluctantly William went before a board of officers at Fort Leavenworth and listened to the dreaded questions. "After careful examination," Sherman revealed, "the board found him *deficient*, in reading, writing and arithmetic. Of course he could not be commissioned."

And so William dispiritedly made his way back home. He was no more discouraged than Sherman who wrote, "I had given him four years of my guardianship, about \$1,000 of my own money, and the benefit of my influence, all in vain. By nature, he was not adapted to 'modern uses.'" There was no further course to pursue now. With reluctance he wrote to William, advising him to return to Colorado to live with Thomas Boggs, a long-time intimate of Kit Carson's, and a relative by marriage. In the ensuing years Sherman heard little from his young friend. Once William wrote, asking Sherman to procure the Ute Agency for him and dutifully the General tried, only to learn that someone else had been promised the post.

Back in Colorado, William settled down to raise livestock. He married a daughter of Thomas Tobin, one of Kit's old friends, and lived a quiet rancher's life. In January, 1889, while he was unharnessing a team of horses, his own revolver was accidentally discharged and its bullet passed through his knee joint, lodging in the bones below the knee where it would be difficult to remove. A Denver paper reported that "owing to the bad condition of Carson's system the Doctor expressed doubts as to his recovery," but nevertheless the surgeon planned to amputate the limb if the patient indicated that he could survive the operation. Before he had a chance to operate, the patient suddenly died.

While William Carson showed that he could become a successful rancher, the educational experiment in which he had participated proved to be a signal failure. The unlettered Kit Carson did not live to share his son's disappointment and his old friend Sherman, who would soon express his unhappiness over his own boy's decision not to go to law school, wrote off the effort as one of those losses sustained in any speculative venture. He had done his part in trying to fulfill Kit's wishes. Kit, who Sherman said could not even write, had become a volunteer brigadier general. But that day was gone, and by the 1870's the army, steadily shrinking in size, was obliged to tighten considerably the conditions under which it would give a commission. William, who was "not much on 'larnin,'" was simply the victim of rising army educational requirements.

Note: Information concerning the efforts of Kit Carson and General W. T. Sherman to educate William are found in the following locations: The letters of William to General Sherman while the young man was at Notre Dame are in the William T. Sherman Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Volumes 24 and 27. The letters from Carson, Baird, Hatch and Van Vliet, written while William was at Fort Leavenworth, are in Volumes 33, 35 and 36 of the Sherman letters, Library of Congress. William Carson's expense ledger, while at school in Indiana, is at Notre Dame University, in the Office of Students' Accounts. Other material can be found in Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days, 1809-1868* (Chicago, 1914 and the revised, two volume edition, New York, 1935); Edward S. Ellis, *The Life of Kit Carson* (Chicago, 1899); and William T. Sherman, *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman* (2 volumes, Fourth Ed., N. Y. 1891). Very little information concerning William's later life is available. Ellen F. Walrath, a pioneer woman, wrote a small piece entitled "Kit Carson's Son, Billie" for the *Alamosa Courier* in June, 1937. Major John H. Nankivell mentioned that he ran a general store in an article about Fort Garland, Colorado, in *The Colorado Magazine*, Volume XVI, No. 1 (January 1939), 27. Sherman's interest in William appears in Albert W. Thompson, "The Death and Last Will of Kit Carson," *The Colorado Magazine*, Volume V (October, 1928). Details of his death can be found in the *Denver Republican*, January 20, 1889.

ALBERT PIKE AS A TENDERFOOT

By ALEXANDER E. JONES*

IN the summer of 1831, Albert Pike was faced with a somewhat unusual problem: should he take a long steamboat ride up the Missouri River to the Yellowstone, or should he cross the plains to Santa Fe with a trading party?¹

A few months earlier, Pike had been teaching school in Newburyport, Massachusetts, with never a thought of tasting the delights and dangers of the West. But in March the town authorities had turned him out of his job—partly for demanding an assistant and partly for playing the fiddle on Sunday. So Pike, who was then twenty-one years of age, decided to head for the frontier, where, since he was “finely educated,” he confidently expected to find his opportunities for success “greatly improved.” Later, of course, he came to realize that “what a man needed out there more than a school education was practical common sense.”² Such wisdom, however, came gradually; and before he finally attained it, Pike was to experience all the classic misadventures of the lowliest of Westerners, the tenderfoot.

When he left Newburyport, Pike took the stagecoach to Boston and from there began his long trek westward, sometimes hiking or riding horseback and sometimes traveling by stagecoach. His route lay through Albany, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Nashville. In Nashville he searched unsuccessfully for suitable employment and then wandered on through Tennessee and Kentucky. At Paducah he boarded a keel boat and floated down the Ohio to Cairo, where he took deck passage on a steamboat headed up the

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1. Although Fred W. Allsopp has dealt briefly with Pike's adventures in the West in chapters II to IV of *Albert Pike: a Biography* (Little Rock, Ark., 1923), his sources of information were severely limited, consisting chiefly of the so-called *Pike Diary* as published in the *Arkansas Advocate*. The present study, on the other hand, is based primarily on the unpublished manuscript, “Autobiography of General Albert Pike: from Stenographic Notes Furnished by Himself” (Library of the Supreme Council, 33^d, Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry, Southern Jurisdiction, U. S. A., Washington, D. C.); and it therefore contains much material never previously printed. Whenever dates or other specific details given in the present study differ from those cited by Allsopp, my authority is the Pike “Autobiography.”

2. “Autobiography,” p. 6.

Mississippi. And so it came about that in August, 1831, he found himself in Saint Louis, wondering whether fame and fortune lay at the headwaters of the Missouri or somewhere along the Rio Grande.

After due deliberation, Pike decided to join the Santa Fe trading party. On August 10 the ten wagons left Saint Louis and creaked across Missouri to Independence, where the men bought oxen, repaired their wagons, and added to their stores. At last, when all was in readiness, the little caravan rumbled out of Independence on September 10 and bumped along the rutted trail to Council Grove, where there was another stop for repairs and the checking of supplies. Then, finally, they began their long journey across the vast rolling prairies which reminded Pike of the sea.

At first the trip was high adventure. Pike was awed by the vast herds of buffalo which the party encountered; and when the men shot several of the beasts for food, he found the meat exotically delicious. Furthermore, his comrades showed him the trick of leaving a buffalo leg overnight on an ant hill. The ants would strip all the flesh away, and next morning the men would roast the bones and then crack them to get at the marrow.

Prairie wolves also added drama to the journey. Years later, Pike liked to tell how at least a thousand wolves followed the trading party, and how at night they sent up such a chorus of howls that "you would have supposed there were twenty thousand of them."³ Buffaloes, wolves, and the ever-present threat of hostile Indians—Pike was enjoying life to the full. And then, somewhere along the Cimarron River, his horse became frightened during a thunder storm and ran away, leaving Pike stranded. Almost immediately, the term "tenderfoot" acquired added significance.

More than five-hundred miles remained, and Pike covered most of them on foot. When his shoes wore out, he replaced them with moccasins. But these gave him scant protection against sharp stones and sand burs; and little pieces of gravel kept getting inside, where they bruised his feet. Somehow he acquired another pair of heavy shoes be-

3. "Autobiography," p. 10.

fore reaching Taos; but meanwhile his throbbing feet became such an obsession that they kept turning up in the verses he tried to write. Although he told himself, "Well, I have chosen my own rough way, / And I will walk it manfully,"⁴ in more candid moments he admitted that life already seemed too long "To one who walks with bleeding feet / The world's rough paths . . ."⁵

As Pike trudged southwestward, he gradually became aware of another problem: summer was ending, and the weather was becoming chilly. Before leaving Saint Louis, Pike had asked Captain Bent, the leader of the trading party, what clothing he would need on the trip. Bent had assured him that they would reach Santa Fe before cold weather; and, guided by the captain's opinion, Pike had sold his extra clothing in order to get enough money to buy a horse. Now, therefore, he was shivering in the November wind as he limped toward Taos. A snow fell; the situation began to grow quite serious. Then, at last, they reached the mountains; and Taos lay just beyond. Pike heaved a sigh of relief—and, as if in answer, a sudden blizzard halted the party in its tracks. For a week the men camped in the mountains while over five feet of snow fell on them. "It was," said Pike years later, "as big a snow storm as I ever saw in my life. I stood guard one night when a horse froze to death within twenty feet of me, and I would have frozen to death myself if we had not gotten something that would burn and made a fire and squatted down over it and by this means kept alive. I froze my feet in the mountains twice . . . It was a horrible time."⁶

When the men were at last able to dig the wagons out of the drifts, they floundered along the buried trail to Taos, where there was a week's stop. Then they made the last lap of the journey without incident.

Santa Fe, Pike discovered upon arrival, was not without a certain charm; but as the novelty wore thin, he began for the first time to experience the pangs of homesickness. Apparently he spent the next ten months there, although the

4. "Noon in Santa Fe," *Gen. Albert Pike's Poems* (Little Rock, Ark., 1900), p. 186.

5. "Lines Written in the Rocky Mountains," *Gen. Albert Pike's Poems*, p. 240.

6. "Autobiography," pp. 8-9.

record is vague concerning his activities during the period. In September, 1832, however, he heard that a trapping party was forming in Taos and that its leaders planned to head down the Pecos River and onto the Staked Plains. Immediately, Pike's love of adventure made him decide to join the trappers, and he rode north out of Santa Fe highly exhilarated:

Farewell, my land! Farewell, my pen!
Farewell, hard world—thy harder life!
Now to the desert once again!
The gun and knife!⁷

But unfortunately for this mood of derring-do, Pike got lost on his way back to Taos and wandered in baffled exasperation for almost a day. Finally, however, he was able to overtake the party; and so the trip proper began.

At first the journey proved uneventful. The party was a large one—almost eighty men—and consequently had little fear of any hostile Indians. But after a few days they discovered that both game and water were growing scarce. The men were forced to travel nine days before striking water; and for five of those days Pike had nothing to eat. The situation was acute, and at last some of the men took up a collection to buy a horse from Holliday, who had several. "The horse," said Pike in later years, "was old and worn out. And I recollect I would not eat the meat and William Boone made a soup out of it I tasted some of it and it tasted like? . . ."⁸

To hunt more efficiently, the party now broke up into little bands of men which fanned out across the countryside. There were thirteen in Pike's group; and although one of them managed to shoot an antelope a day or so later, it made only a token meal when divided among all the men. Next, they killed a buffalo—only to discover that they had no more fuel: "The only chance we had to make a fire was to cut down weeds and throw them into a pile and set fire to them and then throw the meat into the blaze. It would get partially

7. "Lines," *Gen. Albert Pike's Poems*, p. 520.

8. "Autobiography," p. 17.

cooked and when we tried to eat it, the longer we chewed it the larger it would get. It was horrible stuff.”⁹

Although such unscientific cookery was sobering enough, the men had a more serious problem: they were almost out of water again. Repeatedly they hastened toward a promising water hole, only to discover that they had been pursuing a mirage. Or, if they did actually find a water hole, its dry, salt-encrusted bottom mocked them silently. Pike had neither food nor water for three days; and to relieve his thirst, he first tried chewing on a bullet and then ate narcotic mescal beans. When his group reached the headwaters of the Brazos River and found the stream dried up, they dug all night with their knives, hoping to find water below the surface of the river bed. And, finally, they did indeed strike water—but so brackish that they were unable to drink it. The situation was now desperate, and Pike began to reflect somberly upon the bleached bones he had encountered along the way and to wonder if his was to be a similar fate.

When the men had done their utmost, and had failed, the horses suddenly found water—and plenty of it. The thirsty animals rushed into the pool they had discovered; and, despite their owners' efforts to get them out, there they stood, knee deep, drinking water eagerly until their swollen sides resembled barrels. It is quite possible that upon this occasion Pike's horse saved its master's life; however, by bloating itself with water, it lost its own. Three days later Pike found himself without a mount, and so once more obliged to trudge into Taos on foot.

Perhaps this inglorious return from the trapping expedition soured Pike on frontier life. At any rate, after another two months in Taos he decided it was high time he got back to civilization, and he therefore acquired another horse and started north with a group of traders. At first the trip was marred only by petty annoyances—Pike lost his knife, scratched his legs while attempting to force passage through brier thickets, and became sick after unwisely eating a prickly pear. Then his own peculiar brand of tenderfoot misfortune struck again: he lost his horse and was faced with

9. "Autobiography," pp. 17-18.

the prospect of walking back to Missouri. Very possibly, he thus became the only man ever to make a round-trip hike on the Santa Fe Trail.

Soon after crossing the Red River, Pike and his companions encountered an Osage hunting party, and the Indians took them back to camp to meet the chief, who seemed at first a trifle unfriendly. Pike therefore filled his pipe, took a couple of puffs, and handed it to the chief. When the latter accepted the pipe gravely and sucked on it in his turn, the palefaces knew that all was well.

After the men had smoked for several minutes, the chief said something to his squaw, who left the tent immediately. In a little while she was back, carrying a kettle and a couple of pots. She hung these over the fire, dropped some meat into them, and superintended the ensuing barbecue. Pike and his companions watched her progress hungrily, for game had been scarce on the prairie. When the food was ready, Pike ate ravenously, suspecting that he might not get another opportunity to stuff himself before reaching civilization. Furthermore, the meat, which he had momentarily suspected of being fox, proved to be venison and was very good. So he filled himself to bursting, sat back with a contented sigh, and had another smoke.

Just then, however, another Indian made his appearance; and the chief indicated through sign language that the stranger desired the white guests to eat in his lodge, too. "Of course," explained Pike later, "it would not do to refuse, and he had some ribs of a bear roasted, so we ate some of that and took a smoke with him."¹⁰

At the end of this second meal, Pike and his companions could scarcely move; but another Indian appeared, and then another. "The end of it was that we had to go to thirteen different places to eat and we had to eat at every place and the last mess we got was a pole cat. I got a taste of the liquid, and I did not get it out of my mouth for a week."¹¹

Leaving the overly hospitable Osage camp behind, Pike and his companions headed north again. Encountering very

10. "Autobiography," p. 14.

11. "Autobiography," p. 14.

little game, they finally found it necessary to slaughter Gillette's horse for food; and now Pike was not the only member of the party on foot. A few days later they passed through a river bottom where deer and turkeys were plentiful, and for a time feast replaced famine. But thereafter food became increasingly scarce. In desperation, Pike traded his rifle to an old Choctaw Indian for honey and bear meat; and a day or so later, when he ran out of tobacco, he was able to borrow a supply from another Indian. But he was now destitute and thoroughly tired of life in the wilderness. Furthermore, his clothing was in ruins: "I had a pair of buckskin pantaloons—and they were very handsome when I first got them," said Pike years later, recalling the trials and tribulations of life on the prairie. "But when I got east of the mountains I wanted some fir balsam, and in my efforts to get it I got the legs of my pantaloons wet. And they stretched out so that they got tangled about my feet, and I had to take them off and put them out to dry. When I got them back and dried, they drew up until they were around my knees. We had no money and no clothes."¹² So, when the party was forced to camp without shelter in a chilling autumn rain storm, Pike decided that it was high time to find a new route to fame and fortune.

His eventual decision was a novel one: he now determined to head for Louisiana, where, he had heard, there were many rich people. Once in Louisiana, he planned somehow to accumulate sufficient capital for a trip to South America. But on the morning after he had formed his plan, nature once more betrayed the tenderfoot: "We struck this road in the morning, and it was a cloudy day. We were puzzled, for we did not know which end of the road went to Fort Smith and which end went to Fort Towson. . . . It was a very cloudy day, and we took the wrong direction and travelled ten or fifteen miles on that day and camped on the road. The next morning the sun rose bright and clear, and we found that we had been going in the wrong direction."¹³ Previously, Pike had had no intention of going to Arkansas; but now, tired and

12. "Autobiography," p. 23.

13. "Autobiography," pp. 21-22.

discouraged, he decided to give up the Louisiana venture rather than retrace his steps. So it was that Albert Pike, ragged and hungry, entered Fort Smith on December 10, 1832, unaware of the distinguished career that lay before him. For, as he said in later years, "If it had been [sunshiny] when we struck that road, I should never have been in Arkansas, never."¹⁴

14. "Autobiography," p. 22.

SPANISH BELLS IN NEW MEXICO

By JANE HOWE

OF all the equipment deemed to be necessary for the continuance of missionary activities, the Spanish considered the church bell to be next to the gift of speech. For seldom did any padre Franciscan, Jesuit or Dominican seek to Christianize an Indian population in New Spain without the aid of at least a hand bell.¹ It was a practice of long standing. St. Patrick's hand-bell is a greatly venerated item in the Dublin museum as is that of St. Francis Xavier in the Goa Cathedral. Later, in California, Fray Junípero Serra swung chime bells on a tree limb² and rang them over an empty land to call forth the hiding natives. So must have the missionaries in Mexico as they accompanied the explorers from Zacatecas in the south to Taos Pueblo in the north, from the Papagos in the west to the Tejas in the east.

All Spanish exploration parties were accompanied by missionaries.³ And wherever settlements were established, a chapel had to be erected.⁴ Here bells played a part of the utmost consideration and for this purpose chime bells served admirably. Ordinarily, a chime bell⁵ measures approximately 12 inches high including the crown and may vary in circumference around the lip from 35 to 50 inches. These are small enough to be carried on a mule or donkey, and yet two or more rung together may be heard a distance of a quarter to half a mile.

The Francisco Vásquez de Coronado expedition probably carried chime bells on the explorations of 1540-1, since missionaries ministered to the spiritual needs of the explorers as well as converting the natives. Be that as it may, since it is only conjecture, there is every positive indication that Don

1. An ancient custom among missionaries of all centuries.

2. H. H. Bancroft, *California papers*, p. 176.

3. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Texas and the North Mexican States*, Vol. I, p. 116.

4. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *The True History of the Conquest of Mexico*, tr. by Maurice Keatinge, p. 100.

5. Not to be confused with a chime of bells. Bells may be of any size and number. Chime bells weigh under one hundred pounds and seldom number more than three.

Juan Oñate de Zacatecas brought a pair of chime bells into New Mexico in 1598. Such a pair has been unearthed along the Chama River near the site of San Gabriel, the first capital. Fred Harvey bought one bell; the other is in a private home within a few miles of its point of discovery.

Judging from the one remaining bell, it was probably cast in Mexico City. It is well proportioned, smooth inside and out and the inscription lettering may date from the fifteenth century: *MAXIA HOZHXIO†* At casting, it had a cross and crown top⁶ but the cross piece has been broken leaving only the scars where it once rested. The bell measures 5½ inch top, 15 inch length, 2 inch lip, and 2 inches thick. It is 18 inches in circumference at the shoulder, has a 26 inch waist and the lip or sound bow measures 49 inches. It is estimated to weigh about 60 pounds.

In contrast, another chime bell, from Pecos,⁷ is very crudely cast. It could well have been a ground-mold⁸ product, cast there at the mission. The shape resembles a clown's hat with a simple handle for the top. It is plain except for a diamond cross which irrevocably stamps the origin as Spanish. No other nation uses the cross composed of diamonds or squares for decorative purposes.⁹ The color indicates the lack of proper metals since it is not the customary green of Mexican and Spanish bells, nor is it bronze but rather a light beige. The combination of metals¹⁰ has raised the question as to whether bells were cast in New Mexico by the Spanish. With a scarcity of all metals except copper, it is doubtful if a bell could have been cast in the state unless metals from other objects such as jewelry were available. Recast bells are quite another idea.

Two such bells may be seen: at the Santuario at Chimayo

6. A sign of a royal bell. The symbol was invented by Ferdinand and Isabella as the sign of a bell cast in a royal foundry.

7. Now in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

8. A mold made by digging a hole in clay earth, the shape of the exterior of the bell. The core is cut from a tree trunk. Alternate layers of grease and clay are spread on each. The core set within the hole and in the space between the molten metal is poured. The gases are allowed to escape and then a cope of earth covers the bell and it cools.

9. Modern Spanish bells are so decorated.

10. 80 parts copper to 20 parts tin equals the best combination for perfect pitch.

and atop Cordova's small church. Both are devoid of inscription. The one at Cordova is fairly well formed and has a plain embossed cross. There are rope holes,¹¹ which have been plugged with iron bolts, and a sheath of copper on the inside of the lip. The bell at the Santuario is a monstrosity, topped by a hand-made riveted crown. The measurements are 5 inches at the top, 16 inches in length, 5 inch lip, 36 inch shoulder, 51 inch waist and 77 inch lip. The underside of the lip is concave admitting the thickness of a man's finger between the outer rim and the actual sound-bow. The overall picture of this bell indicates a ground-mold, as legend says, in a church plaza with every bit of metal available thrown into the pot. Otherwise, the bell could not have been produced. That leaves it an open question as to where it originated. Perhaps in one of the many villages of northern Mexico. Such a bell could easily have been exported since bells of comparable and even greater size are to be seen in the New Mexican Indian pueblos.¹²

But not all of the Spanish bells in New Mexico are either crudely cast or of unknown origin. There are nine bells cast in 1710 now hanging in church belfries which came into existence at the same foundry.¹³ Their measurements vary from two to six inches but the over-all proportion is the same. The indications of a cross over the crown top are visible on all of them. There are no rope holes, their color is light tan with tinges of green and all show a predominance of the long waist. The inscriptions are uniformly of block letters but not always perfect, an indication of several workmen. These inscriptions read:

ANODE 1710 SAN PEDRO at Acoma.

NVESTRASEÑORA DE GVAD ADVPEAAÑOD
17 10 at Jemez.

SAN VIVSENTE FERRER AN DE 1710 at San Ildefonso.
SANTIAGO D ANO DE 1710 at Santa Clara.

11. Two holes on either side of the top for the clapper rope.

12. Isleta Pueblo.

13. Two bells at La Bahía Chapel, Goliad, Texas, were cast in the same foundry: 1748 and 1796. Spanish casters are indicated since there are rope holes.

Not always is the date correctly written as the 7 is made in four ways: 7 ^ □ △. Each carries a diamond cross. Decorations vary somewhat from squares to small tree-like ornaments but the over-all appearance is so uniform as to make it possible for positive identification from the ground.¹⁴

The bells are in various states of preservation. Irreparable harm has been done by the Indian boys chosen to ring the bells for services. They hammer the sides with granite rocks, or, as in one pueblo, with iron cannon balls, for the bell clappers have disappeared. At Cochití,¹⁵ the rocks are worn smooth and resemble frozen fruit packages while at Picurís a wire has been wrapped around a suitable sized rock and this is swung at the bell. Under this sort of treatment the lettering is nearly obliterated. In fact, it seems to be the goal and has nearly reached accomplishment at Cochití where the bell is smooth with only the date clearly visible.

There is no uniform pattern as to the care of the bells. At Taos Pueblo, rebellion headquarters in 1680, the "old bell" is now hanging in the new church. It has every indication of being an ancient one. The fire from the bombardment of the former church in the Mexican War and subsequent rough treatment has all but obliterated the lower half of a beautiful diamond cross. There are rope holes and the inevitable story seems, in this case, to be true. This concerns the fact that the bell was damaged when the church burned. The Pueblo Council decided it should be kept out of sight until a more peaceful time. Evidently that is now. The bell first appeared in the Community House and then fourteen men, aided by pulleys, heaved it to a newly constructed tower where it is now pointed to with pride. Close examination of the bell will doubtless bring out the date but due to cement and other obstructions, it must be a future project. It is so hoped for if it proves to be a pre-1680 bell, it may be classed with those few remaining in the state, namely at Isleta (1632), Ácoma and Laguna (both 16th C.)

14. Pueblos which own 1710 bells are: Picurís, Santa Clara, Santa Ana, San Ildefonso, Cochití, Zia, Ácoma, Laguna and Jemez. One more is in a curio store.

15. This bell has a sheath of gold on the underside of the lip. Gold is also visible in the crown.

It would seem that at the pueblos most anti-Spanish in 1680, the bells received the best treatment.¹⁶ At Ácoma there is a 1710 bell and another purported to be cast in Spain in the 1500's. This bell is by far the most outstanding to be seen in the Southwest. The bronze is superbly blended so that a touch of the finger-nail initiates vibrations which are resonant and sweet, and so loud as to be heard over the pueblo. The rope holes are bolted. The bell is devoid of any inscription but there is a perfectly formed cross of squares reaching from the shoulders to the lip. Inside each square there is a cross of daisy petals. Another bell cast in Spain is to be seen at Laguna. Since many persons from Ácoma joined in the formation of this pueblo in 1699, Ácoma probably donated the new church one of their bells. It is there with a 1710 bell.

Mention has been made throughout this article of inscriptions. Without them, the work of the bell archeologist is immeasurably impeded. If the inscription includes the date, the age of the bell can be figured for sometimes a date may be incorrect. Witness the ever raging controversy over the "San Jose" bell in the San Miguel Church in Santa Fe. Because of the type of alphabet used, many historians maintain that this bell is a 19th C. product, while others, equally expert, hotly deny this. In the case of the 3 and the 8 in a date, file marks should be sought and are clearly visible at times, such as on the "Maria" bell at the Museum in Santa Fe.

There are several bells in New Mexico pueblo churches which must be labeled as "mavericks." They have no status because of lack of proper identification or their casting place is unknown. One of these is at Trampas. Another hangs at Isleta. This bears the date 1632 which is nearly erased by the constant striking of granite on metal. At Truchas is a bell much resembling a Spanish one to be seen at Mission Inn, California. The New Mexican one has the only Latin inscription discovered in the state: S DEI. Another bell is that which

16. Otermín and his captains reported on the state of each bell discovered on the attempted reconquest 1680-82. See C. W. Hackett, ed. *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's Attempted Reconquest 1680-1682*. Mention is also made by de Vargas of bells. See Jessie Bromilow Bailey, *Diego de Vargas and the Reconquest of New Mexico*.

was sold from the Rancho de Taos Church. Fire scarred and battered, the bell has smooth lines and may be Spanish.

Other bells in New Mexico need investigation. Some of the Pueblo Indians so jealously guard their treasures as to make it impossible to gain the necessary permission for study. While in others the bells are allowed to be beaten to death, to be sold, to be thrown out simply because they represent the old era. But no new bell can replace a Spanish one which has been treasured for centuries.

Notes and Documents

ROOSEVELT'S ROUGH RIDERS, 1953 *

First Row, seated:

Lt. Com. Spencer. Wm. C. Gibson (Billy), retired Mill man; 625 East 32nd St., Brooklyn, NY; Troop G. Robt. C. Ragland, retired; former rider with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show; 5450 Third St., Phoenix, Ariz.; Troop G. Arthur L. Tuttle, ret'd farmer and cattleman; Box 1184, Delano, Calif.; Troop A. Frank C. Brito, ret'd; Interpreter for Gen. Pershing in his punitive expedition for Villa, Box 374, Las Cruces, New Mex.; Troop I. Robt. W. Denny, Secretary and Treasurer, RRR; former peace officer and at one time (1909) Territorial Deputy Game Warden, enlisted at Santa Fe, N. M.; came to N. M. 1884; 418½ So. Milton Ave., Whittier, Calif. Arthur J. Stockbridge, ret'd. miner and cattleman, 1012 East Fairmen St., Phoenix, Ariz.; Troop F. Billy McGinty, ret'd. President RRR, one of the last of the Old Trail Drivers, and cattleman with Buffalo Bill in Europe and the U. S.; Troop K. Ed Mullen, Troop L. Theodore Folk, ret'd. rancher; Troop L & K. John Shaw, ret'd.** Farier, Troop H. George A. Murrat, ret'd. miner, and Lumber** Troop H.

Back Row—standing:

J. D. Langdon, President Langdon-Story Ind. No. 1 John Street, East Rockaway, L. I., N. Y.; Troop K. Harmon Wyncoop, ret'd. (His nephew is next, but is an Honorary Member), Box 1234, Santa Fe, N. M.; Troop E. James G. Yost, ret'd. (Blacksmith) P. O. Box 96, Burbank, Calif.; Troop C. James E. McGuire, ret'd., (Sgt. 1898), 2513 Parish Place, Burbank, Calif.; Troop L. Wm. H. Brumley, ret'd., hotelman, horse raiser, just a few months over 16 at enlistment, but a real man and fine hombre, No Foolin'; Troop G. George W. Wilkens, ret'd.**; Troop L. Col. Martin L. Crimmons, USA ret'd.**; splendid gentleman, one we miss very greatly; Troop B. Hon. Frank S. Roberts, still at work and going strong, a real man to ride the river with, Taylor Building, Breckinridge, Texas; Troop B. Chas. O. Hopping (Chaplain), also for all of his veteran organizations our Bugler as well, 1029 Termine Ave., Long Beach, Calif.; Troop F. Guy Lisk, ret'd., Alva Oklahoma; Troop F. Royal A. Prentice, Chairman Resolution Com., Quarter Master Sgt., 1898 (Attorney), 521 South Third St., Tucumcari, New Mex.; Troop E. O. W. McGinty, Honorary Member. James Y. Brown, ret'd., insurance

* Veterans present at the Reunion, James W. Arrott's ranch, Sapello, N. M., August 5, 1953.

** Dead.

For a group photograph see NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 30, No. 3 (July, 1955).

List submitted for publication by Robert W. Denny. Approved as correct by Chris Emmett, Historian for Rough Riders.

official (looking between the shoulders of McGinty and James W. Arrott, another Honorary member); Troop D. Starr M. Wetmore, ret'd. Trumpeter in 1898, served as Secretary many service Clubs in his home city of Arkansas City, 215 Central Ave., Kansas; severely wounded San Juan Hill, 1898; Troop D. Dic. Shanafelt, Ret'd., 1024 Penn Street, Lawrence, Kansas; Troop D. Paul Hunter, Fortuna ex-postmaster, 1107 Home Ave., Fortuna, Calif.; Troop D. Hamner. The man on the right is to my mind Ed. Culver, Claremore, Okla., instead of Love, so please change; he too is dead now **; Troop L.

THE SCOTTISH LOAN COMPANY

The Scottish Loan Company, as the name implies, was a Loan Company of Scotland financiers. Their representative, and manager in New Mexico, was a Scotsman, Thomas Carson.

At the time that the Fort Sumner Cattle Company began to close out their stock — about 1894 — Carson bought the Peter Maxwell cattle at Fort Sumner; the cattle of Manuel Brazil, whose home stood a quarter mile west of the present town of Taiban, and the cattle of Judge Magill, who lived on the site of the present La Lande.

Brazil and Magill had bought an interest in the cattle owned by Lucien Maxwell's widow, and all these cattle were under the U (Horseshoe) brand — the U on the left side.

(My brother, Carl J. Gerhardt, believed that the U had been the brand used by Lucien Maxwell on his Cimarron ranch.)

Carson acquired the brand, with the cattle; and from the brand came the name, the "Horseshoe Outfit." Only occasionally was the name Scottish Loan Cattle Company used.

To this newly acquired herd, Carson added a large bunch of cattle from Cabra (Goat) Springs, north of Cuervo (Crow). These cattle were branded EAG. I believe they were owned by Stoneroad of Las Vegas.

Yet another herd was added — the Henry McBroom cattle of the Coniva Ranch. The ranch was acquired with the cattle and became the Headquarters for the Horseshoe Outfit. Coniva is about thirty-five miles southwest of Tucumcari.

Henry McBroom had been a Government land surveyor in New Mexico through the 1870's, with his home in Santa Fe. About 1880, he bought a large herd of cattle and some nice horses and settled at the Coniva. His brand was an H on each hip.

The Horseshoe cattle roamed from the Coniva south to the Taiban Creek, east to the Texas State line, and west off the caprock into Gerhardt Valley.

The Horseshoes had about six wells with windmills scattered over the Plains, a good spring with a large dirt tank on the Agua Caballo (water for horses) Creek, just east of the present village of House, and good springs at Pete's Canyon and Bull Camp, a few miles northeast of

the present town of Taiban. Pete's Canyon was named for Peter Maxwell, who had a cattle camp there while running the Maxwell cattle of Fort Sumner.

Mr. Carson traveled about the big ranch in a buggy; and often drove to Las Vegas to transact business. Here all the ranch supplies were bought, as it was the nearest railroad town.

After the Rock Island, and Southern Pacific, Railroads arrived in 1901 and created the towns of Santa Rosa and Tucumcari, the Horse-shoes began to sell out their stock.

By 1902, Mr. Carson had retired, and was living in Amarillo, Texas. The late Richard Augustus Morris had taken over the management of the closing out process of the Horseshoe Outfit, which required about five years for completion.

Mr. Morris lived on the Alamo Mocho (cropped, or short cotton-wood) Creek, about twelve miles north of Jolar, where a new home had been built for the Horseshoe Headquarters after the Pecos Valley Railroad had been extended from Roswell through Portales to Texas in 1898-99, making Portales a much nearer trading center than Las Vegas.

The last of the Horseshoe cattle were finally gathered and sold in the fall of 1906; and so ended an interesting phase in the development of New Mexico — the end of free grazing range for large cattle outfits.

Tucumcari, New Mexico
March 24 — 1955

Editor Frank D. Reeve
NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW
University of New Mexico
Dear Editor

My article is based on information from my brother, Carl J. Gerhardt, taken down in notes many years ago; with additional information from my husband, who worked for the Scottish Loan Cattle Company in the early 1900's, and my own childish memories, and later recollections.

Should you find my work worthy of publication; and should you know the origin, meaning, and correct spelling of *Coniva*,* I should be very grateful if you would add this information in an editor's footnote to my story.

The early settlers spelled Coniva with an "i" as I have spelled it, while later residents spell it with an "e."

Sincerely yours
Lillie Gerhardt Anderson
(signed)

413 S. 1st Street
Tucumcari, N. Mex.

* I do not know the correct spelling. Ed.

THE CHARLES BENT PAPERS

(Continued)

Taos April 8th 1846

Mr. M. Alvaraze

Sir

I have heard from a good sorse today, that the Priest Martinis, and his brother the justice ware taking declarations to criminate me, for having traded with the Youtaws, but for fear that the Govenor, and Comidante, should receive this information and give credence to the information of the Priest, I wish you to request theas funcanaries to suspend thare oppinion in this case untill the[y] se or heare from me. The Priest expectes to impress it on the mindes of theas authoritiys, that I have controll over the Publo or fort Spalding at the mouth of the *fontane que Bouille*. And hard scrable, at the *Piedra Amarrillio*¹²² at neather of theas places have we any person employed or any ways connected with uss, farther than some of them owe uss money, which they got several yeares passed when in our service, I have heard from the Taos Indians that the Priest had said that theas Indians and we ware friendly with the Youtaws, and ware the persons that ware exiting the Youtaws to steal from the Mexicans.

The Priest will spair no meanes to injure me, but if he will attack me fairly publicly and above board, I am certain he will not accomplish his end, but underhandidly as he is no[w] doing, wishing to make Cats Paws of the Superior authoritys, to doe his dirty work, if he can suxceed in this there is no telling what he may accomplish.

The Priest will make use of every meanes to injure uss, and his strong hold is falshood this he will use to its extent, as he is in the habbit of doing. Some time passed when his cattle ware stollen he said publicly that it was not the Youtaws, that had done it, but the Shyeans and our people, he has sinse bean convinced to the contrary. I started Eastes express to the forte to have your goodes brought in. Charles Town met him on the head of Red River he expected to be at the forte on the 6th inst I suppose your goodes have left the forte by this. If you have an opportunity I wish you would communicate to Armijo and Archuleta the contentes of this letter as early as posible.

Youres Respectfully
Chas Bent

122. About seventy-five miles above Bent's Fort on the Arkansas river:

"These people are living in two separate establishments near each other; one is called Pueblo, and the other 'Hardscrabble'; both villages are fortified by a wall 12 feet high, composed of adobe." Quoted in Percy Stanley Fritz, *Colorado: The Centennial States*, p. 95. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941. A small settlement one day's march from Pueblo, Colorado: McGehee in *Journal of Mississippi History*, 14:93 (April, 1952). For a detailed description see Janet S. Leconte, "The Hardscrabble Settlement, 1844-1848," *The Colorado Magazine*, 31:81-98 (April, 1954).

P S I have not ascertained who are the Priestes Witnesses, but let them be who they may, I should like to have them called to Santafe for examination, if he makes his accusation in form,¹²³ hea[r]e the Priest can prove anything. he directes his brother the justice, and he dair not go contrary to his orders, a greate many think they are bound to say as the priest directes them.

C B

Mr Manuel Alvaraze

Taos Aprill 14th 1846

Sir

George and Blaire arrived yesterday, the[y] have brought all the nuse that was going, when in Santafe, but I am in hopes you will get something more, on the arrivle of Armijo If so pleas let uss have it. I shall not go down to Santafe untill I heare of the Waggons, reaching the Pauniel. We have no nuse heare, the Priest having left yesterday for Santafe, I am told he takes with him the labors of several months, in the way of propisittions, which he expects to make to the assembly¹²⁴ this no doubt will be found, to be a wonderful budget, when brought to light. I think he is likely on his returne, to have some difficulty with his old friendes the Publo Indians, in consiquence of his having directed his brother to have a ditch oppened from the river Lucero above, whare theas Indians take thare watter, the object of this ditch is to watter land now oppening, on the high prairie on the west side of this town about 2 miles directly west of Pedro Martins residence, this land is being oppened by him and famely, the Indians are determined to resist the oppening of this ditch, if it can not be done otherwise, they will resorte to armes the watter belongses to them and always has belonged to them they say, go a head Mattheo, there is a greadeal of talk about him, I think he lowses ground. Wright by the bearer.

Youres Chas Bent

Mr. M. Alvaraze

Taos Aprill 18th 1846

Sir

The troopes Stationed heare received an order from Armijo, to proceade imeadiately to Santafe as stated in the order, to treat on important military affairs, they leave in the morning, I take this opportunity of adressing you this. I have heard nothing as yet from the Waggons, I have bean expecting Estes back since the 15th, I presume he is travling with the waggons untill they reach Red River, he should at all eventes be heare in a day or two.

Day before yesterday the Priest Martines Sister told a good joke of the priestes, which caused him a greadeal of uneasiness during the Passion week, some one had told him, or he imagined it, that I had had a hole dug from my house to the Church in which I had deposited

123. The word *formerly* is scratched out; so I judge that Bent changed from *formerly* to *in form*.

124. The second departmental assembly, elected January 1, 1846. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, p. 231 note.

three Kegs Powder, for the purpos of blowing them up on Good friday, he was so well persuaded of this, that he called on the justice his brother to come and examin my house to ascertain the fact, which he himself did not doubt, but his brother fool as he is, told the Priest he could not doe so, it was too rediculious to believe that such a thing was posible. I must be a good Sapper and Miner, in his estimation. Antoine Ledoux¹²⁵ and all other forigners are heare from Lo de Morra called to the Perfects, to exhibit thare letters of Security, this must be interesting to theas men after having bean ordered out on *Cortado*,¹²⁶ three or four time this Spring, the Perfect has had uss all before him he has taken our names, and I supose will reporte them to Armijo, and probably this will be the end of this greate hubbub.

Be on the look oute I think the Priest will endeavor to doe something againste our possessions, If you can get an order from Armijo (which he promised me) to the authoritys not to interfear or imbarris the Setling of our grantes¹²⁷ doe so, and send it up. M Lefever¹²⁸ should shortely be at the forte, if not alreedy thare,

April 19th

Estes and Fisher¹²⁹ arrived from the waggons today, they left them on the Pigatory¹³⁰ on the 16th, they got allong verry slow the Oxen are quite poore it will be 10 or 12 dayes before they reach the Pauniell, and at least 20 dayes before they reach Santafe. Your letter of the 16th reached heare about 12 oclock I shall leave for Santafe on tuesday 21st, and shall take your adviz, I have no desire to imbark in the enterprise you speake of, in fact I shall avoid the Gentlemen you mention, My respectes to all friendes and the Govenor.

Youres Respectfully
Chas Bent

Mr M Alvaraze
Sir

Taos May 1st 1846

Our Waggons left the Ryalle on the morning of the 29th of last. You may expect them in Santafe between the 8th & 10 of this. They are going on tolerable well.

125. Antoine Leroux: an early resident of Taos, trapper and guide. Well-known in his day and frequently mentioned in the literature of the West. See note 21.

126. *Cortado*: probably means ordered out on short term military service.

127. Bent had interests in the land grant better known as the Maxwell grant; and in the Las Animas grant and the Sangre de Cristo grant. *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 8:117. Cason, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

128. Manuel Le Fevre was a resident of Taos. Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah* . . . , p. 124 *passim*.

129. A prominent trader connected with Bent's Fort. His name may be attached to Fisher's Peak in the Raton mountains. Carroll, *Guadal P'A* . . . , p. 36 and note, citing Grinnell, "Bent's Old Fort and Its Builders," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, 15:56f. A Robert Fisher is listed as foreman of a trial jury at Taos in 1847. *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 1:30.

130. *Purgatoire*: see note 35.

St Vrain and Folger¹³¹ arrived a fue dayes passed. they leave in the morning for the U States, in consiquence of St Vrains having heard of the death of his mother, we have no nuse of consiquence heare, except that our Priest is rather put to an onplush in consiquence of the Perfect having sent the sute between Ortibeaze and Lucero back to be determined by Jose Marie Valdess he had asked in his representation to the Govenor that it should be sent to the justice of arojo Sake,¹³² this was not granted him, I think Ortibise will gane the sute, and posibly the Priest will go to jail, if he is insolent

Youres etc
C Bent

P S I shall be in Santafe shortely after St Vrain leaves.

CB

Mr M Alvaraze

Taos May 3rd 1846

Sir

Blair & George ware attacked by a mob in the squair of this place Blair was in Liquor, and George was trying to take him home, when theas fellowes made an attack on them. Roffial Salasar, Santago Gabaldon, Callario Montallio, Juan Torris, & Jose Cordova alias Chuffean, and others.¹³³ I wish if Posible that the Govenor would have theas and those others not named, that have participated in this taken to Santafe for trial. it is imposible to get justice heare several of theas ar serventes of the big famely and they will protect them all they can. You will pleas make this Knone to the Govenor. I would like this done, to prevent any greater auterage. There has bean threatas made and if anything farther is done heare I would not like to answer for the consiquences. excuse this as I am much exited at this moment.

Youres etc
C Bent

P S doe all you can to have theas fellowes taken to Santafe as soone as possible.

CB

Mr. Alvarase

May 3rd 8 oclock night [1846]

Sir

I have just bean called over to George Bentes, this same mob that attacked him and Blair today have just left his Window whare they have bean insulting him. I have aprised the authority most neare to have it stoped wether it will be done I cannot say. Since dark I have

131. "Mr. Folger" . . . "has accompanied Mr. St. Vrain for several years, in pure love of adventure." Garrard, *Wah-To-Yah* . . . , p. 7.

132. Arroyo Seco (or a *dry wash* in English) is about three miles due north of Taos Pueblo.

133. I have no special information on these several men, apparently all residents of Taos.

bean told that the justice has told theas men to doe what they pleased he would not doe uss justice. I doe not vouch for the truth of this. but appearences are against him, he not having taken up the persons engaged in this affair, they are going about tawn drunk and singing, and rejoicing. in consiquence of thare victory, thare ware about thirty men attacked George & Blair I have not as yet faund aute the names of all conserved. The justice would take no stepes in the affair to day because it was sunday, this shawes that he conives at theas outrages, If this mob is not punished I would not answer for the pease of this place. Some of the ring leade[r]s are the Priestes & brothers serventes, who I have no doubt will sustain them. I hope you will prevail on the Govenor to interest himself in this affair for his honor as supream authority heare is at stake, some of theas ingaged in this affair, are the murderers of Francisco Lacampt, who hollawed lustely to kill them as they had done with the *Sordo*,¹³⁴ some person not yet knone is at the bottom of this affair

C Bent

Mr. Alvaraze

9 o'clock 3 May

Sir

I have just bean informed from a good sorse that Pasqual Martines told Santago Golvadone to raise a party and go and attack Blair & George.

My informant did not heare P Martinis tell the above, but he was told this by byestanders who I will secure if thare testimony is wanted. I have suxceeded in getting the *juies de vario*¹³⁵ to place centennells to ceape of[f] the mob from Georges house, I have more confidence in him than the justice. Jose M Valdess saw the whole transaction but never interposed his authority to put a stop to it. I am told that theas are the most of them that ware engaged in the attack on Beaubens house in 1843 Blair has three verry large Cutes in his head wether the Scule is affected or not we have not bean able to assertain George is verry much beaten. Blair was left dead in a hole of Watter & mud in front of Lees hause. I unfortunately was Absent at the [time] in the Rancho. St Vrain & Folger ware asleap, Pasqual Martinis sean the whole affair, he was standing neare Lees store If he had not of authorised the affair, why did he not interpose his authority to stop the mob, he himself told me he had sean the whole affair If the Govenor is disposed to have this affair inquired into, and weashes to get the truth, it must be done, intirely out of the reach of the influence of theas men who are in power heare. I have bean looking for some thing of this kind for some time, and if I recolect right I wrote you on this

134. The *Sordo*: the word means a deaf, or quiet, person; probably in this case one who was close-mouthed and a resident of Taos.

135. *Juez de vario*—or juez de barrio, meaning the judge of the district, although the term is not a title in itself in New Mexico so far as I know.

subject some time passed. If we are no longer protected by the authorities, we had better leave as soon as possible, we are so fair removed from any assistance [?] which we rely on from elsewhere that it amounts almost to none at all.

The justice has taken no notice up to this time of this affair, and I believe will take none. Please write me by the bearer, what is likely to be done also if the Governor acts let it be done quickly.

Yours etc
C Bent

Whilst this family is in authority foreigners are not secure, moreover they will be the cause of bringing their superiors into difficulty.

C B

Mr. M. Alvarado
Sir

Taos May 10th 1846

I received your letter on the 7th inst enclosing the Governor's order to the perfect I delivered it the same morning. At the same time made objections to Jose Marie Martinez hearing the case, he told me he would pass it to the Substitute Valdés, this one having given me for reason, why he did not interfere in the affair on Sunday 3rd, that the justice proper, was present and saw the whole difficulty. I admitted him and so far he appears disposed to do justice, the witnesses that have been examined almost all say that the justice and brother the Capt saw the whole affair, and some go so far as to say that Pasqual rather incouraged the mob, or some of them. The justice and Pasquale being present and taking no steps to put a stop to the affair, to say the least of it, was an encouragement to the mob, to do as they pleased, in fact it amounted to permission to do even more than was done, the justice could not have failed to hear the expressions the mob made use of at the time *to kill the . . . as they had done . . . with . . .* they were beating Blair & George, as some of the witnesses state that they heard them, who were in the immediate vicinity of the justice. I think we shall be able to close the affair on Tuesday next, 11th this morning the justice Valdés, has heard that the Priest has told the culprits that are in jail, to raise and leave their prison if he the justice does not discharge them, but the information comes from such a source (Women) that he cannot take hold on the Good Priest, he goes this morning to notify the Perfect. We shall be prepared to give the justice all the assistance in our power. In haste, the Priest and brothers are getting quite uneasy there is no doubt but they were the prime movers in the affair, as yet we have not been able to fix it on them clearly, but it may be let out if the delinquents are punished severely.

Yours in haste
C Bent

Mr. Alvaraze
Sir

Taos May 30th 1846

When I left Santafe you neglected to give me the \$4 for Louis Jones, I will pay him the money, and charge it to you. We have no nuse heare, except the threatas supose, to have bean caused to be made by the Priest and brothers. My dearborn [?] could not get farther than Rio ariba,¹³⁶ the mules ware so poor they ware unable to hall it. The bearer of this will deliver to you, the harnis that McNeas loned me, and on the deliverry, you will pay him four Dollars and fifty centes in Merchandise and charge to me, I shall leave on tusday next, St Vrain an George have returned from the other side of the mountain, they have sclected the cimerone¹³⁷ as the most elagable place to build and farme, they call the place Montazuma. Sageness got in yesterday from the forte, our waggons have bean gon 19 dayes, so we shall overtake them neare the settlementes, the Waggons from Santafe reached the Pauniel yesterday I have heard none of the perticulars of thare trip, There has three prisoners gotten in from the Youtaws, they reporte that thare was but Six indians returned and some of theas wonded, how much credit can be attached to this reporte I am unable to say. I give the barrer an order for the Harnis at D Julian Luceros so he can have no excuse.

Youres etc
C Bent

D. Manuel Alvaraze
Sir

Taos May 31st 1846

In my last letter I neglected, to request you to informe the Govenor that I had told D. Juan B. Vigil,¹³⁸ that it was the Governors wish, that he should wright, to the justice Valdess, to get from Abreau Romero a mule, belonging to the Government, and send it to Santafe, this is one of the mules stollen last yeare from the Shyeane Indians which I paid the Indians for at General Martineze¹³⁹ request. Theas theaves should be made to pay (if posible) the expences the Government has bean at to satisfy the indians, D Juan Vigil I presume doubted, wether it was Armijos, order that he should wright to the justice on this subject as I delivered it verbally.

I shall leave on tusday next; Our settlement on the Pauniell, I think will go a head, this season, as thare are several persons, that

136. Rio Arriba means literally *up the river*, and was customarily applied to the region northward from Santa Fe. This reference implies a specific locale.

137. The Cimarron flows eastward and southward from the present-day Eagle Nest dam into the Canadian river.

138. Probably Juan Bautista Vigil y Alaric who was acting governor after the flight of Armijo to Chihuahua. He replied to General Kearny's address at Santa Fe on the occasion of the military occupation of New Mexico.

139. General Mariano Martínez de Lejanza served as governor of New Mexico from April, 1844, until May, 1845.

have meanes desposed to joine uss, The prisoners, those confined for the mob on the 3rd, have today opposed the Orders of the justice Valdess, it is suposed heare, that the Priest is working the wires,
My best respects to Armijo, Haughton, and D, A, Vigil.

Youre obt Svt
C Bent

P S the Priest Vigil will take this in the morning june 1st

Mr Alvaraze
Sir

Taos June 1st 1846

Since I wrote you last eavening, we have had quite a stur heare, by the mob, the fellow that broke jail and went to Santafe returned last eavening, the justice had orders from the Perfect to put him in Irons so soone as he returned, the justice, ordered to be put in close confinmet, but the ballence of those that are in jail opposed the order, the justice then ordered the ring leader of the prisoners to be put in Irons, this they have opposed with threates, saying they will obey no authority, Mentioning the Perfect, and justice; thare is no doubt but theas rascals have bean exited to doe this, to bring the justice Valdess into disrepute, this justice called on the justice Martines for assistance, I have not heard wether he will, or will not grant it. If the Govenor doze not take some energetic steps to stop this, and have the delinguentes sevearly punished, thare will greate disorder grow out of this. You should if convenient sea the Govenor, before he despachs the barrer of this and an officio to him on this subject, and urge him to doe something to saporte Valdess and his authority, and give the Priest, and brothers thare quieatas,¹⁴⁰ I think they are the moovers in this cause, as the prisoners frequently say, that the justice Valdess, is doing all he can against the *Bendeto Padre*¹⁴¹ Such expressions go to prove that he has something to doe with them.

My Packs left this morning, and I shall leave tomorrow morning with the setlers of the Paunille, give the justice Valdess aid with the ankle if you can

Youres Respectfully
Chas Bent

P S Since I wrote the above the prisonrs have left the jail, and have presented themselves to the justice Martineze, he instead of having them taken up and put in jail told them he had nothing to doe with them, he has in this shone his desposition to favor disorders, and I assure you if theas rascals are not puneshed thare will be no safety hear, they have thretoned the life of the justice.

C Bent

140. *Quieta*: probably from *quietar*, meaning to quiet. In other words, the brothers were to be punished in a quick decisive way and disabled for future trouble-making.

141. *Bendito Padre*: the Blessed Father. Probably refers to Padre Martínez, with a sneering or mildly vindictive meaning.

Book Reviews

The Big Bend Country of Texas. By Virginia Madison. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1955. Pp. xiv, 263. \$4.50.

The Big Bend of the Rio Grande encloses a region which is still frontier. It is a sparsely settled area of flaming deserts and lofty mountains, difficult of access and hostile to all but the hardiest plants, animals and men. Across the river in Mexico lies a still wilder wasteland. Virginia Madison, a Texas girl transplanted to New York State, calls the country a *tierra desconocida*—an unknown land—and tries to analyze the spell which this wilderness casts over the imaginations of natives and visitors alike. The essence of it, she thinks, is the fact that the realities of the Big Bend live up to the “staggering lies” which have been told about it.

Its history begins with the Indians. A subdivision of the Mescalero Apache tribe made it their home and held it against all comers until fairly recent times. Mexican settlers maintained a precarious existence in small communities along the river after the early years of the nineteenth century, but their lot was a hard one. A few tough Americans like trader Ben Leaton and cattleman Milton Faver took root there before the Civil War, assisted by the military when Fort Davis was established in 1854.

The railroad came in 1882, bringing more settlers—cattlemen, sheepmen, and miners—but life was not made any easier. Early-day outlaws were succeeded by *contrabandistas* and *Villistas*, and when wicked human beings ceased from troubling, there were always panthers, golden eagles, and long dry spells to put the ranchmen out of business.

The best thing about such a country, where heroism and endurance had to be the rule rather than the exception, was its legendry. Mrs. Madison has gathered all the stories and delights in telling them, from the tale of the Lost Nigger Mine to the steer branded MURDER. At the same time she has dug into all the available source material, has an impressive bibliography, and quotes from all manner of letters, documents, and interviews.

She tells the story of the great mercury mines at Terlingua, tries to analyze the peculiar relations between Mexicans and Anglos, goes thoroughly into the characteristics of cattlemen and sheepmen, studies the flora and fauna of the region, and concludes with an account of the birth and development of the Big Bend National Park. If she has missed anything, this reviewer has not noticed it.

Mrs. Madison is a competent historian and she writes well, though her Spanish needs occasional correction and though she is perhaps a little lengthy in her transcription of letters, documents, and newspaper accounts. Her book would be better if she had a little poetry in her—if she sometimes could find language to match the ruggedness and vastness of her subject. As a ground breaker, however, she has done very well; and perhaps it is too early for West Texas to produce its Homer.

Texas Western College—El Paso, Texas C. L. SONNICHSEN

Anselm Weber, O. F. M.: Missionary to the Navaho 1898-1921. By Robert L. Wilken, O. F. M. Milwaukee, Wis.: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1955. Pp. xiv, 255, illustrations, index.

Father Robert L. Wilken has written a book for many readers. He who loves the Southwest will find great interest in this biography of a twentieth century Franciscan missionary to the Indians, for it deals with a man who lived close to the people and the soil of this region. Historians concerned with the westward movement, the Indian, religious activities, and social history can discover here grist for their various mills. For anthropologists, too, this study contains material on the Navaho and Zuni tribes and a case study of an attempt at acculturation.

Father Anselm Weber, born 1862 in Michigan, was at heart a student and teacher. He left his scholarly pursuits among the Cincinnati Franciscans to recover from illness induced by an excessive academic load. So in 1898 he was one of the three friars who initiated the Navaho mission for

which Mother Katharine Drexel had long worked and which she largely financed.

St. Michaels Mission in Arizona is some sixty miles west of Gallup, New Mexico, in the southeastern corner of the Navaho reservation. As the author indicates in his early chapters, Mother Katharine was reviving the Roman Church's sporadic and unsuccessful attempts over more than two centuries to christianize this proud tribe. The stubborn devotion, inspiring optimism, and discouraging rebuffs of this modern effort and the remarkable character of the man who chiefly led it are clearly and carefully presented by Father Robert.

No treatment of such a subject is adequate without some understanding of the cultural problems involved. Father Robert has taken pains to present enough of this material to show his readers not only how difficult was the missionary's task but also how intelligently the friars under Father Anselm's leadership dealt with it.

Mission policy grew slowly and painfully, beginning with a determination to master the complicated Navaho language. So successfully was this accomplished that from the St. Michaels press has come an impressive stream of linguistic and anthropological works, which are basic to a study of the Navaho today. Father Anselm's efforts to uplift the tribe economically and to guide the people to a more settled existence in which "they may have an opportunity themselves to live the Christian life" never proved as successful. Essentially Father Anselm's greatest achievement was in winning the affection and trust of these Indians who had suffered so severely at the hands of the whites. This he did by devoting his life to their problems, fighting their battles even in the government buildings at Washington, and serving as spokesman, peacemaker, and guardian.

The biographer has done a scholarly job of research and synthesis, using secondary works in history and anthropology where necessary but relying most on such primary sources as diaries and the rich collections of Franciscan materials from Arizona to Washington. Nor were interviews and newspapers neglected. Footnotes, thank goodness, cluster

like barnacles on the *bottom* of each page. It is almost ungrateful, therefore, to point out shortcomings of this work. The necessary map at the beginning might have been fuller, and its type variations made no sense to this reviewer. Occasional misprints and a lengthy index that still lacked some obvious entries marred an otherwise fine job of book-making. But the pictures are useful and enlightening, while the chiefly chronological organization proved awkward only in Chapter VIII. These are minor matters, however, that cannot hide the thoughtful, intelligent whole.

Lincoln, Massachusetts

IRVING TELLING

Trailing the Cowboy. By Clifford P. Westermeier. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1955. Pp. 398. \$5.00.

This work is an attempt pretty thoroughly to dissect, analyze and characterize the picturesque cow herdsman of the Western plains. This effort results in such chapter headings as: The Man On Horseback; All In The Day's Work; Law and Disorder; Foes on the Frontier; and so on to a total of eleven, each with an editorial introduction. The compiler-editor successfully carries out his undertaking.

This "trailing" of the cowpuncher is not the telling of a story as such. The reader will not find a thrilling love narrative or a gripping suspense in the usual romantic sense. And yet, this volume is chock full of interesting and pertinent material for anyone who cares to attain a better understanding of the cowboy.

The theme of the book is, of course, the American cowboy. What was his origin, who was he, what was he like, what did he do and how did he do it? By and large, Mr. Westermeier has done an excellent job in weaving together the significant material and in answering the foregoing and other appropriate questions. Was the cowpuncher wedded to his horse? Certainly, because without a horse you were not really a cowboy. Did he often sing his herd of cattle to sleep? Well, almost, for he gave them a feeling of security, conducive to sleep by singing as he rode slowly around the

outer circle of them at night. Was he brutal? No! Did he play poker? Yes. Was he a good shot? Well, yes and no. Did he drink plenty of "bug juice" or "Texas lightning"? You bet! And so on.

The hey-day of the cowboy was during approximately the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and this is the era covered by the material presented in this book. The editor's sources are chiefly Western newspapers; nevertheless, he has included enough books, documents, and magazines to give it a well-balanced effect. The quoted characterizations and descriptions of the cowboy are vivid and authentic, as they should be, because they were written, not by Gene Autry, but by those frontier neighbors and newspaper men who knew the cowpuncher best. True, some of the accounts differ as to detail, and perhaps certain facts vary, but not significantly when it comes to fundamentals.

The editor's sub-chapter and chapter introductions are unusually well written and useful in pointing up the material included. The quotations cover a wide range of interests involving the cowboy and his environment. The average reader, as well as the expert, will find few or no questions that go unanswered. This reviewer found only one, and that one was of no great significance. There is an eight page description of a cowboy strike in the Texas Panhandle. Did the strikers succeed or fail? One could infer that they failed, but perhaps the editor could have been more accurate by specifically saying so.

At the end of each chapter, there is accurate and full footnoting, and there is a separate bibliography at the end of the book.

Mr. Westermeier and his publishers must regret the typographical error on page 17: ". . . in the middle eighties, the cattlemen's frontier embraced an area of some 13,500,000 square miles and totaled almost 44% of the United States!" The total area of the United States is about 3,000,000 square miles. This is, of course, a very slight mar on a book that is otherwise apparently quite accurate.

"The legend of the American Cowboy is the greatest symbol of America," said Will Rogers, Jr., at the dedication of

the projected Cowball Hall of Fame in Oklahoma City in November, 1955. Surely Mr. Westermeier's work as a useful and lasting contribution to the history of the West deserves a place in that hall.

University of California, Santa Barbara College;
and Arizona State College

H. EDWARD NETTLES

Six Gun and Silver Star. By Glenn Shirley. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1955. Pp. vii, 235. Bibliography, map, and index. \$4.50.

The rather solid character of this book distinguishes it from the title—*Six Gun and Silver Star*. To be sure this is another of many volumes on bad men of the Southwest. But the author, Glenn Shirley, has given distinction to his work by making a conscientious effort to tell an accurate, un-glossed, and unromanticized story. Moreover, he has documented his account. At times he goes to considerable length to give reasons for some of his statements and conclusions. One therefore reads with considerable assurance that the exploits narrated in this book come within the realm of history rather than fiction.

He begins with a graphic account of the opening of part of Indian Territory to white settlers on April 22, 1889. In the midst of the great mass of land hungry "Boomers" and "Sooners" on hand for the land grab was the lawless element which was soon to terrorize and cast a frightful blight upon, not only Oklahoma Territory, but the entire Southwest. Beginning with the Dalton brothers, there was a succession of not unrelated gangs which have here been subjected to the scrutiny of a person who combines authorship with the profession of law enforcement.

Mr. Shirley has a penchant for details which to some readers may be wearisome. So when, for example, he describes the Dalton's ill-fated simultaneous hold-up of two Coffeyville, Kansas, banks, it is possible to visualize the intricate series of bloody events which occurred in this small frontier town.

It is not surprising that Mr. Shirley, a police captain at Stillwater, Oklahoma, looks with considerable admiration and sympathy upon such frontier marshals as John Hixon, Jim Masterson, Bill Tilghman and the Dane, Chris Madsen. And appropriately enough, the author views with contempt and scorn the Dalton, Doolin, and other outlaw gangs. In the extensive and repeated gunplay between the forces of law and of outlaw, one cannot but observe that on both sides the record exhibits an amazing disparity between rounds fired and shots which found their mark. But in almost Hollywood fashion, it is comforting to learn that even in those days crime did not pay. The final chapter of the book tells the story of how the last of the Oklahoma Territorial outlaws "bit the dust."

Indiana University

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

Snow of Kansas: The Life of Francis Huntington Snow with Extracts from his Journals and Letters. By Clyde Kenneth Hyder. Foreword by Deane W. Malott. Pp. xi, 296. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1953. Appendices A and B. Index. Illustrations. \$5.00.

The career of Francis Huntington Snow was long and varied. From a New England family steeped in the reform movements of the 1840's, Frank went to Williams College and studied under Mark Hopkins. During the Civil War he served on the Christian Commission, and in 1866 he was named one of the three original professors at the University of Kansas. From 1890 to 1901 Snow served as chancellor of the University, and lived for seven years after his retirement.

Snow's great service to learning was in science. A botanist and entomologist, he was, like most of the scientists of his day, a collector and classifier more than a laboratory scholar. The subjects of his many books and periodicals range widely, and deal with problems of applied science rather than pure.

The eleven years of Snow's service as chancellor saw considerable physical growth of the University of Kansas and the doubling of the enrollment. Stout Republican that he was,

Snow succeeded in holding the line, during that stormy decade, against the efforts of the Populists to make over the University to their own designs. He was successful in preventing his institution from coming under the sway of radicals to the extent that Kansas State College at Manhattan did.

Professor Hyder's eulogistic biography has value. It contains a useful list of Snow's many writings, and the chancellor's strong character is well drawn. The biographer had access to his subject's lengthy and self-analytical journals, and used Snow's other manuscripts as well. It would have been more useful if the author had familiarized himself more with the nature of those activities that touched Snow's life. The account of the chancellor's encounters with the Populist group, for instance, would have been enriched had the biographer stated more clearly what that party was really working for. Although his history of Kansas University in the late nineteenth century is thorough, he considers it too much apart from contemporary developments in higher education generally.

Such careless errors as Hyder's reference to "the diary of Richard Byrd of Westover" (p. 11) are rare. The notes are useful even though they are at the rear of the book. The index appears to be well done.

University of New Mexico

WILLIAM M. DABNEY

Comanche Bondage: Dr. John Charles Beale's settlement of La Villa de Dolores on Las Moras Creek in Southern Texas of the 1830's [by Carl Coke Rister] with an annotated reprint of Sarah Ann Horn's Narrative of her captivity among the Comanches her ransom by traders in New Mexico and return via the Santa Fe Trail. Edited by Carl Coke Rister. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1955. Pp. 210. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.

This title indicates the comprehensive character of the book. The late Dr. Rister planned the "Introduction" to merge smoothly into the story of Indian captivity, not merely

as a background but as portentous of the horrors of the captivity.

The story begins with Dr. John Charles Beale, an English physician in Mexico, who married a Mexican woman, widow of another Englishman, who had obtained an interest in a grant of 45,000,000 acres in the *Llano Estacado*. Beale took this interest along with the widow. He sent Major A. Le-Grand of Santa Fe to explore the area. Dr. Rister points out that this was nearly twenty years before Captain R. B. Marcy, "who has worn the honor of first explorer." Beale finally had the grant confirmed for only a few million acres, along the upper Nueces and south to the Rio Grande. He then organized the Rio Grande and Texas Land Company in New York to finance colonization. He did not appreciate the difficulties of the undertaking: soil and climate, remoteness from markets, hostility of the Mexicans, which soon broke out in war, and the ferocity of the Comanches, whose war trail ran through his grant.

The colonists numbered fifty-nine persons, mostly men, but including John Horn, his wife Sarah Ann, with two young sons, and a Mr. and Mrs. Harris and "a babe." The party landed in December, 1833, on Copango Beach, near Bayside, Texas, in a drenching rain. A hard trip overland brought it, three months later, to the site of the colony on Las Moras Creek. The short history of the colony was full of privations and turmoil; rough weather, crop failures, extortionate prices for supplies charged by the company store and by Mexicans, and raids by the Comanches. Dr. Beale left for New York and soon the colony broke up. The leaders took their movable equipment and sought refuge in San Fernando where their property was seized and they were arrested as rebels. A group of men started down the Rio Grande to Matamoras where passage might be found on a boat bound for civilization. Another group went to join Houston's army, fighting Santa Anna. The Horn and Harris families with others started overland to Copango. The Comanches soon attacked them and killed all except Mrs. Horn and her two sons, and Mrs. Harris and her "babe."

With the other colonists in limbo, Mrs. Horn takes up the

story of the remaining five. Privations and dread were succeeded by horrors inflicted upon the captives. Long fast rides on wild ponies, often days without food, hard work in camps, and many indignities were their lot. The "babe" was soon murdered and Mrs. Harris, weak and sick, remained a slave until finally sold to Mexican traders. The Comanches would not sell Mrs. Horn until 1838. Her portrait reveals a handsome and strong woman who could work. Her sons were separated from her but she saw them occasionally until they finally disappeared. She was taken far into New Mexico where the tribe made its home. On a trip to Texas, she was finally purchased by some Americans who sent her to Missouri, where she was cared for while writing this book in order to obtain money with which to pay her passage to her home in England.

Radical differences in the style of Dr. Rister's presentation from that of Mrs. Horn broadens the interest. Mrs. Horn writes clearly and simply, without emotional adjectives, except in matters of religion. She relates her experiences sincerely and objectively which reveals the horrors of the captivity more vividly than could a lurid recital. Dr. Rister's "Introduction" is illuminated by use of all available documents. His narrative is concise and details are presented effectively. In no other writings does he show himself more a master of his subject.

The seven illustrations are good and not otherwise easily available. The book is printed on fine paper and well bound.

Montana State University

PAUL C. PHILLIPS

The Missions of New Mexico, 1776: A description by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez with other contemporary documents. Edited by Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1956. Pp. xxi, 387. Illustrations, glossary and index. \$15.00.

The name of Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez has long been a byword in the history of New Mexico due to his

participation in an expedition that traveled from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Utah and across the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in 1776. The journal of that exploration has been published more than once. This book presents for the first time, and in translation, the remarkable report on the missions of New Mexico in 1776. They are described in great detail, both buildings and furnishings, with bits of information on the work done by missionaries in building, maintaining and remodeling the structures, including both church and convent. Fray Francisco's inventory is so thorough that I am sure he would not have missed even the proverbial poor church mouse if there had been one.

The author also discussed briefly the way of life of the settlers, thereby strengthening his account as a source of information for the general history of eighteenth century New Mexico. To one familiar with the scene and area through other writings, much can be read between the lines.

The Editors have prepared a separate list of the names of settlers mentioned in the text with biographical data drawn from other sources, principally from Fray Angelico Chavez' *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period*. This should be of especial value to readers interested in genealogy. They have also listed separately the names of ninety-five missionaries (eighteenth century workers with rare exception), with dates and places of assignments. Some of the biographical data in these respects remains yet to be assembled by additional research.

A number of supplementary documents have been incorporated which add to the story of New Mexico, both ecclesiastical and civil.

The frontispiece is a reproduction of the Reredos of Our Lady of Light now in the church of Cristo Rey, Santa Fe. Working from a photograph provided by Laura Gilpin, the Reredos is restored in the picture as of 1776 and printed in color.

The twenty-six mission churches with convents as originally built are illustrated by Horace T. Pierce in line drawings in perspective. They add very much to the attractiveness of the book. Three eighteenth century maps are

reproduced, two for the province in general and a ground plan of Santa Fe. The Miera y Pacheco map of 1779, prepared by order of Governor Anza, is divided and enlarged for distribution throughout the volume. The details are thereby magnified and become more alluring to a reader who is not inclined to squint his eyes in order to study a map.

The inclusion of a glossary was an excellent idea. For instance, the meaning of such words as *maese* (or *maestre*) *de campo*, *genízaro*, *Fray*, and *convento* is clarified for many who otherwise might have trouble with them in documents or printed works. English-speaking Franciscans today, the Editors point out, tend to favor the old English term of *Friary* for *Convent* in order to avoid confusion with the latter term which is popularly associated with the dwellings of female religious.

The Editors did not use the accent on *Abiquiu*. This is in step with the growing practice to drop the accent on *Santa Fe*. *Fray Angelico's* name is here printed without accents (*Angélico Chávez*) which I believe is in keeping with his own wishes and should be followed by other writers when the occasion permits. A brief historical introduction and an index round out the volume.

One more comment, and by far not the least, is the scholarly annotation that accompanies the report and supplementary documents. The *Missions of New Mexico* will not be a popular book for light reading, but it will serve the interests of a variety of readers, and not necessarily those whose range is limited to the Southwest. For serious students especially, text and annotations can be read with profit.

The Press did an excellent job. For a moment I found one typographical error in the spelling of *Cojnina*, but on second glance it was not so.

F. D. R.

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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JOHN SIMPSON CHISUM, 1877-84

By HARWOOD P. HINTON, JR.*

Preface

John Simpson Chisum was probably the most widely known cattleman of the American Southwest during the 1870's. This notoriety arose in part from the erroneous association of his name, by its pronunciation, with the Chisholm Trail, but more directly from the immensity of his stock operations. At this time, his Rail brand and Jinglebob earmark for cattle symbolized a veritable empire which stretched for over one hundred miles along the Pecos River in the southeastern part of the Territory of New Mexico. In this strip of unoccupied federal domain, over seventy thousand head of half-wild cattle grazed and drifted in bunches under the watchful care of dozens of well mounted, heavily armed herders who served as range crews as well as protection against inroads by renegade Indians and rapacious stock thieves.

A definitive biography of John Chisum may never be written, for there is quite a paucity of information not only concerning his life but also his stock dealings which spanned the Southwest for thirty years. Then too, legend, in fortunately rescuing him from mere allusion in formal history, has, through the years, crystallized conjecture and hearsay into a fabric wholly lacking in veracity and uncomplimentary in nature. Today, we have only a blurred picture of a misrepresented and uninterpreted individual, living in the shadows of a bygone era.

* Master of Arts thesis, Faculty of Political Science, Columbia University.

This paper embodies research into the last seven years of Chisum's life, 1877-84, and in no way purports to be a full or complete account of the period. By presenting new facts and discarding old suppositions, it does suggest a re-interpretation of a controversial part of his business career. A special effort has been made to deal objectively with Chisum's role in the Lincoln County War, the acme of his ranching troubles in the lower Pecos country. No critical investigation has ever been made of the causes for this struggle, which in the main was economic, and no attempt is made here to analyze the multiplicity of factors involved. Only those incidents of the conflict implicating Chisum or his interests are stressed.

Field work for this thesis was extensive, encompassing old newspaper files; county, territorial and national records; various historical societies and personal collections; and private interviews. William J. Chisum, nephew of the subject and in whose household he resided for six years, has patiently and conscientiously answered countless letters. Colonel Maurice G. Fulton, who has studied the history and personalities of Lincoln County, New Mexico, for over a quarter of a century, furnished much invaluable information from his files, and through counsel and field trips provided a great deal of insight into the period under study. Last, but certainly not least, Professor Richard B. Morris has, at intervals, constructively criticized my materials and kindly read the drafts.

Cattle King of the Pecos

By the mid 1870's, John S. Chisum had been in the open range cattle business for twenty years. Since 1872, the year of his locating in New Mexico, his name and magnitude of operations had elicited increasing comment in frontier news organs. For example, on April 11, 1875, *The Grant County Herald*, at Silver City, New Mexico, elaborated:

We hear of cotton being king, of railroad kings. But J. S. Chisum of Bosque Grande is our stock king of New Mexico. We remember upon one occasion, when finding our stock king in a deep reverie, of asking him why he was in such a 'deep study?' Chisum looked up and said: 'I'm in great trouble because I cannot dispose of my stock as fast as it increases.'

Such concern, however, was usually settled quickly or assigned to the future by the cattleman, who although in his early fifties reflected little to indicate worry or debility.

In appearance, he continued to be the unpretentious, unassuming individual of former days. A. M. Gildea, who met him in 1876, later recalled :

Chisum himself was a medium-sized hombre with shrewd eyes, his face sunbaked to the color of leather, but unless his appearance and methods of working cattle were deceptive he was a man of forceful action. . . .¹

In height, he was about five feet eight inches, firmly built and had dark brown hair and a heavy mustache. His gray-blue eyes were sun-squinted and deeply set in a face which seemed thin due to a long jaw and prominent chin and nose. When on the ranch, Chisum was repeatedly mistaken for an ordinary cowboy by his rough attire, but when traveling or visiting in distant cities, he appeared in clothing befitting his prominence.²

In considering his nature and drives, the Pecos stockman seems to have been inconsistent and paradoxical. J. Smith Lea, an early resident of Lincoln County, New Mexico, some years ago prepared a lengthy statement containing recollections of his association with Chisum. In this, he succinctly

1. *Dallas Semi-Weekly Farm News*, March 20, 1930. A. M. Gildea, who was a temporary Chisum employee during the period, 1876-78, relates his experiences to Cora Melton Cross.

2. William J. Chisum to Harwood P. Hinton (cited hereafter WC to HPH), February 1, 1954; Tape Nos. 8 and 9, from recordings of interviews between William Chisum and Allen A. Erwin, during the summer of 1952, in the Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, Tucson (cited hereafter as Tape—); Mary H. Brothers, *A Pecos Pioneer*. (Albuquerque, The University of New Mexico Press, 1943), p. 43. Mrs. Brothers edited the notes of her father, Bell Hudson, who worked on the Jinglebob ranch in the early 1880's. The chapter which contains Hudson's recollections of the Chisums is highly informative, fairly accurate and refreshing. The overall historical value of the book, however, is somewhat invalidated by the author's attempt to "re-write" instead of reproducing the notes with appropriate commentary. James Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record of the Cattle Industry of Texas and Adjacent Territory*. (St. Louis, Woodward & Tiernan Printing Co., 1895), p. 299. This volume contains a reprint of the most complete summary of Chisum's life ever published. Cox states that it initially appeared in the *Santa Fe New Mexico Stock Grower*, but gives no date. However, a condensation of the same article has been found in the *Kansas City Livestock Indicator*, Kansas City, Missouri, on February 19, 1885, approximately two months following the cattleman's death on December 22, 1884. The author is unknown, but the great amount of facts it carries intimates that it is from a very reliable source. Photographs of Chisum are in Cox, opposite page 299, and in the possession of Joe D. Waide, Denton, Texas.

pointed to the singularness of the Pecos rancher's character and personality by simply stating that Chisum was:

... one of the smartest men I have ever known, although he did not have that appearance and was rather inclined to make people believe that he was not so bright. He was never afraid of anything or anybody, and if he ever got mad, no one ever knew it, and he would never, to save his life, change a position he had once taken.³

Other observations were made by Miss Mary V. Daniel, in whose home he often visited during the latter years of his life. She avers rather emphatically that "John loved money ... was very dictatorial and was accused of 'cutting corners' when to his advantage."⁴ This comment is typical of those voiced by the cattleman's critics, yet suggests, in truth, fundamentals which undoubtedly influenced many of his decisions.

In manner and speech, Chisum was simple, straightforward and engaging. Regarding her first acquaintance with him, Sophie A. Poe stated:

Somehow I liked him instantly, as he held my small hand in a viselike grip. I realized his strong, frank personality. His dignity showed him to be a man of importance, and his genial laugh showed that he knew how to be human.⁵

Whether in the parlor of a lady, the office of a capitalist, or lounging with cowboys around a campfire in the evening far out on the prairies, he appeared ever at ease. Slow to anger, he dealt with friend and foe with consummate tact and diplomacy, always saying that "... if in an argument he could get a man down to a talk he was all right."⁶ Chisum's speech, enunciated in a kindly tone, was slow, expressive and colored with droll frontier colloquialisms. He chuckled considerably

3. "Statement of Mr. J. Smith Lea in Regard to John Chisum," (cited hereafter as Lea Statement) in the possession of Mrs. J. E. Balmer, Wahiawa, Oahu, Hawaii. Dane Coolidge, in his *Fighting Men of the West*, published in 1932, used much of this Statement in his portrayal of Chisum.

4. Mary V. Daniel to HPH, March 27, 1954. Miss Daniel's father, Captain J. M. Daniel, was a close friend of the Chisum brothers.

5. Sophie A. Poe, *Buckboard Days*. (ed. by Eugene Cunningham). (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1936), p. 158. Mrs. Poe was a visitor at the Chisum ranch during the early 1880's.

6. WC to HPH, February 1, 1954.

in conversation and invariably terminated the relation of an anecdote with deep, explosive laughter.⁷

By many, Chisum was regarded as eccentric. As jokes were a constant source of amusement to him, he undoubtedly originated and promoted a number about himself, all the more to relish the incredulity evinced, especially by strangers. For example, he told a young visitor to the ranch on one occasion that he habitually rolled up in several blankets and slept cowboy fashion on the floor of his room, rather than disturb the covers of his bed. Will Chisum, his nephew, explains that he knew of this story, but discounts it as another of his Uncle's fabled "Tall Tales."⁸ Further evidence of Chisum's singular personality is found in the Lea deposition. The author relates that on passing the ranch sometime during the early 1880's he saw the cattleman:

... dressed in a 25¢ straw hat, 35¢ hickory shirt, and \$1.50 pair of overalls. He had on no underclothes and no socks and a pair of \$1.25 brogan shoes. He took some pride in telling me of the outfit's cost . . . this was just one of his peculiarities.⁹

Although he never married, Chisum did not experience the dreary existence of the proverbial miser. Busily occupied with the affairs of the ranch and traveling quite often and extensively, he perhaps felt there was no place for a wife in his itinerant frontier way of living. A reliable source, however, claims he remained a bachelor because "... he was plain too hard to get along with."¹⁰ Rumors of his courtships were always in the air. But invariably, upon being questioned about such affairs, Chisum would laughingly reply that his interest had ended and add: "The girl didn't court me enough."¹¹ His social ardor was never dampened though. Periodically, the ranch was the scene of large scale, well attended dances, the festivities often continuing for days.

7. *Ibid.*, and March 5, 1954; Tape Nos. 4 and 5; Poe, *Buckboard Days*, pp. 159-60; Brothers, *A Pecos Pioneer*, p. 43, 50; Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 299. In reply to an inquiry concerning Chisum's jokes, Will Chisum wrote HPH, April 24, 1954, that he knew of a few of his Uncle's stories, but added: "They would not look good in writing."

8. Poe, *Buckboard Days*, p. 161; WC to HPH, March 5, 1954.

9. Lea Statement.

10. Mary V. Daniel to HPH, March 27, 1954.

11. Tape No. 5.

And entertainment for his employees did not end here. Often when on the trail with a herd, an old cowhide would be rolled out in the evening near the campfire, and booted cowboys would stamp around on it to the mournful strains of a battered fiddle and the clapping of hands.¹²

Of all the compliments tendered John Chisum by his contemporaries, the most generally encountered concern the regard and esteem which his employees held for him. His conscientiousness quickly won their admiration and respect. Many, over a period of time, were transients; others were law-dodgers. Chisum, however, asked no questions about a man's past; he was concerned only with his ability to handle stock and obey orders. This is aptly illustrated by an experience told by his nephew. One night on the plains a herder abandoned his guard post and rode into camp several hours before proper relief was due. Chisum awoke, instantly realized the stock could begin drifting and possibly stampe, and without a word fired the man immediately.¹³

From time to time, he accompanied west bound herds, mingling freely with the employees and sharing the rigors of the trail. The following incident, one of his favorite stories, exemplifies the business-like attitude and humor his men appreciated. Three mounts were stolen one day from a horse remuda following a drive, and Chisum and a dozen men set out in pursuit. The next evening one of the thieves was captured; justice, frontier style, followed in quick order. The cattleman usually concluded his relation of this episode by saying:

We asked him no questions. Vegetation was scant there, but we took the highest we could find and dragged him up until his head was within two inches of the limb. . . . The buttons of his clothing gave way, and when we left him he was almost as naked as when he was born.¹⁴

Contrary to popular history and legend, Chisum always

12. *Ibid.*; WC to HPH, March 22, 1954. For references to the dances, see Poe, *Buckboard Days*, p. 164; Tape No. 8; and Edgar A. Harral to HPH, November 26, 1954. Harral, now in his 90's, attended many of the Chisum dances.

13. WC to HPH, October 12, 1954.

14. *Kansas City Livestock Indicator*, March 7, 1889. Chisum related this episode to the reporter some years previous.

kept a firearm, generally a single action Colt .45, within reach, whether riding horseback or traveling by buggy, which was his usual wont.¹⁵ Certainly, he did not wear a revolver strapped around his waist, cowboy-like, but it is foolish to believe that he went unarmed. Will Chisum disposes of this persisting contention quite emphatically:

I never saw him buckle a gun on, but carried it in a holster, buckled to the right side of his saddle horn. I never saw him shoot at anything.¹⁶

Actually, the cattle king's life was rarely in danger, for some employee or friend always traveled with him, particularly through unsettled areas.

Chisum, in later years, never rode the "circle," the practice of dropping off crews at designated points during roundup season; he was ever on hand, however, to watch the marking and branding activities that annually transpired near his headquarters below Roswell. Mounted on a roan horse, called Old Steady, and carrying binoculars, he was a familiar sight, riding around inspecting and, at times, commenting on the operations. On spotting a mistake involving his livestock, Chisum would chide and admonish the responsible crew in some humorous or inoffensive manner.¹⁷

The handling of stock was not only a devoted vocation but a serious undertaking to Chisum, who knew its every phase. Charles Goodnight, with whom he was associated for three years, once remarked:

No one had any advantage of him as an old-fashioned cowman, and he was the best counter I ever saw. He could count three grades of cattle at once, and count them thoroughly even if they were going in a trot.¹⁸

15. Tape No. 8; WC to HPH, February 15, March 22, 1954.

16. WC to HPH, March 22, 1954.

17. *Ibid.*, February 1, 15, 1954; Tape No. 5. James E. Haley, *George W. Littlefield, Texan*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943), pp. 151-2. Haley relates a humorous incident involving Chisum that he heard from C. D. Bonney on March 6, 1937. At one roundup, the cattleman saw an LFD brand put on a calf whose mother bore the Chisum U brand. According to Bonney, Chisum rode up to Phelps White, in charge of branding, said the calf had bawled to its mother of the mistake, then added, "... I wish you'd be a little careful hereafter."

18. John M. Hunter (ed.). *The Trail Drivers of Texas*. (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1925), p. 952. This compendium includes an article by Charles Goodnight, who was associated with Chisum during the period, 1868-71.

Further corroboration of the Pecos rancher's "cow sense" is drawn from the account of an incident which occurred during the early 1870's, when the bulk of his stock was being trailed from West Texas to a new range on the Pecos River in New Mexico. During one of the drives, it came to his attention that a herd following his was having recurrent stampedes; he rode back to investigate, after bedding his animals down one evening. A. B. (Sug) Robertson, a cattle inspector at the time, accompanied him. Upon reaching the herd, they requested and received permission to ride out through the animals. Within twenty minutes, according to Robertson, Chisum had located the trouble. It was:

. . . a steer with extremely wide and crooked horns, with one eye, and narrow between the eyes. Mr. Chisum ordered that the steer be cut out, driven down the river and killed . . . there were no more stampedes on that trip.¹⁹

In summary, John Chisum, by the early 1870's, was a recognized, successful, open range cattle entrepreneur. By all, he was regarded as a shrewd businessman, honest yet quick to exploit the main chance. He exercised stringent defensive and punitive measures when necessary to protect his vast, drifting herds that monopolized an extensive strip of federal domain. He was singular and shadowy in character, but in personality and manner an extrovert in the fullest sense. He was plain, unpretentious and well-liked by his employees. He headed what was perhaps the largest ranch of his day.

Unlike many early day cowmen whose youth was spent on the frontier handling stock, Chisum did not begin ranching until about the age of thirty, and then on a partnership basis. The first thirteen years of his life were spent in Western Tennessee on his grandfather's extensive plantation, where his parents, Claiborne and Lucy Chisum, had resided since his birth on August 16, 1824. Undoubtedly, a part of his pre-adolescent observations centered around the management of land, slaves and livestock. Family tradition has it

19. *Prose and Poetry of the Livestock Industry of the United States*. (Denver: National Livestock Historical Association, 1904), pp. 502-3. Recollections by Robertson are included in this volume.

that he was nicknamed "Cow John" as a boy because of his interest in cattle.²⁰

In the fall of 1837, the Claiborne Chisums settled within the limits of present-day Paris, Texas, and subsequently became prominent members of that growing community. As there is no record of his attending school, John Chisum probably helped his father with farming or did odd jobs around town until his majority.²¹ At the age of twenty-seven, though, he was still undecided about his future. In a letter dated September 29, 1851, to a relative in Tennessee, he wrote: "I am selling groceries in Paris for M. M. Grant, but I can't tell what I will do next year."²²

In August 1852, Chisum was sworn in as County Clerk of Lamar County, and in addition to regular duties during the next two years he began speculating on a modest scale in real estate in the neighboring counties.²³ By the spring of 1854, he had made the acquaintance of Stephen K. Fowler, an Easterner interested in ranching possibilities in Texas. They formed a partnership and agreed to a ten year contract. Fowler advanced six thousand dollars to purchase cattle. By

20. Major James Chisum, John's grandfather and a state senator, 1821-3, in Tennessee, died intestate. His will, probated in April 1835, indicated he owned seventeen slaves, a lumber mill, several farms, and an extensive plantation. See "Inventory and Account Sales of the Property of Maj. James Chisum and return to April Term, 1835," in Settlements and Wills, Book I, pp. 389-91, Hardeman County (Bolivar), Tennessee. Mrs. C. L. Taylor, a descendant of the Chisums, states that John was born ". . . about 1½ miles west of Cloverport," which is north of Bolivar, Tennessee. Mrs. C. L. Taylor to HPH, February 16, 1954. Mrs. J. M. Pipkin, a second cousin to John Chisum, wrote of his early boyhood, the nickname, his visits to Tennessee, and in general had collected quite a bit of Chisum genealogy prior to her death. Mrs. J. M. Pipkin to Roy W. Black, October 17, 1939, in personal files of Roy W. Black, Bolivar, Tennessee.

21. The Claiborne Chisums settled in what is now Lamar County, Texas, on September 28, 1837. See Abstract No. 176, Certificate No. 91, 7-14-45, Patent No. 351, Vol. I, Lamar 2nd Class, File No. 38, in General Land Office, Austin, Texas. Further corroboration of 1837 as year of arrival is from MVD to HPH, March 27, 1954. Miss Daniel states that she has seen a Powers of Attorney which was executed by Claiborne to Pitzer Miller, a lawyer and friend in Bolivar, Tennessee, and dated in 1837. In 1850, Claiborne was listed by the census enumerator as owning 3480 acres, valued at \$5280, livestock, valued at \$1465, and great quantities of forage. See Lamar County, Texas, in the Seventh Census: 1850. Microfilm copy in State Archives, Austin. In the *Paris Daily Press* (Paris, Texas), September 16, 1878, Ed Gibbons, an early settler in Paris, recalled that he and John Chisum helped construct the first court house in Lamar County in 1847.

22. John S. Chisum to James Vernon, September 29, 1851. In the personal files of Roy W. Black, Bolivar, Tennessee.

23. Chisum's election was announced in *The Standard* (Clarksville, Texas), on August 14, 1852. For references to land speculations, see Deed Book G, p. 540, Lamar County, Paris, Texas.

the end of the year, Chisum had acquired twelve hundred head of scrub stock in Lamar and Colorado counties and located them in Denton County, north of present-day Fort Worth. In the spring of 1855, he applied for a patent to a tract in the extreme northwestern corner of that County, which contemporaries regarded as primarily a stock area in those days.²⁴

This location, then on the western frontier of Texas, was an ideal ranching situation—good grass, abundant water, and few settlers. The Indian menace had been quieted by the United States Army, which had settled all renegades in that region on a reservation at Fort Sill, in the Indian Territory. The Fowler-Chisum herds increased, and in the 1860 Census the former public servant valued his share of the livestock at \$50,000.²⁵

When Texas seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy in the spring of 1861, Chisum was exempt from service and designated a beef supplier to troops in the Trans-Mississippi Department. In the months that followed, ranching became precarious, particularly on the frontier. This is readily inferred from a letter Chisum wrote James Waide on March 7, 1862. After commenting at length on the condition of the latter's cattle, which he had agreed to tend, the Denton rancher tersely pointed up his circumstances:

I got back from Vicksburg a few days since. I find the Prairies all burnt off and we have had no rain hear since last spring. . . . All my hands are gon, all my horses are gon. I am left behind in charge of 6 other stocks besides own. . . .²⁶

Horse losses to Indian marauders, loosed when Fort Sill was evacuated at the outbreak of hostilities, further complicated

24. Information regarding the Chisum-Fowler partnership: Edward F. Bates, *History and Reminiscences of Denton County*. (Denton, Texas: McNitzky Printing Company, 1918), p. 305. Bates came to Denton County in 1851. Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 300. *The Standard*, May 5, 1855. The Chisum patent, which states that he settled in Denton County in February 1855, is recorded in the General Land Office, Austin. See Abstract No. 278, Pre-emption Certificate No. 156, 3-16-59, Patent No. 39, Vol. 24, Fannin 3rd Class, File No. 2396.

25. Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 300; Denton County, Texas, in the Eighth Census: 1860. Microfilm Copy in State Archives, Austin, Texas.

26. John S. Chisum to James Waide, March 7, 1862. In the personal files of Joe D. Waide, Denton, Texas.

Chisum's operations and obligations. He soon cast about for a new range.

In November 1863, about fifteen hundred head of cattle were located by Chisum cowboys near the confluence of the Concho and Colorado Rivers in West Texas. M. C. Smith, Sr., who participated in this drive, later wrote:

Chisum selected a place for his ranch buildings in a monte of pecan trees. . . . We began building log huts and pens. Jim Spoon, John McGee, Bob Johnson, Henry Settles, Fitzgerial, Felix McCitric and myself were left to improve the ranch; the other hands going back to Denton County. Ours was the outside ranch; our nearest neighbor was twenty-five miles East. . . .²⁷

With the capture of the Mississippi and its adjacent areas by the Federals, Chisum's beef obligations to the Confederacy quickly dwindled. Trailing of stock cattle west to the Concho range increased, so that by the end of the War the bulk of his herds had been located in what is today the southern part of Coleman County. New markets opened to the west, and during 1865-6, cattle buyers and drovers trailed herds from the ranges of Chisum and others in West Texas to various military and Indian reservations in New Mexico and Arizona.²⁸

By this time, the former Denton rancher had originated distinctive and ingenious markings for his livestock. His brand, generally called the "Long Rail," was a single line burned from shoulder to hip on the left flank of his stock. One end of a straight metal rod was bent into a half circle and heated to "run" this mark. Alterations were easy but readily discernible. Executed in conjunction with this brand was Chisum's indelible mark on the cattle industry, the "Jinglebob" earmark. Will Chisum explains its uniqueness and practicability by saying: "When the hair was long it was sometimes almost impossible to see a brand, but almost

27. Sidney W. Smith, *From the Cow Camp to the Pulpit*. (Cincinnati: The Christian Lead Corporation, 1927), p. 89. Included as a separate chapter in this book are the personal recollections of Matt C. Smith, Sr., a forebear of the author. They concern his period of association with John Chisum, a relative, during the 1860's.

28. Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 300. Partnership dissolution mentioned. For allusions to Patterson, see Smith, *Cow Camp*, pp. 102-17.

a blind man could see this mark.”²⁹ Jack Potter, a cowboy on the Pecos during the early 1880’s, succinctly points up the correct procedure in effecting the Jinglebob as follows:

Catch the calf by the ear and stick the knife into the lower part next to the root . . . then start a short up slope bringing the knife blade out on the top side of the ear and about half way between the root of the ear and the end. This will let 2/3rds of the ear drop down and swing around just like earrings. . . .³⁰

Nearly a thousand head of beeves bearing these markings reached Bosque Grande, a cattle exchange point on the east bank of the Pecos River, thirty-five miles north of present-day Roswell, New Mexico, in August 1867. Ostensibly driven for quick sale to government contractors in or near Fort Sumner, this herd was the first that John Chisum personally accompanied from his West Texas range to the neighboring Territory. Throughout the fall and winter as the cattle were disposed of to interested parties, he surveyed the possibilities of the Pecos country for stock ranching. Before his trail outfit left Bosque Grande the following spring, Chisum entered into a verbal agreement with Charles Goodnight, a Texas drover who had found a lucrative market at Fort Sumner two years previous. As many cattle as possible were to be delivered by Chisum herders to Bosque Grande. Goodnight’s trail outfits would then take charge and drive them north to points of sale in Colorado, Kansas and elsewhere. In a matter of months, these operations were begun and successfully continued until 1871, when the so-called partnership ended, as Chisum was planning to locate permanently in New Mexico. At the close of the following year, an estimated twenty thousand head of Jinglebob stock cattle were grazing the banks of the Pecos south of Bosque Grande. This site had been acquired by Chisum from James Patterson as the seat of operations for his new and greater cattle empire. Pitzer M. Chisum, a younger brother, was placed in charge of the range activities. Rail cattle multiplied rapidly in the new pastures and quickly found markets, locally and otherwise. However,

29. WC to Maurice G. Fulton, April 4, 1940, in files of Chaves County Historical Society, Roswell, New Mexico; and WC to HPH, April 9, 1954.

30. Jack Potter, *Lead Steer and Other Tales*. (Clayton, New Mexico: Leader Press, 1939), p. 86. Potter’s association with the Chisums and their ranch began in 1885.

it was soon realized that a location to the south, near the confluence of the Hondo and Pecos Rivers, might be more desirable. So, during the spring of 1875, the ranch headquarters was again moved.³¹

The previous December, Chisum had traded James Patterson twenty-four hundred head of cattle for forty acres and improvements on South Spring River, a large artesian stream which headed about five miles south of Roswell and flowed five miles due east to the Pecos. The principal adobe structure on this tract was situated on the south bank of South Spring River, about a mile east of its head. Commonly referred to as the "Square House," it consisted of eight small rooms surrounding a patio, which measured about twenty feet square. Its only entrance was through a roofed-over passage in the center of the west wall, to which was attached the only corral in the vicinity. Surrounding the establishment in every direction was an undulating wasteland, dotted here and there with small clumps of straggling bushes, indicating living streams of water. For Chisum's purposes the new headquarters site was ideal.³²

Jinglebob herds, by 1875, numbered about 80,000 head. Although natural increase had been and continued to be tremendous, this stock build-up had resulted, in the main, from Chisum's inability to round up and trail cattle regularly. His horse herds had repeatedly suffered crippling blows from bands of predatory Indians.³³ New reservation policies and

31. Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 301, 365; *Prose and Poetry*, p. 479; E. A. Cahoon Notes, published in the *Roswell Record*, October 7, 1937. Regarding these Notes, C. F. Ward, in the same issue, explained: "The source of these is not known, but they are in the handwriting of Mr. E. A. Cahoon, who evidently obtained them from a source reliable enough to make him feel they were worth preserving." For information on the Chisum-Goodnight arrangements: Hunter, *Trail Drivers*, pp. 951-2; Henry W. Strong, *My Frontier Days and Indian Fights on the Plains of Texas*. (n.p., circa 1926), p. 10. Strong recounts his association with the Chisums and their activities in Denton and Coleman Counties in Texas during the period 1860-70. He also includes a letter from Goodnight, dated December 21, 1925, regarding the Chisum cattle arrangement.

32. Deed executed by James Patterson to John Chisum, December 15, 1874, was published in the *Roswell Record* on October 7, 1937. Description of the new headquarters is from WC to HPH, January 21, March 22, April 9, and May 24, 1954.

33. Estimate is noted in *Santa Fe New Mexican*, November 23, 1875. *Mesilla News* (Mesilla, New Mexico), July 25, 1874, gives a good idea of the Indian inroads on the Chisums. Also see Pitcher (sic) M. Chisum's claim, No. 8801, filed December 24, 1892; and James Chisum's claim, No. 5388, filed originally on October 29, 1891, in the United

the activities of the United States Cavalry had, by late 1874, arrested these depredations, however. So by the time the Jinglebob began operating from South Spring, its range claim was relatively safe. Rail cattle soon began pacing already well-marked trails. West along the Hondo, which paralleled South Spring River five miles to the north, drove the Chisum outfits for nearly sixty miles. Then they turned slightly southwest and followed the Ruidoso up and through the White Mountains. Still angling south of west, the route skirted the southern extremity of the White Sands until the formidable Organ Mountains reared into sight. Up their southeastern slope crawled the herd to San Augustine Pass, thence down the western side it snaked to a vast plain, with the Rio Grande in the distance. Forging the river below present-day Las Cruces, men and animals headed almost due west through Cook's Canyon and by Stein's Peak to the beef markets in Arizona. Chisum dispatched more than ten thousand head over this route in 1875, in addition to the twenty thousand his herders walked north to Colorado, Kansas and Missouri.³⁴

Sometime during the fall of 1875, probably November, John Chisum transferred the majority of his stock holdings on the Pecos to Hunter, Evans and Company, a prominent beef commission concern in Saint Louis. Public announcement of the transaction was made by the *Pueblo Colorado Chieftain* on December 3:

The ranch of John S. Chisum, of Bosque Grande, New Mexico, was sold to Col R. D. Hunter of St. Louis, the other day for \$219,000, one half cash down. Col Hunter . . . will engage more extensively than Mr. Chisum in the breeding business.

This move by the Pecos cattleman, at the height of his prosperity, seems paradoxical. However, several probable reasons can be inferred from a consideration of the nature and future

States Court of Claims, Washington. No. 8801 for \$41,165 was dismissed by defendant's motions on December 10, 1906; and No. 5388 for \$143,955 was settled on February 16, 1903, by payment of \$24,755.

34. For a description of Chisum's western route: Hunter, *Trail Drivers*, pp. 976-86; *Dallas Semi-Weekly Farm News*, March 20, 1930; *Mesilla Valley Independent* (Mesilla, New Mexico), September 1, 1877. For number of cattle driven in 1875, see *Colorado Chieftain* (Pueblo), December 3, 1875.

of his ranching situation at this juncture. In the most basic sense, this stock reduction was practical and inevitable. Then too, ranchers and homesteaders were trickling in and settling near or within his range claim. This meant restricted pasturage. Lastly, Chisum had by no means ignored the obvious market trend toward graded, quality beef, and by the sale of a majority of his stock probably anticipated an early move toward the build-up of a small select herd.

At the outset, it was understood by all parties concerned that the assigned cattle would remain temporarily on the Pecos, titularly in Chisum's charge; removal was to be piecemeal and according to orders from the new owners. Comparing calf crops to probable annual government commitments to Hunter, Evans and Company, or any of its members, it was quickly realized that this transfer would require several years for consummation.

The problem that waxed more bitter with the passing years concerned the settlement of small ranchers within Chisum's range south of the Hondo. Inevitably, cattle belonging to these newcomers naturally drifted into the vast herds of the Jinglebob, and soon the cattleman was being accused of driving off the nestor's stock with his deliveries. He countered by pointing out their invasion of his pastures and the impossibility of keeping small bunches of animals separated from his cattle; he added that certain inroads had been made on his cattle also. Both arguments were valid. The cattle king, however, knew his control, by right of occupation, was slipping away, but felt compelled to assert himself, pending the fulfillment of the Hunter agreement.

During the late fall and early winter of 1876, reports of stock losses on the Jinglebob became more frequent. Chisum range and line riders were alerted and cautioned accordingly. Particularly did the situation worsen in the vicinity of Seven Rivers, a cowboy trading point on the Pecos, some sixty miles south of South Spring. Also about this time, Chisum learned that obvious alterations of his Rail brand were appearing in the small droves of beeves periodically turned in by local contractors at Fort Stanton, a cavalry post located about seventy miles west of the ranch. Such unrecorded mark-

ings as the "pitchfork," the "lazy P attached to a rail," and the "pigpen," were noted at the military slaughter pens.³⁵ Upon being shown the last named brand, Chisum is said to have sternly remarked: "When they get to using my rail to build a pigpen, it is time for me to squeal."³⁶ Especially suspect were the activities of James J. Dolan who was operating a cow camp at Seven Rivers and held the local beef commitment. The irritated cattleman quite openly but vainly aimed complaints, then threats, not only to Dolan but also to Lawrence G. Murphy, head of the Murphy-Dolan store at Lincoln, the county seat of Lincoln, which was about ten miles east of Stanton.

Murphy's record in Lincoln County had been far from exemplary. At the close of the Civil War, he, as many others who were mustered out of the service at Fort Stanton, saw lucrative business opportunities in the locale. Together with Emil Fritz, a fellow soldier, he petitioned for and received appointment as civilian sutler at the Fort. In 1873, subsequent to their dismissal for intimidating agents at the nearby Mescalero Indian Reservation, the pair opened a general store at Lincoln; soon they enjoyed a monopoly over the trade in the County.

At Fritz's demise, during the summer of 1874, Dolan, also a soldier-turned-rancher, joined Murphy in perpetuating the business. Within two years they were dominating the local Indian affairs, having found a willing ear when Fred C. Godfroy assumed charge of the Mescaleros on July 1, 1876.

35. Pat F. Garrett, *The Authentic Life of Billy the Kid*. (ed. by Maurice G. Fulton) (New York: McMillan Company, 1927), pp. 51-3. Views on the causes for disension among ranchers along the Pecos River in New Mexico in the early 1870's differ, but those advanced by Garrett, Sheriff of Lincoln County, 1881-3, seem the most generally accepted. This book, written in collaboration with Marshall A. Upson, a contemporary itinerant newspaperman in the Territory, was first published in 1882. Other opinions appear in the *Roswell Record*, April 29, 1892, to the effect that the feud between Chisum and all other ranchers combined, ". . . grew out of contested rights to grass-ranges and water-rights." In the *Roswell Record*, October 7, 1937, J. B. Matthews, an early Lincoln County resident, intimates that Chisum became enraged when his competitors underbid him. A simple, yet highly enlightening summary of cattle thieving in the Seven Rivers locale in 1877 is found in a fragment of a letter accompanying "Statements by the Kid [William H. Bonney] made Sunday Night, March 23rd," 1879 at Lincoln to Governor Lew Wallace. In the Lew Wallace Collection, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.

36. George W. Coe, *Frontier Fighter*. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), p. 98. Coe settled on Ruidoso Creek, southeast of Lincoln, in the middle 1870's and was sympathetic toward the Chisum interests.

Through the agent's patronage, J. J. Dolan & Company came into being and consistently received the local Indian beef and flour contract for the next few years. The power Murphy and Dolan wielded was later explained at length in an official report by Frank W. Angel, a government investigator who visited Lincoln County during the later spring of 1878. In part it said:

L. G. Murphy & Co. had the monopoly of all business in the county—they controlled government contracts and used their power to oppress and grind out all they could from the farmers and force those who were opposed to leave the county.³⁷

Murphy, however, was only the local manipulator of favors; a more powerful interest was involved.

Thomas B. Catron, Attorney General of New Mexico, President of the First National Bank at Santa Fe, and rancher and land speculator, dictated activities in Lincoln County. The Murphy-Dolan store, its stock of merchandise, and a cattle ranch thirty miles west of the county seat were all under heavy mortgage to him.³⁸ To oversee these interests, he sent Edgar A. Walz, a brother-in-law, to Lincoln in 1877. Years later, Walz wrote:

Mr. Catron . . . had given me a powers of attorney and full authority to conduct the business of Dolan . . . Murphy organization. The instructions included about 2000 head of cattle scattered over many square miles of territory along the Pecos River in New Mexico and Texas. Mixed with these was a much larger lot belonging to Mr. Chisum. . . .³⁹

Chisum had been confronted by Catron in court on various occasions, the lawyer as prosecuting attorney as a rule. And

37. For an excellent review of Murphy's activities, see Frank D. Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIII (July 1938), pp. 261-313. George Taylor to Rutherford B. Hayes, April 4, 1879, in Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio. "Report on the Death of John H. Tunstall by Frank W. Angel, Special Agent, 1878," in File No. 44-4-8, Record Group 60, Department of Justice Records, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

38. For a survey of Catron's position of influence in New Mexico at this time, see: Garrett, *Authentic Life*, p. 112, Note A; *Las Vegas Gazette* (Las Vegas, New Mexico), November 11, 1882; Charles A. Siringo, *A Texas Cowboy*. (New York: William Sloan Associates, Inc., 1950), pp. 141-2. This book was originally published by: Chicago: M. Umbdenstock & Co., Publishers, 1885. William F. Keleher, *The Fabulous Frontier*. (Santa Fe: The Rydal Press, 1945), p. 102.

39. Edgar A. Walz, "Retrospection," MSS. Copy in the Library of the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe.

it is generally believed that his personal aim was to cripple the cattleman's prestige and therefore endanger his range claim, so as to occupy parts of it to his advantage.⁴⁰ By the middle 1870's, however, Catron found himself on the defensive in Lincoln County, for Chisum's influence by that time had been bolstered and amplified by new business ties.

Alexander A. McSween and his wife settled in Lincoln during the spring of 1875. They were from the East and in search of relief for McSween's asthma and a promising location to begin the practice of law. Bringing a touch of refinement and notoriety to the adobe hamlet on the Hondo, the couple were soon integrated into frontier life. The attorney in a matter of months found himself busy with legal cases, civil in the main. Murphy, Dolan, Chisum, and many others retained him as the need arose to draw up papers, collect debts, and act as counsel in court.⁴¹

While in Santa Fe on business in the late fall of 1876, McSween made the acquaintance of John H. Tunstall, a wealthy young Englishman interested in ranching, and suggested that he visit Lincoln County.⁴² Tunstall was by no means unaware of the potentialities of the lower Pecos country or the operations of its largest ranch. The preceding June, while stopping temporarily at a sheep baron's ranch at Laguna, California, he had written his parents in England to the effect:

Now I want you to look at the southeastern corner of the Map of New Mexico and you will see a spot on the Pecos river, marked Chisum's ranche. This man Chisum started raising cattle without a rod of land 15 years ago. . . .⁴³

Tunstall settled in Lincoln during the early spring of 1877, temporarily taking lodgings with the McSweens; sub-

40. *Mesilla News*, June 10, 24, 1876. Mention of Chisum under arraignment.

41. For information regarding McSween, see Emerson Hough, *The Story of the Outlaw*. (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1905), p. 203. Hough, as a young lawyer, came to Lincoln County in 1883 and became interested in its history and personalities. *Roswell Record*, October 7, 1937. A. McCabe to Johnny Brown, November 24, 1875, in the Chaves County Historical Society, Roswell. McCabe, Chisum's bookkeeper at Bosque Grande, wrote that McSween was under hire at the time by the cattleman to collect many small and scattered debts.

42. *Roswell Record*, October 7, 1937.

43. Excerpt from letter, John H. Tunstall to John P. and Emily Tunstall, June 24, 1876, in Chaves County Historical Society.

sequently he was introduced to Chisum. Probably at the advice of both the attorney and the cattleman, he filed on 2300 acres which lay along the Feliz River, thirty miles southeast of town. In the months that followed, four hundred head of cattle, obtained by McSween at a sheriff's sale, were located on this claim; a horse ranch was put into operation several miles to the west.⁴⁴ The wealthy Tunstall, however, soon launched another venture which once in operation drew open hostility from Murphy and Dolan.

A combination general store and bank was erected on McSween's property, several yards east of his residence. Construction was well under way by early summer, and Tunstall left on a trip east to purchase goods for the concern, which was due to open in October.⁴⁵ The Lincoln County Bank began operating in August, for the *Mesilla Independent*, on the 25th, briefly commented:

We had heard that something of the kind was contemplated, but this is the first intimation we have received that the Bank was really in existence. We are informed that John S. Chisum and A. A. McSween are the principal managers.

More specifically, Chisum was president, Tunstall, vice president, and McSween, the secretary-treasurer.

The Englishman returned to Lincoln early in October, much distressed over reported losses to his horse herd. A day or two following his arrival, he loaded a wagon with goods that Chisum had ordered for his commissary and headed east along the Hondo. Before reaching South Spring, he met Sheriff Brady's posse with several thieves in custody and was relieved to learn that his stock had been found. After unloading the consignment at the Jinglebob headquarters, Tunstall rode north to Bosque Grande, where Chisum was staying. It is certain they discussed the growing tension which their

44. Maurice G. Fulton interview with HPH, November 26, 1954. Colonel Fulton, a retired member of the faculty at New Mexico Military Institute, Roswell, has delved into the history of southeastern New Mexico for nearly thirty years and helped many old-timers in that region prepare their recollections for publication. He is intimately acquainted with Chisum history and legend and for all practical purposes is a veritable mine of information. He has corresponded with the Tunstall family in England for many years and has collected quite a bit of Tunstall data that is pertinent to Lincoln County.

45. *Ibid.*

moves to offset the Murphy-Dolan control of the County had caused, but it is unknown whether a definite course of action was agreed upon against rustling.⁴⁶

Stock thievery in Lincoln County, which at that time included practically all of southeastern New Mexico, had been on the increase for several years. Ready markets had not only been developed to the south along the Mexican border, but also, to a lesser degree, locally. Especially had cattle operations in the Seven Rivers area by men under hire to James Dolan been the object of suspicion. But a lack of concrete evidence concerning outright theft precluded any arresting action, so the situation continued nebulous. Seemingly, however, it was a forecast of something portentous.

A Hectic Year

1877 was the most demanding year of Chisum's ranching career. Early in the spring, his range crews and trail outfits were set in motion by the receipt of large stock orders from Robert D. Hunter, his assignee and member of the firm, Hunter, Evans and Company, of Kansas City. Concurrent with these operations, however, clouds of suspicion and tension, generated by a startling increase in the theft of Rail cattle, quickly settled over the southern cow camps of the Jinglebob. In this atmosphere flared a chain of events that almost precipitated a range war.

For some time, the Seven Rivers region, by its proximity to Chisum's winter ranges and the nature and questionable activities of some of its population, had been a source of annoyance to the cattle king. Yet, from time to time and because of need, he temporarily employed many of the residents of that locale. Several were known to have been on the Jinglebob payroll during the winter of 1876-77, when a rash of personal altercations, arising primarily from exchanges of insinuations regarding cattle rustling, resulted in two murders.

Both affairs occurred on the range south of the South

46. *Ibid.* For an interesting, yet somewhat unlikely account of the Chisum-Tunstall meeting see Max M. Coleman, "J. K. Millwee, Frontiersman," *Frontier Times*, V (August 1923), pp. 222-4.

Spring headquarters, and in each case a foreman for the Chisum interests was killed. The first episode took place in January in the cow camps of Robert K. Wiley, a Texas stockman who was wintering a herd ostensibly under consignment to Chisum, near present-day Carlsbad. Yopp, whose given name is unknown, was in charge of the cattle and over a period of weeks had developed a personal animosity toward Buck Powell, an employee from Seven Rivers. Feelings snapped one morning when the range boss, in rage, fired several wild shots at the sleeping herder. Powell awoke, seized a firearm, and in the exchange that followed killed his superior. The Santa Fe *New Mexican*, sympathetic to Seven Rivers, reported the incident on February 8 and added that Powell "... wanted to go some 150 miles (to Mesilla) and give himself up, but was persuaded not to."

On March 28, Richard Smith, a sometime Wiley foreman, was mortally wounded by James M. Highsaw. According to George Coe, a rancher near Lincoln at the time, Highsaw and several cowboys found a few gallons of freshly cut Jinglebobs in a public corral one day. Approaching Smith, who was in the vicinity, they plied questions which by nature implied his guilt. Guns were drawn and when the smoke cleared the erstwhile foreman was found dead.¹ It is not definitely known that Smith was involved in stealing cattle or changing markings, but reason for doubt as to his complete innocence arose when Powell and other suspect ranchers in the Seven Rivers region subsequently pressed hard for Highsaw's arrest. As deaths on the far flung range of the Jinglebob were not uncommon, Chisum made no move to indicate concern. However, he undoubtedly felt that the recent incidents, both occurring in the same area and arising indirectly from arguments and accusations over the theft of his stock, reflected conditions that could not be long ignored.

1. *Mesilla Valley Independent* (Mesilla, New Mexico), June 23, 1877. This issue carried a rather lengthy report by Deputy Sheriff Andrew Boyle, Seven Rivers, to Thomas B. Catron, United States Attorney, Mesilla, concerning the troubles along the lower Pecos during the spring of 1877. Bias is evident, but the facts, at face value, are reliable, that is, moves, dates of moves, and results. For a more popular version, see Coe, *Frontier Fighter*, pp. 98-9. Coe was a Chisum sympathizer, while Boyle definitely was not.

Two weeks later, on April 10, the situation worsened. Nath Underwood, a small rancher and subcontractor, upon receiving a beef order from James J. Dolan, set out with a group of riders from Seven Rivers for his cattle pens to the south. On the public road and near Wiley's camp, they saw six Jinglebob cowboys appear in the distance, dismount and enter a dried-up ditch. Fearing ambush, the detail spurred their mounts, fired several volleys into the watercourse, then rode out of sight.² When news of this encounter reached Chisum, he set about to legally contain or suppress what he considered a serious and immediate threat to his range operations.

Within a few days he was en route west along the Hondo by buggy to obtain aid or counsel. At Fort Stanton, the cattleman discussed his circumstances at length with Colonel George E. Purrington, the commanding officer. The soldier flatly refused to consider the employment of cavalry for punitive measures in Seven Rivers for such an act would be deemed for private protection and aggrandisement. Realizing further suggestions useless, Chisum returned east to Lincoln. Here, his case was presented to Sheriff William G. Brady, but again no action was forthcoming. Brady explained that Seven Rivers was in Dona Ana County and thus out of his jurisdiction.³ As appeals to appropriate authorities had proved futile, Chisum drove back to South Spring, undoubtedly feeling bitter and predisposed to retributive action.

About the middle of April, a Chisum trail outfit returned from Arizona bearing news of the death of another Jinglebob foreman, James Wall Lockhart. According to Walter L. Vail, a prominent rancher near Tucson who accompanied the drovers to purchase bulls along the Pecos, Lockhart had accidentally shot himself fatally while at a ranch some thirty-five miles south of Fort Grant, Arizona. Although the incident involved no malice, it served to further irritate Chisum's nerves. Vail remained at South Spring more than a week, and in later years described at length his experiences on the ranch. Edward Vail wrote that his brother said:

2. Boyle Report.

3. *Ibid.*

. . . there was a regular war going on there between Chisum and the other factions. One day he was riding one of Chisum's mules and unknowingly rode into the hostile camp; they held him up and were going to shoot him as a spy, when a man known as 'Yankee Miller' stepped out and said, 'I know Vail, and all about him and what he is in this country for. I sold a herd of cattle to him in Arizona; he has nothing to do with this fight.'⁴

On April 20, John Chisum exploded into action. With Wiley and thirty heavily armed riders, he left his cow camps in the Carlsbad vicinity and headed north up the west bank of the Pecos. Ostensibly they were bound for the Hugh W. Beckwith ranch, where a sizable group of local cattlemen were reportedly gathering, bent on trouble. Skirting the few adobes of Seven Rivers, Chisum's private army continued up the river several miles and soon were in sight of their walled objective. Jinglebob cowboys quickly drove off all the horses and mules within sight and then proceeded to obstruct the water supply flowing south to the ranchhouse. By late afternoon, the Beckwith residence was under virtual siege.⁵

The inmates of the citadel received a note from Chisum the next day. In short, he requested all women and children therein to leave. But according to a subsequent review of this episode, the reply was that:

Mrs. Stafford, Miss Helen Beckwith, and two of Mr. Beckwith's younger children were all the family who were present . . . they refused to leave the house as they would not trust themselves to Chisum's men.⁶

It also became known that Buck Powell and Charles W. Woolsey had escaped the premises during the night and were on their way to the county seat at Mesilla, one hundred and fifty miles to the west, to secure warrants and aid to arrest the attack.⁷

On the third day of the investment, Chisum cowboys were

4. Walter L. Vail to Edward Vail, March 24, 1877; and Edward Vail, "Reminiscences," in Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society. For a newspaper account of Lockhart's death, see *The Grant County Herald* (Silver City, New Mexico), March 31, 1877.

5. Boyle Report.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

directed to advance on the walls. Rather hesitantly they moved forward, then stopped altogether. Men hired to herd cattle suddenly realized the imminency of death. A representative from the Jinglebob interests was then sent under a flag of truce to the ranchhouse, and a parley with William A. Johnson, Beckwith's son-in-law, was requested. Johnson answered that he was unable to act as spokesman for the others, for many were former Chisum employees who were due back wages, and that until all debts were cleared, negotiations were out of the question. Chisum did not press the discussion any further, undoubtedly knowing that any elaboration of such neglect on his part might alienate those in his present hire. The ditch was cleared, all livestock returned and the Beckwith ranch evacuated. Chisum and Wiley headed south to superintend spring roundups.⁸

Within two weeks, Andrew Boyle, a deputy sheriff at Seven Rivers, received several warrants from Powell, who demanded immediate service. On May 7, Boyle's posse of fourteen men rode into Wiley's camp, but found only Chisum, who was seriously ill with smallpox. Learning that the others had fled north to the security of the old fort-like adobe at South Spring, Boyle's party quickly turned in pursuit. The deputy later wrote:

On May 10, got to Chisum's ranche. Wylie [sic], seeing we were there, sent out a man . . . with a note stating that there were men in there who did not want to fight. . . . I sent him an answer that we did not want to kill any person, that I had warrants to serve and I was going to serve them.⁹

Mediation was suggested, and Wiley met Buck Powell and Robert W. Beckwith half way to the house. He told them that Chisum would issue the required checks if they, and others, would make out their claims. In conclusion, Boyle stated:

. . . we all went down and saw Chisum, and Wylie got the checks and paid the men and I served the warrant on John S. Chisum and placed him under bond as he was still sick. . . .¹⁰

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.* Also see *Arizona Star* (Prescott), July 13, 1877.

Warrants covering five replevin suits, larceny, and rioting had been filed against the cattleman by Seven Rivers ranchers. However, by the time Powell returned much of the controversy had been settled, and all charges were either subsequently dropped or stricken from the docket.¹¹ Seemingly, the "Pecos War" was over.

On July 28, the *Independent* published a letter from Ash Upson, Postmaster at Roswell. In it, he reviewed the agricultural attempts undertaken locally during the previous spring, then added:

. . . everything has been very quiet in this vicinity—disgustingly, aggravatingly so. . . . It is probable that he [Chisum] will drive over 10,000 head of cattle this year, and mark and brand near 20,000 head of calves. His principal, Col. R. D. Hunter, has already sent for and received about 3,000 head of select beef cattle, which are on their way to Kansas. The remainder will go to Arizona. . . .

Rail cattle were already on the move west before the publication of Upson's correspondence. One herd reportedly forded the Rio Grande near the site of Fort Craig, some one hundred miles north of the usual cattle crossing above Mesilla. Chisum had changed its route ". . . upon learning that the organized band of thieves that infests . . . [Dona Ana] county was lying in wait to plunder him."¹²

The very nature of Lincoln County and its environs fostered the practice of rustling. Trail herds were on the move, Army installations undermanned, and no concerted civil authority could be maintained to pursue the predatory bands that indiscriminately swept along the Ruidoso, Peñasco and Hondo. Cause and support for these escapades were laid bare by a letter published in the *Independent* that fall. In part, it explained:

For a long time our country has been infested with a band of thieves, desperadoes and outlaws, who have openly defied the laws. . . . Their enmity appears to have been directed against

11. District Court Records, Dona Ana County, New Mexico (Las Cruces) indicate that Chisum was involved in the following suits: five replevin suits—Case Nos. 368-72; larceny—Case No. 449; and rioting—Case No. 448. This information was obtained in 1926 by Maurice G. Fulton and is on file in the Chaves County Historical Society.

12. *Independent*, July 21, 1877.

our largest tax payers, evidently for the purpose of alarming them into buying their safety . . . when some uncommon atrocity would arouse public sentiment against them they would flee to Dona Ana County to rusticate, generally taking with them a drove of horses or herd of cattle from our citizens.¹³

Such was the state of affairs when another herd was started west from the Hondo for Arizona early in August.

Emory B. Peter, a Jinglebob employee for over fifteen years, was in charge of the drove, numbering about 2,350 head. He had been directed to move the cattle over the regular route, that is through the outlaw infested county south of Lincoln. Trouble was expected, for a reliable correspondent had publicly cautioned:

The 'boys' have boasted that they intend to capture Peters [sic] and herd if it takes 100 men to accomplish the job. The 'boys' have gone so far as to sell these beeves at \$10 per head in advance.¹⁴

With the consignment under way, Chisum rode to Lincoln with George Hogg, a foreman, to spend Sunday, August 12, with the McSweens.

Late Sunday evening, Frank Freeman and Charles Bowdre, small ranchers on the Ruidoso, rode into Lincoln and forced Jose Montana to open his saloon. In a matter of hours they were roaring drunk, staggering about town, and firing wildly into the houses. Approaching the McSween residence in the east end of town, the two men reloaded their weapons and shouted that if ". . . John S. Chisum or his corpse was not turned over to them, they would burn the d—d house down."¹⁵ The inmates, including two women and five children, fled for shelter as the would-be assassins broke open a window and riddled furniture with bullets. Only when one of the attorney's Mexican servants fired at Freeman did they leave the premises.

In the meantime, Sheriff Brady had been notified of the disturbance. Hurrying into Lincoln from his farm outside of town, he obtained warrants from Justice of the Peace John

13. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1877.

14. *Ibid.*, September 1, 1877.

15. *Ibid.*, August 18, September 8, 1877.

B. Wilson and deputized several men. Entering the Murphy-Dolan store, they quickly subdued and arrested the two drunken ranchers, who had sought temporary shelter there. Bowdre's assessed five hundred dollar bond was posted and he was released. Freeman, some hours later, successfully escaped from the cavalry detail that had started him to Fort Stanton. His freedom, however, was short-lived. Several days later, a combined military and civil force cornered and killed him at Bowdre's ranch.¹⁶

Although not directed against stock thieves, this show of force did temporarily cause a shift in their activities. On August 18, the *Independent* addressed comment to Lincoln County and added:

You have driven the Banditti from the Rio Pecos, I think; they number at least 20. There are five in one bunch prowling around Seven Rivers, and various other small parties of the same band are ranging up and down the country. They stole a bunch of horses from Black River two or three days ago. These men are threatening to kill Chisum wherever they can find him.

Several days later, though, rustler's threats were momentarily forgotten. Word reached Lincoln that the Peter trail outfit had suffered injury.

Soon after the cattle passed Dowlin's Mill in the Mescalero Indian Reservation, that is about the 23rd, some of the herders were allowed to double back for a supply of whiskey. Several were drunk in a few hours. Johnny Ewer wounded himself seriously and was hurried north to Fort Stanton for medical attention. J. M. Franklin was shot in the back and killed instantly by Ramon Garcia, a fellow herder. The episode ended when:

Some men from Mesilla rode up and discovered Franklin . . . and seeing Geo. Hogg and others of the Chisum party approaching, they held Ramon. . . . He was bound and started for the guard-house at Stanton. . . . he was started—well he hasn't got there yet. . . . He is reputed to be half Comanche, and likely is hunting cows in the happy hunting grounds of his tribe. . . . Chisum is starting more men to join the herd.¹⁷

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1877.

Newspaper articles concerning the cattleman's activities generally drew little comment. However, much public sentiment was stirred during the summer by the publication of Deputy Boyle's report on the Beckwith affair. An attempt at rebuttal appeared in the *Independent* on September 22. Specifically, this statement was composed and endorsed by representatives of the several Mormon families who had settled in the Roswell locale the preceding March. Appended was an affidavit by Heiskell Jones and Martin Sanchez, friends of Chisum's for over nine years.¹⁸

In refocusing the blame for the local unrest, the deposition stated:

This slander, we find, is being industriously circulated by Chisum's enemies, most of whom are indebted to him for their substance, and are using these subtle means to prejudice public sentiment against him for no other reason than that he objects to their longer preying upon him, killing, driving off and selling his stock.¹⁹

It then described the Mormons' circumstances at locating near the confluence of the Hondo and Pecos. Chisum, it averred, cordially welcomed them, offered land along his acequia for planting, furnished provisions from his store, and provided assistance in erecting buildings. In conclusion, it reviewed recent moves in the Roswell area:

No less than three farmers from Seven Rivers have taken up ranches here within the past three weeks, and a half dozen others, Americans, are negotiating for lands. Each and every one of them have either come at the solicitation of John Chisum, or have been encouraged by him to settle here, by offers of assistance.²⁰

So far as is known, the cattleman issued no public comment regarding this lengthy retort.

With fall roundups came a resurgence of stock theft in Southeastern New Mexico. Jinglebob trail herds again traveled with secure escorts, and scattered line and range riders were alerted. All strangers on horseback were re-

18. *Ibid.*, September 22, 1877.

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Ibid.*

garded with suspicion until proven friend or foe. Even the United States Mail gingerly avoided heavily armed groups, as evidenced by the following note which appeared in the *Independent*, at Mesilla, on October 6:

The mail rider who left here for Silver City on Tuesday discovered some of Chisum's men camped near the road, got an Indian scare on, run his mule down, and returned to town on foot Wednesday, bringing the mail with him.

Two weeks later, a great deal of the apprehension was quieted. Jesse Evans, leader of the principal rustling element, was cornered with several of his band at the Beckwith ranch and taken into custody by Sheriff Brady's posse. Horses stolen from John H. Tunstall and Pitzer Chisum were returned.²¹

One evening during the latter part of October and while riding with a cattle crew several miles above Roswell, Chisum met two strangers, Doctor Henry Hoyt and Hugh McCune. These young Midwesterners, looking for new fields and opportunities, had been told in Santa Fe that the Jinglebob might employ them. That night in camp they broached the subject. To McCune's inquiry regarding hire and letting cattle out on the shares, Chisum replied he was shorthanded, but had not made it a practice to farm out his stock. Then turning to the physician, the cattleman pointed to the northeast and said: "Doc, over yonder is the Panhandle of Texas, a big country, full of people, an epidemic of smallpox, and no doctor. There's the place you're looking for."²²

Later, as the fire burned low and the herders rolled into their blankets, the two young adventurers conferred and decided to follow Chisum's advice. The next morning, Jinglebob cowboys loaded their wagon with fresh beef, ammunition and water, and with best wishes by all, the travelers disappeared north up the Pecos.²³

(To be continued)

21. *Ibid.*, October 27, 1877.

22. Henry F. Hoyt, *A Frontier Doctor*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929), pp. 50-1. Excellent source material. Hoyt later became Surgeon General of the United States Army.

23. *Ibid.*

A SIDELIGHT ON THE TUNSTALL MURDER

By FREDERICK W. NOLAN*

The murder of John Tunstall, the English rancher and merchant, which was committed at about five thirty p.m. on February 18, 1878, some ten miles from the town of Lincoln, New Mexico Territory, brought to a boil a maelstrom of internecine strife which took nearly three and a half years to fully quell. There are still unsettled differences and controversies that arose as a direct result of the feud that followed, unsettled and bitter—and already, that strange, classic and futile conflict has been the target for many millions of written words; not only about the Lincoln County War, as history named the feud, but also about the bloody young outlaw who wrote his name as William H. Bonney, and who they called “Billy the Kid.”

It is this writer's contention that the full story of the Lincoln County War has yet to be told; nevertheless, it is an unexplored tributary of the legend-river to which I now claim colonial rights—the story of the fight to get justice for Tunstall and his impoverished family.

Soon after the murder, Alexander McSween, Tunstall's legal adviser and partner-to-be,¹ telegraphed to Tunstall's parents in London the shocking news that John had been killed by cattle thieves.² There can be no possible doubt that the news came as a very great shock to Tunstall's parents; they knew nothing of their son's involvements with the Murphy-Dolan combine, and their backers, the Santa Fe

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1. Although it had been commonly accepted that McSween and Tunstall were partners, in actual fact they were not; the partnership was to have been consummated in May of 1878, and the lawyer had already drawn up the papers to this effect. Tunstall had apparently given the administrators of the Fritz estate to think that he and McSween were actual partners as early as February 2, 1878, and it was on the strength of this, to all appearances, that the attachment against Tunstall's property was made. However, McSween's affidavit given to Judge Angel during his investigation states categorically that he and Tunstall were not to have become partners until May, 1878, so it can be readily seen that there was no actual legal ground for any posse to go to Tunstall's ranch, much less pursue and kill him “trying to escape serving the writ of attachment.”

2. This telegraphic communication was referred to in a personal letter to the writer dated February 2, 1954, from the late Colonel M. G. Fulton, of Roswell, N. M.

Ring. They were unaware that Tunstall was in any way involved in any legal matters at all, and John made no effort to disillusion them upon this score. He told them of his business transactions, of the money he eventually hoped to make; beyond this, he kept his affairs away from them.

Hot on the heels of the telegraph to Tunstall's parents, McSween wrote directly to Sir Edward Thornton, British Ambassador to the United States at Washington, D. C., and called attention to the murder of Tunstall, stating that "an impartial investigation of the circumstances which led to this foul murder" would show a "disgraceful state of affairs not only as regards the Territorial, but of the U. S. officials also."

He went on to state that he had ineffectually tried to have the murderers arrested, and had not put the warrants into the Sheriff's hands because he believed the Sheriff was "indirectly connected with the murder." He went on: "The public regard this as the most inexcusable murder that has ever taken place here, but unless you cause the matter to be looked into, I have but small hopes of the matter being prosecuted." He ended his letter (significantly) with the phrase, underlined, "In confidence."

The following day, Robert Widenmann, Tunstall's closest friend in Lincoln, also addressed himself to Sir Edward. He too indicted the Sheriff, and detailed how Sheriff Brady had the men who went to arrest Tunstall's murderers arrested themselves. "The murder can be proven beyond a doubt," said Widenmann, "but the New Mexican Ring has so complete a control over all our institutions that I doubt whether justice will be given unless a stronger hand demands it." He goes on to tell how the posse which killed Tunstall followed him "and three others"³ thirty miles, obviously having "agreed to kill us all." Sir Edward Thornton covered these two letters with one of his own, addressed to the Earl of Derby. In it he seemed a little bewildered by the allegations contained in McSween's and Widenmann's letters; nevertheless he says "I deemed it my duty to address . . . Mr. Evarts

3. The three others referred to were employees on the Tunstall ranch—Dick Brewer, Tunstall's foreman, and two ranch-hands, William Bonney and John Middleton.

. . . expressing the confidence that inquiries will be made into the matter, and measures taken for investigating the conduct of the Sheriff of Lincoln County, and for ensuring the arrest of the persons accused of the murder, and their being brought to trial."

Sir Edward's note to Derby outlined in main the points originally mentioned by McSween and Widenmann; "if the above (statements) are true," said Sir Edward, "it would appear that a most inexcusable murder has been committed, and that the sheriff . . . is impeding the course of justice."

In addition to writing to Sir Edward Thornton, Widenmann wrote on March 26 to a San Francisco lawyer named Guy McLellan,⁴ informing him of Tunstall's death and asking him to "bear with the British Minister at Washington and the authorities to have the murder thoroughly investigated." It is interesting to note that Widenmann wrote to McLellan because Tunstall carried upon his person a note requesting the lawyer be notified in the event of his, Tunstall's, death. Tunstall knew he was on "the roster." McLellan sent Widenmann's letter to Governor Axtell, and a scorching reply to the former's allegations was printed in the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, acknowledged Ring journal. Axtell was, of course, in league with the forces that had destroyed Tunstall. Widenmann also wrote a letter to Tunstall's relatives in Victoria, B. C., where his father had a branch of his mercantile business run by his brother-in-law and an associate, J. H. Turner.⁵ Turner at once telegraphed this brother-in-law, H. C. Beeton, who was at the time the letter arrived in Victoria, in the city of Milwaukee, Wisc., apprising him of his nephew's murder and pressing him to go to Ottawa and lay the whole matter before the Attorney-General there. He also informed the Attorney-General in Victoria, who promised to commence telegraphing to headquarters with a view to bringing some pressure to bear on the U. S. Government "that the whole

4. Original in collections of the late Colonel M. G. Fulton. Copy in possession of the writer.

5. J. H. Turner was a business partner of Tunstall's father in the Victoria, B. C., branch, which was called Turner, Beeton and Tunstall. J. H. Turner later became the Hon. J. H. Turner, British Columbia's first Provincial Prime Minister. The letter which Widenmann wrote to him and his reply are in possession of the Tunstall family; copies in possession of the writer.

matter might be thoroughly sifted." Turner also sent to Widenmann the address of Tunstall's father in London, so that Widenmann might write them more fully of John's death.

On March 2, McSween wrote the complete details of Tunstall's killing to Tunstall's parents. The letter reached London about March 24, and plunged the Tunstall family, father, mother, and three sisters, into deep mourning.⁶

Back in Lincoln, a newcomer took a hand in the battle; this was Montague R. Levenson, a naturalised Englishman who hailed from Douglass County, Colorado, and who was visiting Lincoln as the guest of McSween, with a view to establishing an "English colony" there, the Colorado climate not being suitable for them. On March 16, Levenson addressed himself to Sir Edward Thornton. Lincoln and its inhabitants were at this date seething over the conduct of Governor Axtell during his visits to Lincoln, and the proclamations⁷ he issued whilst there; Levenson scathingly indicted Territorial, and the United States officials, and even the Governor himself, enclosing with his letter what he considered proof of the Governor's collusion, i.e., Axtell's proclamation dated March 9, 1878, at Lincoln, in which the Governor stated categorically that the warrants issued against the killers of Tunstall were issued without proper authority; that Deputy U. S. Marshal Widenmann was not entitled so to be called, and that the military forces at Fort Stanton had been enrolled to assist civil officers in quelling the disturbances, "maintaining order and enforcing process." Levenson also enclosed a copy of the Act under which Justice of the Peace Wilson had been appointed and a copy of the record by the County Com-

6. McSween's letter to the Tunstall family is still in their possession. The writer has read this letter but had no opportunity of copying it.

7. The proclamations issued by Governor S. B. Axtell really set Lincoln in a ferment. The one in question, dated March 9, was a direct contradiction of an earlier proclamation, authorised by Axtell, to the effect that the County Commissioners were empowered, in the event of a vacancy arising through a death or resignation, to appoint a new J. P. J. P. John B. "Green" Wilson was appointed accordingly by the County Commissioners on February 14, 1877, to succeed J. H. Fairness, resigned, and was still acting in that capacity when he issued the warrants, on the verdict of the Coroner's Jury, against Tunstall's murderers. When, eventually, the Murphy-Dolan faction got around to swearing out warrants against the "Regulators," they had them issued by a J. P. at Blazer's Mill!

missioners which concerned the appointment of Wilson as J. P. It was this evidence as much as any other that resulted six months later in the removal from office of Governor Ax-tell, and the appointment in his place of General Lew Wallace, famous for his novel "Ben Hur" and for his part in the story of "Billy the Kid." Levenson urged that if enquiry was to be made, that Sir Edward ensure that an unbiased Englishman be appointed to the investigational Board, as there was, he said, "not a single U. S. officer in the Territory who is not a thief, an assassin, or the protector of thieves and assassins." He knew these assertions were strong; that was why he enclosed the evidence that he did. He also categorically stated that his only interest in the case was in the cause of "right and justice."⁸

Thornton was now genuinely astounded, and forthwith sent copies of the whole correspondence to his superior, the Marquis of Salisbury, Foreign Secretary, stating that "the circumstances stated by this gentleman (Levenson) are so extraordinary, and show so much apparent laxity and evil intention on the part of the U. S. authorities," that he had addressed a further note to Secretary of State Evarts. He also took the opportunity of speaking to Evarts of the matter, pointing out the state of utter lawlessness which was apparently so prevalent in New Mexico. Evarts replied that the distance was so great, and the Territory so unsettled, that it was "hard to control the actions of the authorities, who were sometimes obliged to take steps which might not be in entire accordance with the law." Evarts pacified the Ambassador by stating, however, that a "serious investigation of the . . . case would be instituted."

Thornton further states that he had received from H. C. Beeton two letters, one from Milwaukee and one from Chicago, regarding the matter; Beeton had empowered William

8. Levenson, who had been staying with the McSween family, must, of necessity, have seen the shape of the "War" through their eyes; it seems reasonable to infer that he was influenced by them—hence their efforts to have Levenson appointed to the Investigational Board, knowing that thus they would, at least, have a chance of justice. The great and abiding fear of the McSween group was that some County officials would be chosen to make the investigation, in which event influence could easily be brought to bear by the Santa Fe Ring. Hence their later joy when Frank W. Angel of the Department of Justice, a non-County official, was appointed.

Brook Hereford, son of the pastor of the Church of the Messiah in Chicago, a shepherd resident at that time in New Mexico⁹ "to proceed to the scene of the murder to investigate matters thoroughly and to secure what property Mr. Tunstall may have left."

Meanwhile, in Lincoln, the struggle went on, and on March 9, William Morton and Frank Baker, together with one William McCloskey, had been killed by McSween adherents led by Dick Brewer; these men were serving the alias warrants issued by Judge Wilson, and called themselves the "Regulators." In their ranks were C. M. Bowdre, J. G. Scurlock, Henry Brown, Frank McNab, Smith, French, Middleton, Wayte, and a youngster named Bonney. The Lincoln County War was beginning to burgeon forth.

On March 21, Widenmann again took to his pen, writing to Alfred Bury, a merchant of Kansas City, detailing Tunstall's death (this in answer to a letter from Bury enquiring about Tunstall, and dated March 8) and once more indicting the authorities responsible for the murder. Widenmann entreats Bury to write to Sir Edward Thornton and recommend that Levenson be placed upon the Investigational Board; "so that," he says, "we can have a thorough investigation."

On this same day of March 21, Montague Levenson wrote again to Sir Edward Thornton. He first assured Sir Edward that he was in no way interested in the "whole of the horrid business," except in the interests of right. He went on to accuse the District Attorney of the 3rd Judicial District, Rynerson, of complicity in the Tunstall murder, once again furnishing proof in the shape of a letter from Rynerson to Dolan and Riley; this he bluntly calls "an invitation to murder." His was a long letter—three and one-half pages single spaced typing when copied—in which he covered the whole nasty Lincoln set-up thoroughly. Again he entreated Thornton to ensure the election of an Englishman to the Commission of

9. On April 4, 1878, Brook Hereford, Sr., wrote direct to General Sheridan, laying before him the facts of the Tunstall murder as he knew them and the subsequent difficulty in having the murderers arrested; he constrained the General to suspend military action in the area until some official enquiry was made. His letter does not appear to have carried much weight.

Enquiry, and states that he will be "happy to furnish all the assistance in (his) power."

Next, from the vantage point of Chisum's ranch on the Pecos,¹⁰ Leverson wrote a postal card to Thornton stating that he had written to Senator Anthony of Rhode Island, and also General B. T. Butler; he said he had asked them to call upon Sir Edward and examine all the letters and documents appertaining to the murder, and then try to have some form of Congressional inquiry made in the event of President Hayes' failing to have a proper one made. He pleaded "give them (Anthony and Butler) every aid in your power. New Mexico is a volcano that may burst forth at any moment. . . ."

Five days after Leverson's card to Thornton, on March 29, Widenmann wrote to H. C. Beeton at New York, in answer to Beeton's letter of March 19, telling Beeton that he had written to Tunstall's parents¹¹ detailing Harry's¹² death, and enclosing Tunstall's will. Again there is the urging to have Leverson appointed to the Investigational Board, and Widenmann said, "Would it not be as well for you to make the short run to Washington and personally use your influence with Sir Edward Thornton?" He added that there Beeton would get a thorough insight into the whole matter.

Now the Lincoln County War had erupted; Brady and Hindeman were ambushed and assassinated by the "Regulators," and only three days later, April 4, at Blazer's Mill, another Murphy posseman, Andrew L. (Buckshot Bill) Roberts, went down before the posse's guns, taking with him Dick Brewer, leader of the Regulators, and severely wounding Middleton and shooting off the finger of George Coe. Alexander McSween, rigidly self-controlled, wrote a full report to the *Cimarron News and Press* of the killing of Brady and Hindeman, giving reasons for the whole feud, and signing

10. The postal card which Leverson wrote to Thornton was posted from Roswell, this being the nearest post-office to Chisum's ranch; and in addition, knowing that the McSweens were at that time visiting Chisum, just out of Las Vegas jail, it is safe to assume that Leverson was also at the South Spring Ranch.

11. Widenmann is enclosing a copy of a will made by Tunstall; McSween (who was apparently not so fond of Widenmann as had been Tunstall) considered this "will" a mere power of attorney. Nevertheless, Beeton acted upon it.

12. Widenmann's reference to "Harry" means John (Henry) Tunstall. Tunstall called Widenmann "Rob" and wrote glowingly of him to his family. At Tunstall's request, Widenmann called the Englishman "Harry."

himself "Stanton."¹³ The piece is well thought-out, and speaks well for the collectedness of McSween's thoughts during such a particularly trying period. That night, in Stanton, Levenson again went into battle, this time going right to the top; he addressed two letters, one to Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, and the other to President Hayes.¹⁴ He fearlessly¹⁵ exposed the same official chicanery, even referring back to the Pecos War of 1877 in his letter, in order to show what a grip the Ring minions now had upon the County. Of Hayes, Levenson demanded court-martials for the Commandant of Fort Stanton, Col. Purington, and also Lieut. Smith. He begged the President to give immediate attention to the affairs of Lincoln County.

On April 4, the same day that the Regulators massacred Roberts at Blazer's Mill, McSween wrote to Tunstall pere¹⁶ and gave him full details of the killing of Morton and Baker—yet strangely enough, not of the Brady killing—and told Tunstall of rumors that there is a price of \$500 on his (McSween's) head. He also asked Tunstall for the \$5000 which John Tunstall Junior gave him notes for, and explains that he hopes to "be able to pay the men who have left their ploughed fields a fitting recompense, in the shape of liberal rewards."

And at long last, urged to act by friends and family, John Tunstall's father, John Partridge Tunstall, entered the lists; his was a short, succinct letter to the newly appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,¹⁷ the Marquess of Salis-

13. It was one of McSween's favourite dodges when writing to the newspapers—and one of the salient features of the Lincoln County War is the amount of writing to newspapers done by the principal participants—that he always used as his pseudonym the name of the place from which he was writing. The account of the Brady killing can be found in the *Cimarron News and Press* for Thursday, April 11, 1878.

14. Levenson's letters to Carl Schurz and President Hayes are to be found in the National Archives, Washington. A resume is in the possession of the writer.

15. I have used the word "fearlessly" here deliberately, for it seems obvious that a man whose efforts were more likely to upset their plans than many others would have come in for the attention of Murphy-Dolan-Ring threats; everyone else who tried to expose Lincoln County affairs had threats made against his life, and if there is no written record, it would be reasonable to assume that Levenson, who was no more a "fighting man" than McSween, had his share both of threats and courage.

16. McSween's letter to J. P. Tunstall is in the possession of the Tunstall family; copy in possession of the author.

17. Robert Arthur Talbot Gascoyne Cecil, third holder of the famous title of Marquess of Salisbury, was appointed to the Secretaryship April 2, 1878, succeeding the Earl of Derby, who had been Foreign Secretary when Thornton first sent word of the Tunstall murder to the Foreign Office.

bury, in which he said that "even at this critical moment in public affairs"¹⁸ he felt it his duty to "draw to your Lordship's attention the brutal and cowardly murder of my son," John Henry Tunstall, "one of her Majesty's subjects . . . under circumstances, which I trust your Lordship will consider, justify me in asking for the interference of Her Majesty's Government."

He, too, indicted the Santa Fe Ring and its minions in Lincoln; he spoke glowingly of the rights of "Her Majesty's subjects," and respectfully begged the Foreign Secretary's consideration in the enclosed letter to His Excellency, and asked that the letter be sent to Thornton at the first opportunity, "with such instructions as your Lordship may deem fit." By May 10th, Salisbury had answered Tunstall's letter, and assured him that the British Government had the matter in hand; in fact, it was that same day that the letter to Sir Edward Thornton was dispatched.

Meanwhile, Sir Edward Thornton had already brought the matter to Secretary Evarts notice again, in a letter to Thornton dated April 13, assured him that he had placed the matter in the hands of Attorney-General, Charles Devens. From that official's office, enclosed with Evarts' letter, came a note from Acting-Attorney-General Phillips confirming this. Phillips also stated that he had discussed the matter with Secretary F. W. Seward. The wheels of Government were finally beginning to revolve. The Attorney-General's department decided to institute a searching enquiry into the death of Tunstall, made on the spot by a Special Investigator, who was Frank Warner Angel. He was to go into Lincoln County and examine as many of the actual witnesses and participants of the Tunstall killing as were available; and he arrived in Lincoln late in May, 1878. He immediately began to take testimonies, and the McSween faction were overjoyed at this sign that their efforts had not been in vain. They felt sure

18. By this reference to "public affairs," Tunstall was no doubt referring to the then-current classic struggle between Gladstone and Disraeli upon the subject of Turco-Russian relationships. Russia and Turkey had been at war since 1877; Russia forced Bulgaria on to Turkey in order to get possession of one side of the Dardanelles. Disraeli backed Turkey against Russia, and Gladstone wanted the Turks cleared out bag and baggage. This conflict led eventually to the Congress of Berlin in 1878.

that this unbiased investigation would land every member of the Santa Fe Ring in jail. In a letter to J. P. Tunstall dated at Lincoln, June 5, 1878, McSween himself speaks triumphantly of having "succeeded in getting the U. S. Government to appoint and send out here a gentleman from New York to inquire into the murder of John (Tunstall). For the past week or ten days," continues McSween, "I have been very busy in taking testimony. Parties for years in the employ of Murphy have testified that sentence of death had been passed on your son . . . long before he was killed." He goes on to tell that there is a price on his own head; that full, detailed particulars of the investigation will be published by County Officers¹⁹ and sent to him (J.P.T.) and that, next mail, he will . . . "also write my ideas about a monument for John."

On June 11, Widenmann wrote to J. P. Tunstall, advising him that on the 19th, Thursday, he, Widenmann, would be setting out for Mesilla.²⁰ He also details the removal from office of "our sheriff,"²¹ and the substitution by the authorities of George W. Peppin. Widenmann stated this further evidence of the Governor's partizanship with the Murphy-Dolan crowd, and expressed the hope that "if we give them enough rope they may hang themselves." Widenmann expressed faith in Angel, who, he said, "seemed rather disgusted with their (the officials of the County) proceedings. . . ." On July 1st, Daniel M. Appel, Assistant-Post Surgeon, U. S. Army at Fort Stanton, gave his affidavit before Judge Angel on the post-mortem examination he had made on Tunstall's body. Contrary to accepted legend, he stated that

19. No County or Territorial investigation was ever made; it is possible that McSween was referring to the Angel investigation, but there may have been talk of a County investigation to run concurrently with the Angel one. Angel, of course, investigated the conduct of the officials of the Territory, but his findings were never published.

20. Widenmann left Lincoln June 19 to attend Court in the hope of getting justice for the Tunstall family. He was foredoomed to failure, and himself received what he termed "a cathauling" in Court. He went to Mesilla with a military escort, but this was "withdrawn," so that he was forced to stay in Mesilla, knowing that if he should venture out into the lonely hills of Lincoln County, he would never be found alive.

21. Widenmann's reference to "our Sheriff" refers to Sheriff John Copeland, who was elected by ballot after the killing of Brady, and who was at least sympathetic towards the McSween faction. Copeland was summarily removed from office by order of the Governor, and George W. Peppin replaced him. This was a blow to the McSween faction, but it later proved yet another reason for the removal of the Governor from his office. Even during his short tenure of office, Copeland had managed to get out a few "wanted" posters against Murphy hirelings.

“there were no marks of violence upon the body, nor was the body or skull mutilated.”²² He expressed the opinion that the wounds had been caused by rifle bullets rather than by revolver-bullets. The rest of his testimony consists of medical details regarding the actual bullet wounds themselves.

Eventually, Angel compiled a complete file upon the case, consisting of over three hundred pages; he remained in the Territory until about August—although not in Lincoln itself—and returned to Washington then, filing his report with the Department of Justice. As a direct result of Angel’s investigations, the Hayes administration decided to give New Mexico a new set of officials. But this is ahead of itself, and I shall return to it a few paragraphs hence.

Soon, the Lincoln County War flared to its climax; on July 19th, after a drawn-out fight that had lasted three days, Murphy-Dolan forces fired the McSween home, and as a result of this blaze-up, McSween, two Mexicans, Zamora and Romero, and a young man named Harvey Morris were killed;²³ of the Murphy-Dolan forces, Robert M. Beckwith, a rancher, was killed, and John Kinney, Las Cruces outlaw, was wounded.

On July 24, Samuel Corbet, who had been John Tunstall’s clerk, wrote the sad news of McSween’s death and the looting of Tunstall’s store to John Partridge Tunstall. He refers to Widenmann, from whom he has only heard once since Widenmann left for Mesilla on the 19th of June. He said “If Peppin’s posse ever find him, they will kill him on sight. When they (Peppin’s men) destroyed everything I left town to save my life.”²⁴ He expressed concern over Tunstall’s herd of cattle on the Felix; sure that they too will be taken before the

22. Appel’s partisanship towards the Murphy-Dolan faction shows very clearly in his affidavit; when Judge Angel had collected all the testimonies, it became readily apparent that Tunstall had been shot down from close range, as Morton admitted to be the case. Appel’s evidence was given to lend weight to the statement that Tunstall was running away from his killers, yet contradicts itself by saying that both wounds were at the front. It is also interesting to note that Appel states definitely that there was no mutilation of the head or body—so much for the blood and thunder historians!

23. Harvey Morris was a young man recently arrived in Lincoln to read law in McSween’s office. He was the proverbial “innocent bystander.”

24. Corbet, along with not a few other McSween sympathisers, had had to leave Lincoln to escape the attentions of Peppin and his “posse”—which consisted in main of a band of outlaws from Dona Ana County under the flag of John Kinney—and Corbet’s letter is postmarked from Magado, Lincoln County.

Kinney gang, under Peppin's banner, leave town. "Mrs. McSween," says Corbet, "is left without a change of clothes; everything was burnt up." A sad letter; it is difficult to imagine what Tunstall's feelings would have been upon receiving it. His son's estate had stood valued at around \$25,000. Now it was being looted, smashed, pillaged, burned; and he was helpless to stop it happening. On July 25 a very distraught Mrs. McSween wrote to Tunstall. Even in cold print, one can read behind the words and see the fear and distraught mind of McSween's widow; she wrote Tunstall that she was "entirely destitute" and that she feared that Widenmann, too, was dead, as they had "not heard from him for about three weeks, and whilst those men were here they swore they would kill him." Her last sentence was "excuse this for I scarcely know what I am doing."

However, Widenmann was not dead; he was alive in Mesilla, but there completely helpless to do anything about going back to Lincoln. The Ring had him trapped in the little town, and there he had to stay. On July 26 he wrote to Tunstall. He told of his troubles in trying to get any action from the Courts; "nevertheless I had trouble enough . . . in court, so that justice is out of the question . . . all the roads blocked so that I cannot get back to Lincoln." He continued with the supposition that by now Tunstall will have heard about the McSween killing and the looting of the store: "I will go back to Lincoln as soon as I can," he said, "and try to arrange things and put them in shape. . . . Whether I will succeed is doubtful, and it is rather dangerous work; but right and justice will triumph in the end—that is my main hope."

In early August, Colonel Dudley wrote to Tunstall, and in his letter accused Widenmann and McSween of the murder of young John Tunstall;²⁵ aghast at this amazing accusation, on August 13, Corbet wrote again to Tunstall, and his letter gives a good indication of what Lincoln County was enduring at that time. "Mr. Dolan," said Corbet, "with a company of soldiers from Fort Stanton and about twenty Apache Indians, are now out hunting the citizens of this county who are friends of Mr. McSween and your son." Once again, Dudley

25. This letter from Dudley has never been found.

is indicted for his part in the Three Days Fight; Corbet now intimated that he had since discovered that there were troops helping to carry goods from the store during the looting, and that "General Dudley himself was in the store." He went on to say that since the McSween killing, everything had been quiet in town, but "Peppin is liable to come in any day. Burnstein was killed on the Indian Agency on August 5 (Murphyite)."²⁶

On September 2, Widenmann wrote his last letter from Mesilla to Tunstall; he told of the depredations in the Lincoln area being carried out by the Peppin and Kinney gangs. And also: "Mr. F. W. Angel . . . was forced to return to Washington because his life was in danger, and had been frequently and openly threatened by the New Mexican Ring; but I am certain that his labour will carry severe retribution with it. . . . My life is daily threatened, but I have become . . . accustomed to it that I don't mind much." He said there was a price of \$500 on his head, and closed with the words "the . . . inactivity to which I am condemned at present is very disagreeable and trying."

Back in London, John P. Tunstall had prepared his case for a further assault upon the Governmental bastions. He had had printed an extract from the *Cimarron News and Press* dated August 1, 1878, concerning the "tragic end" of the McSween group, together with a number of letters he had received from Lincoln County, most of these already detailed in previous paragraphs. The pamphlet included letters from McSween, Widenmann, Corbet, Gauss, and Mrs. McSween, and represented a fairly good summarisation of the McSween faction's claims and suffering. To these Tunstall added his own summarisation; his letter, dated October 9, 1878, and addressed to the M. of Salisbury, hits the nail smack-bang on the head almost immediately. "The object," he said, "of these continued outrages is to do away with the

26. This murder was supposedly committed by the Kid, but authorities seem inclined to believe that he was innocent of this particular charge, and that the murder was committed by a bunch of Mexicans who were with the Kid and his gang to steal horses from the Indian Agency. Colonel Fulton, in his notes to Garrett's *Authentic Life of Billy the Kid* (McMillan, New York, 1927) expressed the opinion that the murder was done by a Mexican youth named Sanchez.

foremost witnesses to the premeditated assassination of my son and to accomplish the robbery and destruction of his property." This letter, unlike the first, spoke now of "an adequate indemnity from the American Government for the irreparable injury my family suffers. . . ." The letter is a complete summarisation of the why and wherefore of Tunstall's choice of New Mexico, of the financial loss now felt by him personally, sixty-three years of age and without the capital which had taken him a lifetime to accumulate. Beyond a formal acknowledgement, Tunstall got no Governmental comment; he might well have saved his time, it seemed. Now Tunstall received a letter from Issac Ellis in Lincoln, telling him that Widenmann had written him from Las Vegas that he was on his way East; that the store, John's store, was falling down. Ellis offers to repair it for a half interest . . . his p.s. is revealing of Widenmann's departure from the Territory. "Mr. Widenmann left without giving anyone charge of anything." Surprisingly, therefore, Tunstall's next letter to the Foreign Secretary, dated January 10, 1879, stated that Widenmann was in London, having "with great difficulty escaped the fate of my son at the hands of his murderers. . . ." He stated that Widenmann was ready, willing and able to give direct testimony regarding the murder of John Tunstall.²⁷

At this time, the Angel report was sent from Devens to Evarts, from Evarts to Thornton, and (copied) from Thornton to Salisbury (again copied). John Partridge Tunstall was sent copies, which having completely perused, he attacked savagely and with force in his letter to Salisbury dated May 8, 1879; he agreed that the testimony of "the surviving assassin," Evans,²⁸ would be desirable, but went on to state that with regard to the third finding of Angel's report²⁹ the

27. Widenmann's offer to testify was apparently never taken up by the British Government; at least there is no record of such testimony.

28. On February 12, 1879, Devens had written to Sidney M. Barnes, U. S. Attorney at Santa Fe, requesting that, as of the three alleged assassins, Jesse Evans was the only one surviving, it would be admirable to have said Evans arrested and hear his testimony. Evans, however, had left the Territory, and ended his career in Fort Stockton, Texas, where he, John Gunter, and the Davis boys sacked the Fort, and in a running fight killed Ranger George R. "Red" Bingham. Gunter and Evans were sent to the penitentiary for long terms.

29. In the penultimate paragraph of his report to the Attorney-General, Angel concluded that "there was no object for following after Tunstall except to murder

evidence incontrovertibly points to the fact already-surely-proven, that "Sheriff Brady deputised Matthews, Matthews deputised Morton, and Morton admits that he shot Tunstall." The letter is a fine statement of the Tunstall family's viewpoint; Tunstall remarks that he is happy to inform Salisbury that—for lawless and corrupt practices—the Territorial Governor, the D. A., Rynerson, the Indian Agent Godfroy, and the U. S. D. A., Catron, have all been dismissed. "This," he said, "is a practical recognition of the conduct of these officers." As regards the looting of the store, Tunstall said that he had had no report on the investigation, "required by our Government in that matter," and stated that he will be happy to furnish figures of the loss sustained when necessary.

On November 12, Tunstall wrote again to the Foreign Office; he was surprised, and perhaps a little alarmed, as there had been no communication from the Governmental office regarding his comments or his claim. He speaks of a "definite issue" between the U. S. Government and himself, and enters against the U. S. Government a claim which he asked Salisbury to put forward on his behalf, stating that "competent persons" have assured him that his son was in a good position to accumulate a fortune—in six or eight years—of around \$500,000. His ending sentence revealed the beginnings of alarm at Governmental slowness: "Begging the attention of your Lordship to this matter, which to me is one of vital consequence."

On November 25th, by direction of the Marquess of Salisbury, Tunstall was informed that instructions had been furnished to H. M. Minister at Washington to report upon his (Tunstall's) statement of loss incurred by the murder of J. H. Tunstall, his son. On April 12, 1880, Tunstall again addressed the Foreign Secretary, this time in order to lodge his claim as a definite figure—this being one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, or 30,000 pounds sterling. This not to

him . . . , and the deputy allowing these notorious outlaws to accompany him lead me to the conclusion that John H. Tunstall was murdered in cold blood and was not shot in attempting to resist an officer of the law." Then amazingly, Angel concluded: "After diligent inquiry . . . , I report that the death of John H. Tunstall was NOT brought about through the lawless and corrupt conduct of United States officials in the Territory of New Mexico." This was the paragraph with which Tunstall disagreed so emphatically.

mention the land losses or the "deep injury—not to be estimated in figures—done to my family by his murder. . . ." He closed with an undertaking to pay his son's liabilities, when the U. S. Government had satisfied his claim.

Shortly after Tunstall had written this letter, Disraeli's Conservative Government was defeated in a General Election, and once more W. E. Gladstone brought his Liberal Party into the House of Commons. On May 31, 1880, Tunstall wrote to the new Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville,³⁰ reminding him of the correspondence that had already passed, and that his letter dated 12th April was still unanswered—"owing doubtless to the change of Ministry," said the old man. His last sentence to the Foreign Office—for this was his last letter—said, "I may add that this matter has been pending more than two years."

It is likely that the old man suffered some sort of breakdown shortly after this letter was written; at any rate he wrote no further letters to the Foreign Office. Between 1880 and 1881, correspondence was carried on between the representatives of the two Governments; on January 30, 1882, F. T. Frelinghuysen, Secretary of State in America, suggested that the claim made by Tunstall's family for an indemnity should be referred to the Court of Claims or other judicial tribunal—under authorization of Congress. The British Government agreed that this would be admirable—*Providing* that the proposed adjudication be based upon prior admission of liability by the United States. The suggestion was promptly dropped.

Again the Tunstall family, now without John Partridge Tunstall, who had died some time in 1884, swung into the fray again. They issued a printed pamphlet entitled *Resume of the Facts Connected With the Murder of J. H. Tunstall and the Plunder of His Property in Lincoln County New Mexico in 1878*.³¹ This leaflet again indicted the Santa Fe Ring and

30. George Leveson Gower Granville, 2nd Earl Granville, succeeded Salisbury in the Foreign Secretaryship on February 6, 1880, in conjunction with the change in Ministry mentioned, which took place April 28, 1880.

31. A copy of this *Resume of the Facts* . . . is in the possession of the author. The family had a number of these printed for distribution, but very few of them can be traced today.

its leaders and followers. It quoted the old Ryerson letter that had been called "an incitation to murder." It detailed the killing, and the looting of Tunstall's store, and carried a plea for "signatures . . . to the enclosed address of Lord Granville. The matter is one of national interest as affecting the respect due to the life and property of English men abroad."

On April 25, 1885, the British Minister at Washington, the Hon. L. S. S. West, requested a re-examination of the case. A reply dated June 1, 1885, from Thos. F. Bayard, Secretary of State, replied that the claim could not be admitted. The legal grounds for the adjudication were as follows:

- (I) The laws of the various states and territories of the Union for the punishment of certain crimes committed within these several independent jurisdictions by their respective local tribunals and officers free from any control or interference of the Federal Government. (More than once it had been held in the Courts that the Federal Government was not liable for the debts or torts of officers of a Territory organized under Congressional legislation.)
- (II) A decision of Chief Justice Waite was quoted:—"There is no principle of international law which makes it the duty of one nation to assume the collection of the claims of its citizens against another nation, if the citizens themselves have ample means of redress without the intervention of their Government."

The Tunstalls had lost.*

* All other correspondence, Governmental and private, referred to in this article may be found in the files of the British Foreign Office, kept in the Public Records Office, London. Copies of all letters mentioned are in the possession of the author.

THE HORRELL WAR

By P. J. RASCH *

While L. G. Murphy & Company were consolidating their economic and political control over Lincoln County in 1873, events were taking place in Texas which were to eventuate in the Horrell War of New Mexico.

Residing in the vicinity of Lampasas were the five Horrell brothers—Ben, Martin, Merritt, Sam and Thomas. The family originated in Arkansas, but had lived at one time in Lincoln County itself. A contemporary newspaper¹ mentions that several members of the family had been killed by Indians in San Augustin Pass,² and Gillette³ recalled that another brother, John, was slain in a gun fight in Las Cruces.

However, at least some of the family were in Lampasas County during the census of 1870. So ferocious were the Indian raids at this time that the county was specifically exempted from the provisions of the law of April 13, 1871, entitled "An Act to Regulate the Keeping and Bearing of Deadly Weapons." A company of Minute Men was organized and the state furnished rifles to the members, among them Ben Horrell and his brother-in-law, Ben Turner.

Unfortunately, there are few records of that time and place. The courthouse files were destroyed in a fire in 1872 and no run of the Lampasas *Dispatch* has been preserved. However, there can be little doubt but that the Horrells were leading spirits among the fun-loving cowboys who regularly shot up the town. Favorite targets were the knot-holes in the front and sides of the business buildings. The office of White & Gibson alone had twenty or thirty bullets fired through it, and the editor of the *Dispatch* finally gave up trying to keep glass in his windows. What else the brothers might have

* 567 Erskine Dr., Pacific Palisades, Calif.

1. Silver City *Mining Life*, December 20, 1873.

2. It seems likely that the killing of a Mr. Howell at Shedd's San Augustin ranch reported in the Santa Fe *Weekly New Mexican*, January 26, 1869, actually refers to Samuel Horrell, Sr. Some of the Lampasas newspaper reports also give the name as Howell instead of Horrell.

3. James B. Gillette, *Six Years With the Texas Rangers*. Chicago: R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., 1943, p. 107.

been doing is suggested in a report from Adjutant General and Chief of State Police F. L. Britton to Governor Edmund J. Davis charging that Thomas, Martin, Merritt and Ben Horrell, Ben Turner, Joe Bolden, Allen Whitcraft, James Grizzell, Jerry Scott, Bill Bowen, Billy Gray, G. W. Short, Mark Short, Jim Jenkins, Sam Sneed and Billy Sneed were members of a gang "whose occupation was the branding, killing and skinning of other people's cattle."⁴

On January 14, 1873, affairs suddenly became serious. During the noon recess of the District Court, G. W. Short became disorderly in Schoot's saloon. When Sheriff Shadrach T. Denson attempted to arrest the disturber of the peace, Mark Short stepped between them and grappled with the officer. G. W. then drew his pistol and shot the sheriff. When Judge Turner heard Denson's calls for help, he ordered Thomas Sparks and several other men to arrest the brothers. At this Ben, Thomas and Martin Horrell, Patrick Ginnity and a number of their companions among the Minute Men interfered. Drawing their guns, they warned the posse that the Shorts were their friends and that they would protect them. So determined was their attitude that the posse only watched helplessly as the Shorts rode out of town.

In desperation five Justices of the Peace, members of the Lampasas County court, submitted a petition to Governor Davis requesting that certain of the law-abiding citizens be appointed to the State Police and that a reward of \$250 be offered for each of the Shorts. The Governor then extended the provisions of the act regulating the bearing of arms to include Lampasas County, and Britton dispatched a squad of State Police under Sergeant J. M. Redmon to enforce it. Simultaneously the Minute Men were reorganized.

Redmon⁵ soon reported that shooting was continuing at night, but that the citizens were afraid to swear out warrants so that he could make arrests. He advised that the situation could be remedied only by having about twenty-five policemen present to patrol the streets or by declaring martial law.

4. F. L. Britton to Edmund J. Davis, March 24, 1873. In *Journal of the Senate of Texas*, March 25, 1873, p. 352.

5. J. M. Redmon to F. L. Britton, February 17, 1873, and J. M. Redmon to F. L. Britton, February 28, 1873.

Lack of funds soon made it necessary to withdraw the troopers, although the sheriff begged that they be returned as soon as possible.

His fears proved well founded. The disorders promptly became worse than ever, and Britton finally sent seven policemen under Captain Thomas G. Williams to enforce the law against bearing arms. En route Williams stopped Tilford Bean, a Lampasas freighter, to ask for directions. It is alleged that he had been drinking and told Bean that he was going to clean up the Horrell boys.⁶ The police reached the town about 1 P.M. on March 14 and halted in front of Jerry Scott's saloon. In the bar room were ten or fifteen of the Horrell party, including Thomas, Martin and Merritt Horrell, Turner, Bolden, Whitcraft, Grizzell, Gray and Jenkins. They had had some difficulty with the Minute Men that morning, but most of the latter and practically everybody else in town were attending a trial being held some distance away. As the police watched, Bill Bowen, Merritt's brother-in-law, entered the saloon, a pistol hanging from his hip. Accompanied by Privates Wesley Cherry, T. M. Daniels and Andrew Melville, Williams followed Bowen inside, notified him that he was under arrest and demanded the revolver.

"Bill," interrupted Martin, "you haven't done any wrong. You don't have to be arrested."

The officer then made a mistake. He tried to take the pistol from Bowen by force. In the gunplay that followed Williams, Daniels and Cherry were killed. Melville, fatally wounded by a bullet through the left lung, died in the Huling Hotel a few days later. When the Horrell party carried the fight to the four policemen outside Policeman Eddie shot Tom just below the shoulder blade and Martin was shot in the neck. The troopers then gave up the battle and rode frantically for Austin. Martin was carried to his mother's home, about 200 yards from the saloon, and the rest of the party left the town.

Britton, with an escort of twelve State Police, arrived at Lampasas on the 17th. He addressed a mass meeting of the citizens and they adopted a set of resolutions pledging their

6. C. L. Sonnichsen, *I'll Die Before I'll Run*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951, p. 98.

aid in enforcing the law and arresting the fugitives. With the aid of the Lampasas Minute Company, the Burnet Minute Company, the State Police and a posse of citizens, Britton scoured five counties and finally succeeded in arresting Scott, Martin Horrell, Whitcraft, Jenkins and Grizzell and lodging them in the Travis County jail.

Within two weeks Horrell and Scott were transferred to Georgetown on a writ of habeas corpus. Mrs. Horrell was permitted to stay at the jail to nurse her husband. About eleven o'clock on the night of May 2, a body of thirty-five men, led by one of the brothers, rode into town. They warned the citizens that they did not want to injure any of them, but that they meant to free the prisoners at any cost. Shots were exchanged until the five guards in the jail ran out of ammunition, one of them, a young lawyer named A. S. Fisher, receiving serious wounds in the side and leg. The assailants were then able to get up the stairs and Bowen broke in the door with a sledge hammer. Two prisoners under indictment for horse-stealing, Berry and Whittington, were also freed.

The Horrells rounded up their cattle, selling the remnant to Cooksey and Clayton, and set out for New Mexico. With supreme recklessness they notified the sheriff when they would pass through Russell Gap, but that gentleman made no effort to halt them.

On arriving in Lincoln County, the Horrells bought a homestead from Frank Reagan and Hieskell Jones in the Ruidoso Valley, near present day Hondo, and the rest of the clan located in the same vicinity. Hough⁷ says that two of the family were financed by Murphy. On December 1, 1873, Ben Horrell, accompanied by Dave C. Warner, E. Scott, Zacharias Crompton and the ex-sheriff of Lincoln County, L. J. Gylam, went to Lincoln on business. The party drank heavily, became boisterous and began firing off their guns. Constable Juan Martinez demanded that they surrender their weapons. This was done, but about an hour later the men secured other arms, congregated at a local house of ill repute and resumed their spree. The constable then summoned four or five of the

7. Emerson Hough, *The Story of the Outlaw*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1907, p. 201.

Police Guard to restore order, taking with them a Mr. Warwick as interpreter. While Warwick was explaining the object of the party, Warner suddenly shot the constable, killing him instantly. Warner was killed in the return fire, but Gylam and Horrell broke out of the house and ran across the acequia. They were pursued and wounded. Apparently both of them surrendered, gave up their arms and were then shot in cold blood. The *Silver City Mining Life*⁸ suggested that the murders might have been an outgrowth of the ill feeling resulting from the shooting of a couple of Mexican horse thieves by Riley and Copeland a year or so earlier.

The Horrells went to Lincoln and demanded the arrest and trial of the murderers. This was refused, the Mexicans claiming that the Police Guard had simply been doing its duty. Three days later Seferino Trujillo and another Mexican were found dead on the Horrell ranch. A posse of about 40 men, led by Sheriff Ham Mills, descended on the Horrells on December 5 and demanded their surrender. Their women and children had been placed in Robert Casey's⁹ grist mill and the ranch house prepared for a siege, but the Horrells offered to go with any military or civil authorities who would guarantee them protection while under arrest. When the sheriff refused to make this guarantee, the Horrells refused to be arrested.

In response to a letter from Justice of the Peace Manuel Gutiérrez requesting the aid of troops in preventing a renewal of the riot in Lincoln, Major John L. Mason, Commanding Fort Stanton, had advised that the military could be used only for protection against the Indians. However, he now ordered a detachment under Captain Chambers McKibbin to camp on Eagle Creek in the vicinity of the Horrell ranch and to investigate the circumstances. They were not to participate in any way in the quarrel, but were to notify him immediately if the Mexicans should make an attack. Shots were exchanged between the posse and the Horrells throughout the day, without casualties to either side. That evening

8. December 20, 1873.

9. Casey had come to New Mexico in 1867 from Mason County, Texas. He had purchased a ranch from Leopold Chene located about two miles from Picacho on the Rio Hondo.

the sheriff withdrew his force, possibly because of uncertainty regarding action which might be taken by the troops.

On the night of December 20 the Texans struck back. While a wedding was being celebrated in Lincoln they raided the party. Their promiscuous shooting resulted in the killing of Isidro Patron,¹⁰ Dario Balizan, Isidro Padia [Padilla?] and Joe Candelaria. Apolonia Garcia, Pilar Candelaria and a young man were dangerously wounded. The citizens of Lincoln now petitioned Governor Marsh Giddings for protection. Murphy wrote that the civil officials were unable to meet the situation and requested that arrangements be made for the use of troops from Fort Stanton. Associate Justice Warren Bristol advised that it was out of the question to find impartial juries and that only the military could quiet the disturbances. Mason sent troops from Fort Stanton to camp on the outskirts of the plaza in hope that their presence would be a moral deterrent to further outbreaks of violence.

However, a letter written by Captain James F. Randlett¹¹ gives good reason to question whether the citizens of the plaza were as peaceable and law-abiding as they would have liked the governor to believe:

The civil law is powerless and has no active execution except a lawless posse led by one Juan Gonzales¹² a noted murderer and horse thief. This man Gonzales pretends to act as (and I believe is actually) a deputy Sheriff.

No white citizens would surrender to this Villian [sic] and his posse with a show for anything but a barbarous death.

The Mexican population have nothing to fear from Gonzales and can commit crime with impunity unless some action is taken by authority sufficient to control the elements at work.

Governor Giddings wrote Secretary of the Interior C. Delano requesting that he arrange for the use of soldiers to assist the civil authorities, but Secretary of War William H. Belknap informed Delano that Lincoln was an organized

10. Some of the records give the name as Pedro Patron. He was Juan B. Patron's father.

11. James F. Randlett to Adjutant General, District of New Mexico, January 5, 1874.

12. In October, 1876, Frank Coe and Ab Saunders ambushed Juan Gonzales at his house in Lincoln. Saunders succeeded in wounding him slightly, but he escaped to Albuquerque, where he was later killed while trying to rob a house. See J. Evetts Haley, "Horse Thieves," *Southwest Review*, 15:321 (Spring, 1930)

county and that there was no authority for troops to interfere in the affairs of the citizens. If they did so, they would be subject to indictment by civil authorities. The Assistant General of the Department of the Missouri then issued a General Order specifically forbidding the troops to act except on the orders of the President of the United States.

Another clash seems to have taken place in the village of San Patricio on January 4, 1874. Three days later Governor Giddings¹³ signed a proclamation offering \$100 each for the apprehension of Crompton, Scott and "three other persons, brothers, by the name of Harrold, whose first names are unknown." Nevertheless, about the end of that month another raid was made on Lincoln, during which Deputy Sheriff Joseph Haskins was taken out of his bed and murdered, allegedly by Edward "Little" Hart, Thomas Keenan and C. W. King, for no other reason than that he had a Mexican wife. The Horrells declared their intention of killing L. G. Murphy and J. J. Dolan, but were unable to find them. First reports stated that Dave Stanley was killed; later it was announced that this was a mistake and that Mr. and Mrs. Steve Stanley had been killed by a wild shot while in their bed. Since a Steve Stanley, a Murphy & Co. teamster, fought a duel with S. W. Lloyd in Lincoln on February 24, 1876, it seems likely that there may have been an error in this report as well.

This was the Texans' parting gesture. Apparently they had already decided to return to Lampasas and had sent their families ahead of them to Roswell, leaving their ranch property in the hands of Murphy. Later Juan B. Patron¹⁴ significantly commented, "There are people who say that this was one of the ends Murphy was working for." It suggests that the Texans represented a force which Murphy felt that he could not control and which he therefore determined to drive out.

13. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, January 9, 1874.

14. Juan B. Patron, Unpublished affidavit. Patron had been raised by Archbishop Lamy and educated at Notre Dame. He was murdered by M. E. Maney at Puerto de Luna on April 9, 1884. The killing appears to have been the senseless act of a drunken cowboy, but some of the contemporary newspapers suggested that it was an outgrowth of the Horrell War.

On the way to Roswell, Ben Turner was killed by a shot fired from ambush, by, it has been said, a man named Martin Chaves. The party started back to Lincoln to wipe out the town, got as far as the Casey Ranch, were unable to agree on a course of action, and finally headed back to Roswell. About fifteen miles west of the town they met a party of five Mexican freighters and killed them all. At some stage of all this fighting, Reymundo and Ceberiano Aguilar, Pablo Romero, Severiano Apadaca, Juan Silva, Ramondo Apadaca, Leverian Apadaca and Juan Lyban lost their lives. The total number of persons killed was no doubt considerably in excess of those whom it has been possible to name here. The *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican* for December 29, 1873, had noted that up to that time thirteen individuals had been murdered.

Warrants were issued charging Frank H. Ricker, Zachariah Crompton, John D. Scott, John Walker, James Scott, Merritt Horrell, James McLaine, Charles Powell, William Williams, Thomas Bowen, Samuel Horrell, Thomas Horrell, Martin Horrell, William Applegate, James Wilson, William Little, Robert Honeycutt, C. W. King, W. A. Jocoby, Robert Casey, Edward Hart, Thomas Keenan, Rufus Overstreet, Captain James Randlett and two men identified only as Woods and Jones with murder or complicity in murder. Randlett and Casey obtained changes of venue to Socorro County, where Randlett was found not guilty by a jury which did not even leave their seats and the charges against Casey were dismissed. Randlett asserted that the charge was made simply in revenge for his actions which had resulted in the removal of Murphy as Indian trader at Fort Stanton. Charges against the others were later dismissed because they had left the country and the warrants could not be served.

The Texans did not leave empty handed. Ricker had stolen four horses from Stanley. Crompton, Applegate, Hart and a man named Still rustled some horses and mules belonging to Aaron O. Wilburn, of Roswell. Some of the other members of the party met Robert W. Beckwith on the public road and robbed him of horse, saddle and pistol. All of the stock was driven off Sheriff Mills' ranch. Beckwith lost eight horses and mules. Wilburn and his brother Frank raised a

posse and pursued the thieves to the Hueco Tanks, east of El Paso, where Crompton and Still were killed. Wilburn returned to Roswell, but, fearing the vengeance of the Horrells, fled to Las Vegas.

According to Sonnichsen,¹⁵ when the Horrells reached home they told their friends, "We fought them all the way to Fort Davis." Unhappily, Lampasas proved no haven of refuge. Word of their coming had preceded them and the sheriff had assembled a posse of fifty men. As the Horrells' wagons rolled into town on the 5th of March, the posse opened fire. Jerry Scott and Rufus Overstreet were captured. Scott was shot through the lung, and one Johnny Green, the proverbial innocent bystander, received a serious wound in the abdomen from a shot aimed at Overstreet. Mart Horrell was slightly wounded.

That the Horrells hoped to make a new start in life is shown by the fact that the Lampasas *Dispatch*¹⁶ reported that "The Horrell party didn't fire a shot at the posse during the engagement." Their new attitude of "peaceful coexistence" was further confirmed in September, when the Horrells surrendered to stand trial for the Williams affair, finally being acquitted in October, 1876.

At this point a mystery arises. About the end of November, 1874, the Las Cruces *Borderer*¹⁷ noted that "The Harold boys have returned to Lincoln County and trouble is feared." Who it was that returned, and on what business, the writer has been unable to learn. Diligent search of contemporary newspapers reveals no further reports of troubles with the Horrells in New Mexico.

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15. Sonnichsen, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

16. Lampasas *Dispatch*, March 19, 1874, quoted in *Dallas Daily Herald*, March 25, 1874.

17. Las Cruces *The Borderer*, quoted in *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 7, 1874.

COLONEL JAMES REILY'S DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS TO CHIHUAHUA AND SONORA

By MARTIN HARDWICK HALL*

DURING the latter part of 1861 Confederate General Henry Hopkins Sibley with a force of some 3,000 men moved into Fort Bliss and the Mesilla Valley to begin a campaign to drive the Federal forces from Arizona and New Mexico. The remote and relatively unimportant Territory of New Mexico was not the real objective of the campaign. It was merely a means of attaining the real aim, the conquest of California.¹ Not only would the gold supply from the west, which was valued by the North as a source from which to pay for the prosecution of the war,² be diverted from Washington to Richmond, but the South would also gain two good seaports on the Pacific coast. Owing to the remoteness of this coast it would have been impossible for the Union navy to have blockaded it,³ and thus the South would have been assured of a steady flow of supplies from the west.⁴

As far as possible, General Earl Van Dorn was to supply, from the different depots under his command, the material for the armament and equipment of the brigade Sibley had raised.⁵ The campaign, in the main, however, was to be self-sustaining. The brigade was to be further furnished with the arms and equipment it needed out of the contemplated supplies that might be captured from Federal depots. Negotiations for supplies and provisions were also to be opened with the governors of Chihuahua and Sonora.⁶

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1. Trevanion T. Teel, "Sibley's New Mexican Campaign — Its Objects and the Causes of Its Failure," in R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, II, 700 (New York, 1884-1885).

2. Carleton to Thomas, September 13, 1863. *Condition of the Indian Tribes*. Report of the Joint Special Committee Appointed Under Joint Resolution of March 3, 1865 (1867), p. 136.

3. Latham Anderson, "Canby's Services in the New Mexican Campaign," in R. U. Johnson and C. C. Buel, eds., *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War*, II, 697-98 (New York, 1884-1885).

4. Teel, *op. cit.*, p. 700.

5. Cooper to Sibley, July 8, 1861. *War of the Rebellion: a Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 93, cited hereafter as *O. R. A.*

6. Teel, *op. cit.*, p. 700.

"In view of the importance of establishing satisfactory relations with the adjacent Mexican" border states, Sibley decided to send a diplomatic agent to the governors of Chihuahua and Sonora.⁷ Not only did Sibley wish to buy supplies, but he had heard reports to the effect that the Central Mexican Congress had issued a decree granting the North the privilege of transporting troops and munitions across northern Mexico to attack the Confederates,⁸ and he wanted to learn from the governors whether this was true or not. He chose as his representative his second in command, Colonel James Reily of the Fourth Regiment.⁹ It is interesting to note that in sending this diplomatic mission to Mexico, Sibley, a field commander, was acting on his own authority and initiative. The Department of State of the Confederate States government had no part in the proceedings.

Reily was instructed to proceed first to Chihuahua City to deliver a letter to the governor from Sibley. Sibley's letter,¹⁰ aside from assurances of cordial and friendly relations between the Confederacy and Mexico, dealt with three main points: an interrogation concerning the rumored convention between the United States and the Central Mexican government relative to the passage of United States troops and munitions through northern Mexico, a proposition for the mutual crossing of the frontier in "hot pursuit" of hostile Indians, and a request to allow Confederate agents to buy supplies and provisions in Chihuahua.¹¹ Reily was also to ask the Governor of Chihuahua to order the custom-house official at El Paso to remit the duties paid by the Texans who had transported their goods across the border for purposes of safety when it had appeared that a Union invasion from New Mexico was imminent. Sibley's letter gave only a general outline of the policy and nature of the questions at hand. Reily's chief

7. Sibley to Cooper, January 3, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 167.

8. Sibley to Governor of Sonora, December 16, 1861, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 767.

9. Sibley to Governor of Chihuahua, December 27, 1861, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 168.

10. Sibley's letter has not been found, but its context can be reasonably ascertained from Terrazas' reply. Terrazas to Sibley, January 11, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 172.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

and primary duties were "to unfold that policy and to explain (the) object(ives) in detail, to further their accomplishment, to counteract any adverse influences, and to obviate any possible objections." The manner of discharging these diplomatic duties was left to his own judgment and discretion.¹²

On January 2, 1862,¹³ Colonel Reily, accompanied by Sibley's volunteer aide-de-camp, Captain G. Dwyer,¹⁴ and escorted by six Mexicans, set out on the three hundred mile journey to the capital of Chihuahua.¹⁵ Six days later Reily arrived in Chihuahua City where he took up quarters at Riddell's hotel, and notified Governor Luis Terrazas of his arrival. The next day Carlos Moyo, the governor's brother-in-law, called upon Reily to accompany him to the governor's palace. Reily, dressed in the uniform of a colonel in the Confederate cavalry and carrying his sword, was cordially received by the governor. After presenting his letter of credence and the letter from General Sibley, Reily was introduced to the Secretary of State and other high officials. Since Sibley's letter was written in English, the governor asked that he be given time to have it translated so that he could give it due and intelligent consideration. Accordingly, an appointment was made for twelve o'clock the next day. Before the audience closed, the Mexicans asked Reily many questions concerning the war between the North and the South, General Sibley, and the number and character of the Confederate troops under his command. Upon taking leave of the governor, Reily was escorted back to the hotel by Moyo. Moyo remained for some time, and Reily "found him quite a friend of the South."¹⁶

The next day Carlos Moyo again accompanied Reily to the governor's palace. Upon arrival, Reily found that only the Secretary of State and a member of the Supreme Court were present with the governor. Shortly, Joaquin Durand, who had

12. Jackson to Reily, December 31, 1861, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 168.

13. Sibley to Cooper, January 3, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 167.

14. Jackson to Reily, December 31, 1861, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 168.

15. Reily to Reagan, January 26, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 826. The fact that Sibley sent his second in command and his aide-de-camp on this diplomatic mission attests to the importance which Sibley attached to it.

16. Reily to Sibley, January 20, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 173.

been requested by Reily to appear due to his fluency in the English language, made his appearance. The group then almost immediately began discussions concerning the points in Sibley's letter.¹⁷

In regard to the supposed convention between the United States and Mexico allowing United States troops and munitions to cross northern Mexico, Terrazas maintained that he had heard nothing about such an agreement. In his formal letter to Sibley, the governor pointed out that his government would not respect such a convention unless it had been entered into legally under Article 72, Part 16, of the Mexican constitution. Under this article only the Congress of the Union could exclusively grant "the privilege of permitting or denying the entrance of foreign troops in the territory of the confederation and of consenting to the stationing of squadrons of other powers for more than one month in the waters of the republic."¹⁸ Terrazas, however, personally informed Reily that "if even the assent of the President had come to him, sanctioned by the act of Congress, he did not think he would permit Federal troops to pass through the territory of Chihuahua to invade Texas."¹⁹

The group next discussed the issue of the "hot pursuit" of Indians across the international border. Reily maintained that "hot pursuit" was a recognized legal principle. As an illustration, he informed the governor that in 1838 Texas troops had invaded the United States as far as Shreveport, Louisiana, while in "hot pursuit" of a band of Caddo Indians, and that this invasion had not been considered a wrongful one by the United States government. He pointed out further the precedent of Revella who, in 1858, while Governor of Chihuahua, had granted the United States the right to pursue Indians, even into the city of Chihuahua itself.²⁰ Reily's arguments on this point bore little fruit, though, for in his official reply to Sibley, Terrazas stated that "by that constitutional

17. Reily to Sibley, January 20, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, pp. 173-174.

18. Terrazas to Sibley, January 11, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 172.

19. Reily to Sibley, January 20, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 174.

20. Reily to Sibley, January 20, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 174. Under instructions from General Garland, then commanding in New Mexico, Judge Simeon Hart had made this application to Governor Revella in 1858.

principle which it is not lawful to violate in any way nor for any consideration whatever," he could not allow the crossing of foreign troops into Chihuahua. Should the Indian depredations continue, and if he became convinced of the advantages of Sibley's plan, Terrazas promised to "take the steps necessary to act upon it before the Congress of the Union."²¹

As to the right to purchase supplies in Chihuahua, Terrazas made assurances that it would be allowed and that there would be no "official intervention whatever." The governor also ordered the custom-house dues remitted, and asked Reily to deliver the letter of instruction to the appropriate official at El Paso on his return journey.²²

Reily noted "that the governor appeared to be anxious to have the best relations established and continued between" Chihuahua and the Confederate States. Terrazas even went so far as to state that "at all times whenever necessary he would be pleased to afford protection to the persons and property of the citizens of the Southern Confederacy."²³

As a colonel in the Confederate army, Governor Terrazas had "recognized, received, entertained, addressed, and re-credited" Reily to Sibley.²⁴ The governor had invited Reily to his private residence where he was introduced to many leading citizens, and he had dined with the governor at Carlos Moyo's home.²⁵ Only Reily's sudden departure at the conclusion of his mission prevented him from receiving a public testimonial of the kind feelings of the people of Chihuahua.²⁶ Flushed with such favorable treatment in Chihuahua, Reily concluded his report on his diplomatic mission to that state by congratulating Sibley for having been instrumental in obtaining the first official recognition of the Confederate States of America by a foreign government.²⁷ Reily's exuberance in this matter was obviously not valid, for Terrazas had merely accepted Reily as a foreign agent, and it was

21. Terrazas to Sibley, January 11, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 172.

22. Reily to Sibley, January 20, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 174.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

24. Reily to Sibley, January 20, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 171.

25. Reily to Sibley, January 20, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 174.

26. Reily to Sibley, January 20, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, pp. 170-71.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

not within the governor's power to recognize a foreign government.

Armed with a letter of introduction and recommendation from Terrazas to Governor Pesqueira of Sonora,²⁸ Reily left Chihuahua City to return temporarily to Sibley's headquarters. His mission to Chihuahua, encompassing a six hundred mile round trip — parts of which took him through Apache country — was accomplished in twenty-one days.²⁹

Returning from Chihuahua, Reily proceeded to Fort Thorn where Sibley had recently set up his temporary headquarters.³⁰ After about a month's stay, Reily set out again to continue his diplomatic mission to Sonora. His route took him through Tucson, and he and his two subalterns and escort of twenty troopers arrived in that town on March 1, the day after Captain Hunter had occupied it for the Confederacy. Reily spent two days in Tucson; while there, he delivered a speech in the public plaza in celebration of the raising of the Confederate flag.³¹

Reily carried a letter from Sibley to Ignacio Pesqueira, Governor of Sonora, which was similar to the one he had delivered to Terrazas. After assuring the governor of the Confederacy's desire for not only peaceful relations, but of amity and good will toward Mexico, Sibley again approached the question of the convention of the United States and the Mexican government which purported to allow the passage of United States troops through northern Mexico. Sibley asked for confirmation of such a treaty, and if such were the case, he wanted to know if the governor recognized and honored it. If he did, and if the United States took advantage of it, Sibley implied that appropriate Confederate action would be taken. Again as in the letter to Terrazas, Sibley suggested mutual cooperation in action against the Indians. Sibley proposed that the troops of either the Confederate government or of the Sonoran government should be at liberty

28. *Ibid.*, p. 170.

29. Reily to Reagan, January 26, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 826.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 826.

31. Carleton to Wright, March 22, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 944.

to pursue hostile Indians within the jurisdiction of the other, as long as the pursuing force reported as early as practicable their purpose and strength to the nearest military post of the country within which it entered. Sibley surmised that only through such concerted action could the hostile Indians be brought under control. Sibley also asked Pesqueira for the privilege of buying supplies for his forces. Realizing the value of a port on the Pacific, Sibley asked the governor for the right of establishing a depot in the port of Guaymas, and the right of transit from that port through Sonoran territory to Arizona. Sibley assured Pesqueira that he was prepared to give the governor, in any form that he might suggest, the amplest guarantees that such privileges would not be abused.³²

At this time the capital of Sonora was the city of Ures. On March 14, 1862, Reily was in Hermosillo on his way to the capital, and learning that the governor was at that moment in the city, he immediately made contact with him.³³ While in Hermosillo, Reily happened to come across the February 14, 1862, issue of the *Herald and Mirror* newspaper which was published in San Francisco, California. This journal had an article in it dealing with the Mexican-Union convention dealing with the occupation of Guaymas with Federal troops. Besides desiring a reply to the letter from General Sibley which he had delivered, Reily also asked for confirmation and the position of the governor in regard to the terms of the convention as stated in the newspaper article.³⁴

On March 17, three days after his arrival in Hermosillo, Reily received answers to his own notes as well as to the official letter from Sibley.³⁵ The letters which Pesqueira sent to Reily have not been found, but if the account of an American with Union sympathies can be trusted, Reily, before returning to his command in New Mexico, apparently boasted that

32. Sibley to Governor of Sonora, December 16, 1861, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, pp. 766-68.

33. Reily to Pesqueira, March 14, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 1031.

34. Reily to Pesqueira, March 16, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, pp. 1031-32.

35. Reily to Pesqueira, March 18, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 1032.

he had obtained all the privileges asked for, and even more. Reily also reportedly asserted that Pesqueira was friendly to the Confederates and their cause, and was only restrained from more open demonstrations of his good will by the opposition of his people and their fears of the designs of the Confederates.³⁶

Reily's activities in Sonora were speedily reported to the Union commander of the Department of the Pacific, Brigadier-General George Wright, by Union civilians in Sonora. W. G. Moody, a correspondent for the San Francisco *Evening Bulletin*, and a friend, F. H. Waterman,³⁷ were in Ures attending to some private business with the government of Sonora when they learned that Colonel Reily had arrived with despatches from General Sibley for the governor. Through the acquaintance of Manuel Escalante, a confidential friend of the governor and a deputy from Hermosillo to the Sonoran legislature, the two Union men were able to learn the content of Reily's despatches. Since Governor Pesqueira could apparently not read English, Reily's despatches were given to Escalante to be translated. Moody, learning of this, asked Escalante for permission to receive copies of the letters. Permission was granted and all the Confederate correspondence was copied down by the Union men. Escalante even went so far as to assure the two men that copies of Pesqueira's replies would be furnished them as well. It appears, however, that Pesqueira learned of Escalante's generosity and disapproved of his action. While the two men remained in Ures two days beyond their schedule to receive copies of Pesqueira's replies,³⁸ they were informed in a note penned by Escalante that Governor Pesqueira had asked him to write to the two Union gentlemen for the purpose of telling them "that it would be very convenient not to publish the copies" of Sibley's and Reily's correspondence which they already had in their possession.³⁹ Copies of Pesqueira's replies to the Confederates

36. Waterman to Wright, April 7, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 989.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 988-89.

38. Moody to Alden, April 7, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, pp. 990-91.

39. Escalante to Moody, April 4, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 990.

were not made available, but Escalante informed the two that Pesqueira had denied the Confederates the privileges of pursuing Indians into Sonora, and of a depot at Guaymas. Escalante also stated that the governor had declined to answer Sibley's question concerning his respect for the convention between the United States and the Central Mexican government.⁴⁰

As soon as Brigadier-General George Wright received copies of Sibley's and Reily's letters to Pesqueira, he wrote his subordinate, Colonel James H. Carleton, in command of Fort Yuma, that he intended to write Pesqueira immediately concerning the matter. Although Wright assumed that Pesqueira had refused Sibley's requests, and that any Confederate designs on Sonora had been deferred, he nevertheless authorized Carleton to cross into Sonora should Sibley's forces invade that state.⁴¹

Although Wright's letter to Pesqueira was couched in friendly language and expressed confidence that the governor had granted nothing to the Confederates, Wright clearly stated that he "need not point out to . . . His Excellency the utter ruin and devastation which would inevitably befall the beautiful State of Sonora should the rebel forces obtain a foothold within its limits." In such an event, Wright assured the governor that he had "an army of 10,000 men ready to pass the frontier and protect . . . (the Sonoran) government and people."⁴²

Carleton, stationed at Fort Yuma just a short distance from the frontier of Sonora, appeared anxious to march his troops into Sonora if Pesqueira had granted the Confederates extensive privileges. Since the Central Mexican government at this time was in such dire straits with foreign powers, he even suggested that it would be a "kind act" to move in and hold Sonora until the Central government could claim it. He stated that "ethically we have the right, and I doubt very

40. Waterman to Wright, April 7, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 889.

41. Wright to Carleton, April 30, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 1042.

42. Wright to Pesqueira, May 3, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part II, p. 93.

much if it is not our duty to do this."⁴³ As had Wright, Carleton also wrote to Pesqueira and, though expressing full confidence that Pesqueira had granted nothing to the Confederates, he warned the governor of the dangers of allowing the Confederates any concessions within the state.⁴⁴

After receiving these not-so-veiled threats from the Union commanders, Pesqueira decided to alleviate any "misapprehensions" they might have. Pesqueira informed Wright that he had nothing but friendly and sincere sympathies for the American Union, and he hoped that the Union commander would have the opportunity to see his communications to Sibley (which he had forbidden the two Union civilians in Sonora to have) so that he could see that through his "cautious management, the chief of the Southern Confederacy could not calculate upon (his) sympathies to carry out his plans." Pesqueira also maintained that any movement of Confederate troops into Sonora, for any purpose whatsoever would "be considered as an invasion by force of arms."⁴⁵

In answering Carleton, Pesqueira stated that his government considered "the assertions circulated by Mr. Reily as exaggerated, or perhaps badly interpreted." Although Reily had been offered due hospitality and the Confederacy had been given all the rights of the neutrality circular which Mexico had been compelled to adopt, Pesqueira maintained "that no arrangement nor agreement was entered into between the forces or authorities of the States called Confederate and . . . (his) government."⁴⁶

There is little doubt that Pesqueira had been quite conciliatory and friendly with Reily, and this attitude probably served as the basis for Reily's "boasting" of having obtained favorable concessions. On the other hand, Pesqueira's letters make it appear that he was quite favorably inclined toward the North. Pesqueira was in an uncomfortable situation —

43. Carleton to Drum, May 14, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 1071.

44. Carleton to Pesqueira, May 2, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, pp. 1044-45.

45. Pesqueira to Wright, August 29, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 93. By the time of the writing of this letter, the Confederate cause in Arizona and New Mexico had failed. This, no doubt, accounts for Pesqueira's firmer pro-Union stand.

46. Pesqueira to Carleton, June 2, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 1118.

being wedged between the Federals in California and Fort Yuma and the Confederates in Arizona. Finding himself between these two dangers, he therefore sought to conciliate both.

Reily's missions to the Mexican states had been one of peace and amity. Even so, he personally related that "there are no such mines in the world as are within sight of Chihuahua City,"⁴⁷ and that "these mines and their soil need (ed) the inducement of capital, energy, and enterprise, which . . . (could) only be induced . . . by a stable and enlightened constitutional government."⁴⁸ Exuberantly, Reily proclaimed that these lands "would improve by being under the Confederate flag," and "with Sonora and Chihuahua . . . (the South would) gain Southern (Lower) California, and by a railroad to Guaymas, render . . . (the) State of Texas the great highway of nations!"⁴⁹ Personally Reily and many other Confederates may have desired to acquire Mexican territory, but annexation was not the policy of the Confederate government at this time.⁵⁰ Annexation would have brought a declaration of war from the Juárez government, and would have incurred the displeasure of the European powers, particularly Spain and France.⁵¹ Furthermore, Mexico served a purpose as a neutral by being an agency through which supplies from abroad could be shipped to the Confederates who were feeling the pinch of the blockade. Annexation of Mexican territory would have extended the blockade to these now free ports. If the Confederacy planned to eventually expand into Mexico, it would have to wait awhile, for it was now engaged in a war for its very existence and it could not afford to waste its strength by assuming the burden of defending additional territory.⁵²

47. Reily to Reagan, January 26, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 826.

48. Reily to Sibley, January 20, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume IV, p. 174.

49. Reily to Reagan, January 26, 1862, in *O. R. A.*, Series I, Volume L, Part I, p. 826.

50. President Davis had refused the offer of Vidaurri to annex to the Confederacy the two Mexican states of Nuevo León and Coahuila which he controlled. James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, II, p. 78.

51. Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy: Foreign Relations of the Confederate States of America*, pp. 123-24 (Chicago, 1931).

52. J. Fred Rippey, *The United States and Mexico*, p. 232 (New York, 1931). [See letter from Wood to author in *Notes and Documents*. Ed.]

Notes and Documents

May 31, 1955

Mr. Martin H. Hall
Box 12616
University Station
Baton Rouge 3, Louisiana

RE: PURSUIT OF INDIANS

Dear Mr. Hall:

Your letter of April 26, 1955 requested information pertaining to the right of the United States to pursue hostile Indians into Mexico.

A search of the records of the War Department, the Interior Department and the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the National Archives, has not been able to locate any information on this subject.

The earliest international agreement on the subject of the pursuit of Indians across the Mexican border is in 1882. An examination of the Territorial Papers, New Mexico, and consular despatches, Chihuahua, for 1858-1859, has failed to reveal a reference to such an agreement.

In a special message of Governor Rencher of New Mexico to the Legislative Assembly of that territory, dated December 17, 1858, he made the following remarks ". . . since the separation of the duties of Superintendent of Indian Affairs from those of the Executive Department the Governor of the Territory has had nothing to do, officially, with our Indian relations, either in peace or in war. When, therefore, complaints have been made to him of murders committed by the Indians, or depredations upon the property of our citizens, all he could do was to refer them to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, or to the Officer Commanding the Military Department of New Mexico, that the property destroyed by the Indians, might be paid for under the laws of the United States, or the Indians punished by the military force sent here for our protection . . ." (Territorial Papers, New Mexico, Volume 1).

In a letter addressed by Governor Rencher to Secretary of State Cass, dated May 5, 1860, relation to his (Rencher's) differences with the military (*ibid.*, 12 pages) he states, on page 11 of the letter:

"With respect to the Independent Companies which, under the laws of the Territory, I have organized and armed, their movements thus far have been entirely defensive; except where they have pursued predatory bands of Indians into their own country, for the purpose of re-capturing stolen property, which I have instructed them they had a right to do. This they have done in two instances very successfully, and with credit to themselves. That I may not be misrepresented on this subject, I enclose a copy of my instructions to these companies (marked C)."

The enclosure, dated May 1, 1860, is simply addressed "Captain—" (no name) and reads:

"In reply to your enquiries I have to state to you, as I have stated to others, that you have a right to defend yourselves and your property against the Navajoes, or other marauding Indians; or if they have committed any murders, or stolen and carried off any stock, or other property from your settlements, you have a right to follow the Indians, who have committed these offences wherever you can find them, even into the Indian Country, for the purpose of punishing the murderers, or of recapturing the property stolen. If in such pursuit, it becomes necessary to kill the Indians who have committed such offences, you have a right to do so. But unless in pursuit of Indians, who have been committing such offences, you will have no right to enter the Indian country to kill or otherwise injure unoffending Indians."

Under what authority the Governor acted is not stated nor has an examination of the outgoing correspondence reveal[ed] any instructions to him pertaining to the subject of the pursuit of Indians.

Very truly yours,
 Richard G. Wood
 For Dallas Irvine
 Chief Archivist
 War Records Branch

COMMENTS CONCERNING

"Tomé and Father J. B. R."

Fray Angelico was most generous in the considerable additions he made to my summary of data on the history of Tomé, as published. His corrections to some grammatical slips in Spanish in the general text were appreciated; I regret their occurrence. After many months of collecting data from the people of Tomé and from translations of Father Ralliere's *Apuntes* which I and a citizen of Tomé made independently, the material deserved more attention than time permitted in final preparation of ms. and proof. The spelling of *chichiwa*, however, is as a word of the Tiwa (Spanish: *Tigua*) language, as I believe it to be. And the spelling in the song quoted is exactly as written down for me.

It is important to explain—for the record—that the ms. was checked for accuracy of facts, before publication, by the principal native collaborator in Tomé, who conferred at length with other villagers. According to the combined recollections of these people, and of some

who since have moved elsewhere, the situations were as here set forth. The elderly son of the man named in the article as the *custos* of the Tomé church refers to his father's position as such; others speaking of him to me have used the same designation. That this usage of *custos* does not fit with official church custom points to the local variations which Kluckhohn has emphasized as to be expected between the "ideal" or formally accepted culture of a people and the "real" or actual ways of daily life, which may show considerable geographic variance.

Similarly, the word *tapiá* (used in speaking to me of a structure, consisting of a number of contiguous small rooms and corrals, which functioned as a wall across the front of Father Ralliere's garden) may have developed a local variation in meaning.

The oldest *bulto* of the Virgin Mary in the Tomé church definitely is referred to as *Nana* Virgin. Certainly no disrespect but only affectionate familiarity was apparent in local use of the term. When explained to me as "Grandmother Virgin," the reference obviously was to that image having been in Tomé longer than any other representing the Holy Mother. My statement concerning the procession representing the visit of the Virgin to St. Elizabeth before the birth of Christ is almost word for word as related to me. The doctrine of the immaculate conception is in no way involved; the point is merely that the Virgin Mother, who is to bear the Christ Child, is accompanied in her visit (as depicted in the procession) by the Christ Child already born. The devotion of the people, expressed in their carrying of both images, is of such importance to them that they are not concerned over the small unreality involved. As for data on Antonio Silva, *santero*, we have the word of his descendants, who give his date with more assurance than his place of origin. If he married the sister of Bartolomé Baca a few years after his arrival, as is said, the date given appears reasonable.

Neither I nor the people of Tomé have claimed that the *bulto* of Dolores "originally was from Tomé." This is a misunderstanding. I said ". . . relatives of some of the present families of Tomé and vicinity were among the 17th century settlers who made the forced march to El Paso with Otermín . . . and the re-entrance with De Vargas over a decade later. One family still carefully cherishes a small *bulto* of *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores*, said to have been carried south by fleeing ancestors and brought back upon their return." What area of New Mexico those ancestors inhabited is unknown; it may have been upon one of the ranches in the Rio Abajo or it may have been elsewhere. That the image was taken to El Paso and returned with the settlers who eventually settled in the post-conquest village of Tomé is firmly fixed in the family traditions of its owners, a tale not told of their other old *santos*.

The difference between historians and anthropologists is to some extent that sometimes pointed out as between sociologists and anthropologists. The historian—and the sociologist—may spend the greater

part of his time in the library, meticulously consulting what someone else has written. This is important. The anthropologist spends the greater part of his research time in the field, attempting to discover—equally meticulously—what a group of people specifically are or have been doing or saying. This, too, is important.

FLORENCE HAWLEY ELLIS

March 15, 1956

Dear Dr. Reeve:

DiPeso, who still refers to Fray Marcos as a place name "Di Niza" accuses me of being selective in presenting my evidence. This I attribute to the fact that he apparently has misread much of what I said. On page 266 I point out that historians have variously debated the route of Fray Marcos, and on page 267 further point out *in italics* that Coronado and his chroniclers support his itinerary throughout. The early part of my article deals with many such comparisons between the narratives to support this view. DiPeso's opening statements thus are broad and meaningless, and offer nothing to substantiate his "feelings."

His comments are related only to the inhabitants of the San Pedro River and the site of Gaybanipitea and others on the San Pedro River, which he excavated and reported on in 1953. I have taken exception to quite a bit of his interpretation of the site of Gaybanipitea in a book review and in this article, *primarily* on the basis of the archaeological evidence alone. It is difficult for me (and other archaeologists who share this thought) to believe that the same people occupied two sites that were so vastly different as Quiburi and Gaybanipitea.

As for the particular comments he makes—he selected the one point which I *definitely labeled as tentative*, and on this passage alone attempts to discredit the entire article. The partial quotation he refers to appears *after* the following statement on page 30: "I offer the following tentative suggestion. It appears that the Jano and Jcome may have been Yuman or Hokan speaking people. . .". DiPeso is trying to make a point of the fact that a Piman speaker was used as an interpreter at Gaybanipitea to disprove my suggestion that they may have been Yuman speakers. In his partial quotation he left out completely two-thirds of the paragraph in which I attempted to show that the natives of this site, even though not Pimas, could easily have picked up the Pima language *as happened in the western Pima area with an entire group, the Maricopa*. By deleting this portion from the quotation he leaves much of the meat out of the paragraph.

Kino and Mange were not trained ethnologists and on occasions did not use the correct names of the tribes encountered. Since Gaybanipitea was situated in the Sobaipuri country, Mange could have easily referred to the village as a Pima town. The factual data, however, do not support it as such, since it was the *only* village where the Spanish had to in-

struct the natives to build a fort. All other villages (Piman) were surrounded with compound walls according to what evidence DiPeso has uncovered himself. As I point out in this article, not only was the architecture different but the entire culture complex.

As far as the translation of "de los hijos Pimas" is concerned, Bolton's "of the Pima natives" seems to be quite adequate. It can be rendered "of the Pima descendants" or otherwise, but certainly not "of the Pima children" or "of the Pima flock."

DiPeso states I failed to use the official report of the 1697 expedition into the San Pedro valley. I saw no need to as *by this time enmity had developed* between the Pima and Jocomo and Jano. We have evidence that 11 years prior to this time the Jocomo and Jano *were* friendly with the Pima. *It was not until the Apache appeared on the scene that any conflict between the Jano, Jocomo and Sobaipuri arose.* Even Jironza (to whom DiPeso refers) as late as 1696 had called upon the Jano and Pima to make a campaign *together* against the Apaches, and in 1698 the Sobaipuri made excuses to Escalante, Jironza's agent, so as not to pursue the enemy, saying they were recent allies (see my page 30). DiPeso refuses to recognize that a change occurred at this time that led to the change in relations between the groups involved.

I would like to clear up another point. DiPeso keeps insisting that I propose that the village site of Gaybanipitea was given to the Jocomo and Jano by the Sobaipuri. If he were familiar with the literature he should know that Sauer obtained this information in the Parral Archives. All I did was state that the site of Gaybanipitea may have been the site Sauer mentions as having been given to the Jano and Jocomo by the Sobaipuri. Moreover, I nowhere stated that the Sobaipuri of *Quiburi* gave the village site of Gaybanipitea to the Jocomes. DiPeso again misread my statements. On page 29 I stated "the latter [Pima] having given them some land to plant in the Quiburi area." Further on the same page I stated "the Jocomo and apparently some refugee Jano . . . were given land by the Sobaipuri in the Quiburi area." On page 30 I stated "people to whom the Sobaipuri had given land near Quiburi." On page 31 "if this was the site given to the Jocomo . . . by the Sobaipuri." Sauer originally stated "in the Quiburi area" on the basis of his finds in the Parral Archives.

DiPeso's last paragraph on page 3 indicates he is not familiar with the material he works with. Certainly I *could have* used the "Toromes and Yumas" quotation from Bernal with which I am acquainted to support my idea that the Jocomo were possibly Yuman speakers. However, being familiar with the Spanish calligraphy and copyists' errors it is quite obvious this phrase means "Jocomes and Sumas," two of the tribes in the area. I will be the first to grant more study is necessary before we can *prove* that the Jocomes spoke the Yuman language. As I stated above, when I first presented this thought, I said "I offer the following tentative suggestion. It appears that the Jano and Jocomo may have

been Yuman or Hokan speaking people." In fact, I cannot see that DiPeso's comments in any way affect the route *Undreiner proposed*. The only portion I projected was the section north of the Gila to the Zuñi pueblos, with which DiPeso's remarks are not concerned.

Sincerely,

ALBERT H. SCHROEDER
Archaeologist

THE AMERIND FOUNDATION, INC.

DRAGON, ARIZONA

February 27, 1956

Professor Frank D. Reeve (Editor, NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW)
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Dear Professor Reeve,

I have recently read the second part of Albert H. Schroeder's article entitled "Fray Marcos De Niza, Coronado and the Yavapai" which appeared in the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. XXXI, pp. 21-37, and the first part which appears in Vol. XXX, No. 4, pp. 265-296. I have previously discussed, with Mr. Schroeder, the fanciful associations which he has drawn in matters appertaining to a cross-analysis of the De Niza journal, and his personal studies of Yavapai distribution. I feel that the use of the De Niza journal, which is both debatable and questionable, as proof of the location of the aboriginal Yavapai, is, in essence, a case of the blind-leading-the-blind. Neither the journal nor Schroeder's Yavapai hypothesis is strengthened by the evidence presented in the above-mentioned article.

I would like to express an opinion in this letter which is concerned with several statements made by Mr. Schroeder in his article and which deal directly with certain studies made by the Amerind Foundation, Inc.

Schroeder (p. 31) postulated that the inhabitants of the site of Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries were Jocomes. He proposed that:

" . . . Gaybanipitea was occupied by Yuma speakers. If this was the site given to the Jocomes (Yuma speakers) by the Sobaipuri (Pima Speakers) in 1686, as herein proposed. . . . Actually no one has demonstrated that the natives of Gaybanipitea were Sobaipuri."

It is to this statement that I take exception, feeling perhaps that Schroeder has tended to select his evidence to support his beliefs, and there are certain legitimate counterpoints to his proposal, available in the archival materials, which he has failed to utilize. Quoting the Karns translation of the Manje journal, which Schroeder (p. 36) refers to in

his bibliography, he fails to make mention of the fact that Manje (Karns, 1953, p. 97) in describing the battle of Gaybanipitea called this village "Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea de Pimas" and stated that the 80 Pima Indians in the settlement took refuge during this battle in a house of adobe which was built at the insistence of Padre Kino and that 3 of them were killed (*vide* Karns, 1953, p. 77 where he stated that there were *about* 100 people at *Gaybanipitea*).

In another part of the same journal (*vide* Karns, 1953, pp. 77-78) the Spanish captain stated that on November 7, 1697, both Kino and Manje were at the village in question and that they instructed the natives in the mysteries of Catholicism through an interpreter, Francisco Pintor, a Pima Indian from the town of Ures who spoke Spanish.

Despite this documentary evidence which Schroeder had to his avail, he infers (p. 32) that the occupants of Gaybanipitea were primarily Jocomes with perhaps a slight admixture of Pima, and uses a quote taken from Bolton's translation of *Kino's Historical Memoir* to support his stand. The quote (p. 32) is as follows: "Of the Pima natives in the rancheria, etc. . . .," this same phrase in the Spanish reads, "De los hijos Pimas en la rancheria de Santa Cruz murieron 5. . . ." (Archivo General de la Nacion, Lopez, 1913-1922) The phrase which becomes important in this translation is "De los hijos Pimas" which can be translated as Bolton has, but also can be meant to infer possession such as "the sons or children" of Kino's Pima flock.

Schroeder (pp. 33-37) fails to utilize the official report of the 1697 expedition into the San Pedro river valley, a document which normally is used to define the geographical extent of the Sobaipuri Indians by other scholars. (Bernal, Kino, Acuna, Escalante and Barsejon, Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, Serie iii, Tomo iv, pp. 797-809, Mexico, 1856). This journal was written by Captain Bernal, official head of the expedition, and also signed by Kino, Manje and other leading members of the expedition. It appears that in 1697 General Jironza sent a group of military into the San Pedro river valley to settle the very question which Schroeder, some 250 years later, concerns himself with in the article under discussion, namely: "Were the Sobaipuri Pima of the San Pedro valley, which includes Gaybanipitea, in league with the Jocomes and Janos?" Because of certain rumors, government officials believed that the Sobaipuri were in alliance with the Jocomes, and were partaking in raids against the Spanish. This evidence was based primarily on the fact that certain Spanish reconnoitering parties reported that the Sobaipuri were in possession of horses stolen during such raids. However, both Manje and Padre Kino, who were familiar with the area, claimed that this was not true, and, that in reality, the Sobaipuri were enemies of the Jocomes and Janos as well as of the Apache de Gila (Karns 1953, pp. 74-75; Bernal 1698, pp. 797-799; Bolton 1948, Vol. 1, pp. 162-165). Bernal's findings supported the beliefs of Manje and Kino as the official report stated that there was no such

intercourse going on between the Pima speaking Sobaipuri and the Jocomes. As evidence Bernal stated that on September 15, 1697, the Sobaipuri attacked a number of Jocomes, killing 4 and taking 2 children prisoners (these children were later bought by members of Bernal's expedition at San Xavier del Bac). On October 26, 1697, Captain Coro, the Sobaipuri chief of the village of Quiburi, attacked some 16 Jocomes at Alvaco, located north of this village, and killed 13 of them. After this battle he and his warriors penetrated some 30 leagues into the Jocomes country in the vicinity of the Chiricahua mountains searching for other Jocomes, but could not find any. (The 13 Jocomes scalps taken in this battle were those seen by Bernal at Quiburi, November 9, 1697.) The evidence was strong enough in the eyes of the military to make an official report to the effect that there was no liaison between the Jocomes and the Sobaipuri.

Further evidence which supported Bernal's findings occurred on March 30, 1698 (*vide* Bolton 1948, Vol. 1, pp. 178-183; and Karns 1953, pp. 97-98). On this date a combined group of Jocomes, Sumas, Mansos and Apache raided the village of Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea and razed the village, killing 3 of the Pima inhabitants before the Sobaipuri Pima from Quiburi could come to the rescue of their besieged neighbors. If, as Schroeder proposes, the village site of Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea was given to the Jocomes by the Sobaipuri of Quiburi in 1686, then sometime during the course of 11 years the Jocomes east of the San Pedro river turned against their kin at Gaybanipitea and raided them, moreover the Sobaipuri broke this supposed alliance with the Jocomes by interceding and killing a great number of Jocomes. This situation though possible is not very probable in the light of the available historical evidence.

It does not seem probable that the Jocomes would be killing Jocomes, and if they did, why would the Pima Sobaipuri intercede? It would seem as though Santa Cruz de Gaybanipitea was a small Pima village, as the chroniclers indicated, in 1698, and that the Jocomes raided it rather than Quiburi which was a much stronger and larger Pima village.

Schroeder (pp. 30-31) proposes that the Sobaipuri of Quiburi gave the village site of Gaybanipitea to the Jocomes in 1686. However the Quiburi excavations (*vide*, DiPeso *et al*, 1953, pp. 25-30) indicated that Quiburi did not come into existence as a Sobaipuri site until 1692. Schroeder takes cognizance of this fact in the first part of this article (Vol. XXX, No. 4, p. 267, fn. 6) but ignores it when formulating his opinion regarding the Jocomes occupation of Gaybanipitea, wherein he suggests that the Sobaipuri of Quiburi gave the Jocomes land some 5 or 6 years before these same Sobaipuri moved into the area from Baicatan.

To indicate Schroeder's method of selecting evidence, I have used, with the exception of two references, the same sources which he lists in his bibliography (the Bernal documents and Kino's *Relacion*, Spanish

version). The Bernal report has a note in it which might have assisted Schroeder in the formulation of his hypothesis, for on page 800 Bernal stated that the scalps he saw at Quiburi, on November 9, 1697, belonged to "Toromes and Yumas" whom they, the Sobaipuri, had killed in the north "near Alvaco" (the location of Alvaco is unknown at this time). Schroeder's belief that the Jocomes were Yuma speakers may be correct, but this cannot be proven solely on the strength of selected evidence, which he has used. More archaeology in and archival studies of the Jocomes area are desperately needed. It is unfortunate that Schroeder has seen fit to conclude his hypothesis with the inconclusive evidence, such as he used in defining the tribal status of Gaybanipitea, for it weakens his general hypothesis.

Hoping that this difference of opinion will be brought to the attention of those who are interested in the problems of the history and archaeology of Pimeria Alta, I remain—

Carbon copies to:
 Dr. Erik Reed
 Dr. E. W. Haury
 Mr. Albert H. Schroeder
 CCD:fs

Sincerely yours,
 Charles C. DiPeso
 (Director)

THE CHARLES BENT PAPERS

(Concluded)

Mr M. Alvaraze
 Sir

Fort William June 11th 1846

I passed round the Mauo [?] of the Rattone¹⁴² on my way oute, and found a good Waggon road, as far as where I commenced descending on this side, I struck the head of the Trinchara¹⁴³ there is a mile or there aboutes that the road is bad but with the labor of 8 or 10 men for the same number of dayes I think would make it quite a pasable road, Charly Gauen & Pedro Luna passed some miles west between where I passed and the old Rattone Road the[y] reporte that, that rout is fine and nothing to be done except to cut away some oake brush to make it a perfectly easy route, a plenty of Wood, Watter, & grass, they reporte that to leave the Animas in the morning with Waggons, they can get onto Red River in the eavening, this is almost too good say that it could be crossed in two dayes, it is fine. I shall try and have it explored this sumer. Some fifteen or twenty dayes passed the Apachies (Hicaries) stole from the Grean Horne

142. Raton Pass, enroute to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas river. I am not sure of the word questioned. It might be *mano* for foot or side.

143. Trinchera creek: flows from the east into the Rio Grande a few miles south of present-day Alamosa, Colorado.

River,¹⁴⁴ belonging to Mais Leduke, Brown and Murry some twenty head of horses, theas horses ware taken into Taos before I left but the Apaches reported that they had stollen from the Chyeans, they stole in the daytime, theas men had no gard with thare horses they felt perfectly secure as thare ware no Indians near them.

Our party will consist of about twenty men (a greate many loffers) we leave in the maning and expect to be in Indipendence in about fifteen, dayes ourselves, no one has reached heare from the U States as yet, tharefore no nuse. Respects to Haughton and friendes

Youres Respectfully
C Bent

Remember me to Armijo, and Don Asiano[?]
—It is reported heare by the Chyeans that the Cumanchies are hostile desposed, and are expected on this river [?] this month in numbers, the Chyeans doe not visit them this sumer Hostile to the whites they say.

CB

[The original of the next letter is in the W. B. Prince *Papers*, University of New Mexico]

Mr Alvaraze

[early 1846?]

Sir

We have bean in considerable exitement, for a few days passed, in consiquence of the Priest having had his flocks stollen by the Youtaus, he has made a greadeal of fuss about it, he has celebrated high mass for the suxcess of those sent to intercept the indians, had Lattinis &c, he says they ware stollen by the Indians and Americans, and that I knew that they ware to be stollen, in fact it was done by my order; He has I am told prevailed on some poor ignorant devles to make a representation against me, for the purpas of making me pay, for the horses and mules stollen from the Buffalo hunters, a short time passed.

He is doing all in his power to exite the people against forigners, and I should not be much surprised, that he raised another mob, but I doubt wethe[r] he will get the indians to take part in it, they are a litle allarmed about the result of the last. This last expedition was fitted out in the most arbritray maner you can imagin, he had all the animels, that ware found in the imidiata vasinity of the town, driven up, and parted out to the soldiers and others, without consulting there owners, Your mare narrowly escaped having the honor of going on that holy expedition, in the number so taken Blass Trangille had seven taken five of which ware his riding horses, which war[e] cept in his stabl, he remonstrated, but the justice told him he had taken them

144. Green Horn river: a southerly branch of the San Carlos (St. Charles) creek which flows northeastward into the Arkansas river just east of Pueblo, Colorado.

at all risques, and should not releas them, I have suxceeded in getting a copy of the Proclimation or sermond of the governor, but it is so badly written we have not bean able to reade it we will get the original and from this corect the one we have and send it to you.

24th

The expedition against the Youtaws returned last eavening one soldier died on the trip, they went on finely untill they fell in with the trail, then thare ardor abated, meny of those that accompanyd the expedition, say that the Indians could have bean easely overtaken had not the comandars, declined so doing, they told thare men that they had accompanyd them so far (to the Castille) he would not ask them to risk thare lives for his and his brothers property. At the same time he told them that had the property of belongd to others he should have pushed on untill he overtook the Indians.

I this morning received a letter from Mr Haughton by Ortibize in which I se that Parradese has bean victorious, and that our President and cabinet are at longer heades.

Youres Respectfully
C Bent

PS Pleas wright by the barrer.

Book Reviews

The Navajos. By Ruth M. Underhill. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. 299, 24 illustrations, 2 maps, bibliography, index. \$4.50.

The last comprehensive book for the general reader about our largest Indian tribe was published in 1946 (*The Navaho*, Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton). Since that book was published the problems, the needs, and the way of life of these people, now numbering nearly 80,000, has changed so rapidly and so remarkably that it is high time that someone brought the general literature up to date. Dr. Ruth Underhill has attempted this task in *The Navajos*, a history of the tribe from prehistoric times when they were nomadic immigrants in the Southwest to these days of radio (at least battery radios), almost to the atomic age! But the interval between writing and printing makes it impossible for one actually to keep up with the population increase (over two per cent a year) or the movement of events. Since the book went to the printer, uranium was discovered on the reservation, an event of unimaginable possibilities (see footnote 4, page 272), and in the fall of last year (1955) 23,000 Navaho children were finally placed in schools, all but six or seven thousand of the school age population instead of the mere half of some 28,000 children mentioned on page 261. Nevertheless, Dr. Underhill has given us the most complete account possible in her eminently readable and enjoyable style well known from her other books on the American Indian. The book grew out of her desire to present much material of interest to adults which she had obtained while gathering materials for her children's history of the Navahos for use in Indian schools, that fascinating work called *Here Come the Navaho* (U. S. Indian Service, 1953), which is notable for the large number of unusual photographs, many of them of great historical importance. In fact that book might serve as a picture book for this present work, which has only twenty-four illustrations in sixteen plates. While on this subject, it might be said that it is regrettable that Dr. Underhill did not include a much more detailed map of the Navaho country in this book

than the meagre sketch maps on pages 148 and 149. In a history which traces the wanderings of the people, their contacts with others, and the changes in their residence, place names are frequent and of importance, but only the reader familiar with the Southwest will mentally locate such important places as Fort Wingate, Fort Defiance, Fort Sumner, Ganado, Window Rock, and so on.

The Navaho have undergone four or five shifts in economic focus since their arrival in the Southwest, perhaps almost a thousand years ago, from hunting and gathering to agriculture learned from the sedentary Pueblo Indians who were already there, to farming supplemented by livestock brought in by the Spaniards, to raiding and slave trading, to animal husbandry supplemented by farming, to modern wage work. Dr. Underhill describes these under the device of "four beginnings." The first beginning, when little groups of half naked Athabaskan speaking hunters came down from the north is placed between 1100 and 1400 A.D., a time when archaeological evidence shows us that the Pueblo peoples began to concentrate, presumably for protection. This question of time of arrival has long been a subject for speculation and argument because the earliest date afforded by dendrochronology is 1541, well after the ancestors of the Navahos had become established in the *dinetah*, Old Navaholand, east of their present domain.

Dr. Underhill's reasoning as to the probable material and psychological baggage which the Athabaskans brought with them from their northern homelands is especially penetrating. Another notable feature of the book is her frequent use throughout of ingenious interpretations of mythical episodes to fill gaps in the meagre historical materials, or to reconstruct the early days of the creation and wandering of the clans and early contacts with the Pueblos. The late Gladys A. Reichard to whom this work is dedicated used to remind us frequently that myth should not be neglected in interpreting Navaho affairs, especially their religion.

After learning agriculture from the Pueblos and establishing that relationship of trading and fighting with them which was to last some four centuries, the Navahos made

a second beginning when the Spaniards came to stay, bringing with them the animals which were to make the Navahos rich, sheep and horses. By this time the people had achieved a name, *Apaches de Nabahu*, which was first mentioned in historical records by Father Gerónimo Zárate de Salmerón in his report to Spain in 1626. During a long period of intimacy with the Pueblos brought about when many refugees from the Spanish reconquest of 1692, following the Pueblo revolt in 1680, went to live among the Navahos, the people learned many things, weaving, painted pottery, and the framework of a ceremonial system. On the latter the Navahos "built a structure Wagnerian in its grandeur" (p. 50), and it is a pity that this book does not contain a somewhat more organized description and interpretation of Navaho religion. Lack of this causes the book to just fall short of being an entirely useful ethnological work as was the Kluckhohn and Leighton volume (some discussion of the Navaho language and of Navaho values would also have increased its usefulness).

At the end of the eighteenth century the Navahos began to expand, leaving the Old Navaholand and streaming westward with their flocks and horses to occupy the land "between the four mountains," more extensive than their present reservation. With the expansion came another shift in economic focus for the people had found a new vocation, raiding and robbing, until the name Navaho came to mean thief and robber in New Mexico. Dr. Underhill gives us a good account of an aspect of Navaho history which has been neglected or suppressed in most previous writings, that is the prominence of the Navaho as middleman in the flourishing slave business of the old Southwest. The Indians raided each other and traded their human loot to the Spaniards for horses, and so the "lords of the soil" became richer and stronger.

When the United States Government took over the Southwest in 1846 the Navahos were the most dreaded raiders on the plateau. Something had to be done about it and the story of the Navaho war is well told, from that first historic contact when Captain Reid of the Missouri Volunteers met old Narbona, through the sorry days of the captivity at Fort

Sumner, to the return home in 1868. And so the Navahos almost as poor and naked as when they first came to the Southwest, had to make a third beginning. Their genius for adaptability saved them again, and by the end of the nineteenth century their economic comeback as stockmen and farmers, in spite of drought, grasshoppers, late and early frosts, and floods, was complete. Dr. Underhill gives us excellent accounts of numerous facets of those years of reconstruction, the leadership of the famous "chiefs," Ganado Mucho, Barboncito, and Manuelito; the vicissitudes of life under some fifteen Indian agents, some of them honest and idealistic, some indifferent, corrupt, or worse; and most important of all, the advent of the Indian trader in the 1880's, friend, teacher, and inventor of the Navaho rug business, as Dr. Underhill calls him, "the Navajo's shogun" who "guided the People's development for some thirty or forty years." Alterations in the formal relations with the United States Government in the early twentieth century, the establishment of the Navaho Council in 1923 when oil was discovered on the reservation and leases had to be negotiated by the tribe, and other matters are also taken up.

A cycle of bad weather, extreme erosion of their lands because of overgrazing, and the increase of population (55,000 in 1947) finally caught up with the Navahos in the 1920's, and the general level of prosperity dropped alarmingly, so much so that by 1947 the national press began to broadcast their plight. Dr. Underhill tells us of the bitter resentment aroused by the stock reduction program begun in 1933 in the interests of erosion control, and the ferment excited by the second world war when the Navahos discovered that they could earn wages by working in the ordnance plants and that they could be vocal without incurring reprisals. The peyote religion also entered the reservation, but we are not told to what extent it has replaced the Navaho's own religion, a matter of great interest to everyone.

It became obvious that the Navaho's way of life had to be changed again and so the people have made a fourth beginning. Land and sheep can no longer support nearly 80,000 people, so the tribe must go into business, partially shift its

economic base to wage work, undergo relocation on other lands, and explore still other ways of meeting the emergency. On pages 260 and 263 there is a summary of some of the details of the long range program for the rehabilitation of the Navaho tribe. Twenty-three small businesses are being financed by the Navahos, over one hundred families have been resettled on the Colorado River Reservation, thousands of Navahos now find temporary work off the reservation, social security assistance has been arranged, and a program of relocation in various cities for permanent wage work has been begun which is so new that it could not be included in this book. And with all this the Navahos have become politicians for the council officials now receive good salaries and the delegates receive fees, so electioneering has been added to the culture. Such rapid and widespread change brings difficulties with it, but the Navahos show an increasing tendency to recognize these dangers and to take measures to cope with them.

If a final word of carping may be allowed after reviewing this altogether excellent volume, it may be said that it seems a shame that the book revives the old spelling of "Navajo" with the Spanish *j*. For years anthropologists have labored to make the anglicized spelling with an *h* the accepted practice, so that the reader in the eastern United States, unfamiliar with Spanish pronunciation, would speak of "Navahos" instead of "Nava-joes"!

Boston University

LELAND C. WYMAN

A Journey Through New Mexico's First Judicial District in 1864: Letters to the Editor of the Santa Fe Weekly New Mexican. Edited by William Swilling Wallace. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press. Pp. 71, illustrations. \$4.00.

The letters total six in number and were originally published in *The* [Santa Fe Weekly] *New Mexican*. The Editor attributes the authorship to Kirby Benedict, Territorial "chief justice from 1858 to 1866."

The quality of the letters is justification for publication, but they merited better care in annotation. Haste in prepara-

tion for printing has resulted in a number of unnecessary errors. The Conquest of New Mexico was carried out by Kearny in 1846, not in 1847 (p. 13). Since the letters were written in 1864, they do not link "the Mexican period with the Territorial period" (p. 14); the latter period had acquired eighteen years history, or, to be technical, it began in 1851. The year 1847 (p. 16) is a misprint for 1874. *The New Mexican*, a weekly newspaper published in Santa Fe, did not change to *The Daily New Mexican* in 1868; they were two different papers.

The footnotes are not all that they might be: the title of Twitchell's history is *Mexican*, not Mexico (p. 21) as other writers have sometimes carelessly written; territorial Library (p. 22) and territorial library (p. 24); the first name of Tompkins (p. 22) is worth inserting; a goodly number of persons mentioned in the letters could have been identified for the pleasure and profit of the reader; a few well-known Territorial personages have footnotes which add little to the worth of the book.

Despite these comments, the letters are interesting and contribute some titbits to the history of New Mexico. They were written by the Judge when on Circuit, traveling from Santa Fe to Taos by way of Las Vegas, Sapello, and Mora. He included observations on the country, people visited en route, and indulged in an occasional digression into history, all in a pleasing style.

Two sentences in the text do not read clearly. They are the last statement on p. 33 and lines 6-8 on p. 38.

F. D. R.

On the Arkansas Route to California in 1849: The journal of Robert B. Green of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. Edited by J. Orin Oliphant. Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1955. Pp. ix, 87.

In view of the small number of journals of travelers in the Southwest that have come to light, the Green journal is a welcome addition to the literature. It is not as full an account of the journey from Fort Smith to California by way of Santa Fe as the journal of William H. Chamberlain, but

it is a useful supplement. The Chamberlain journal was printed in the *New Mexico Historical Review* in 1945, as Mr. Oliphant points out in his introduction to the Green version. He also makes known that the Chamberlain journal had been published twice before Mr. Bloom edited it, rather than just once as Bloom believed at the time he prepared it for publication in the *Review*.

The Editor has done an excellent job of annotating the Green journal. I cannot reconcile myself however to the practice of placing footnotes at the end of a chapter as has been done in this case; nor for that matter do I like them at the end of a book.

The Editor is in error in regard to the meaning of the word *jornada*. It does mean a day's journey (p. 72, note 19). From Santa Fe to Albuquerque the travelers were following a route that was more than just "east of the Rio Grande." This route lay east of the Sandia Mountains, roughly twenty-five miles east of the river. The accent sign has been used on Santa Fé; custom now sanctions its elimination. But these are minor points in an otherwise well-prepared publication. The map inside the front and rear cover is useful and adds to the attractiveness of the book—which also is well printed.

F. D. R.

The Cabildo in Peru under the Hapsburgs. A Study in the Origins and Powers of the Town Council in the Viceroyalty of Peru 1530-1700. By John Preston Moore. Durham: Duke University Press, 1954. Pp. viii, 309. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$6.00.

Among the political institutions of the Spanish Monarchy in America the *cabildo* occupied an integral place. It was a powerful force in the transplanting and perpetuation of Spanish traditions. Throughout the New World it served as an instrumentality for the execution of the King's will at the local level. Though in the eighteenth century its prestige generally waned, in isolated localities it later became the medium for the promotion of independence.

Unlike other agencies of Spain's political administration in the Americas—the viceroy, the *audiencia*, and the inten-

dant—the cabildo has wanted adequate analysis in English. In filling this gap, John Preston Moore has limited his study to the Viceroyalty of Peru during the Hapsburg centuries. Even so, since Spain's second viceroyalty until after 1700 was virtually coterminous with Spanish South America, he has been forced to scour the continent for his materials. Though he has drawn most heavily on the town records of Lima, Quito, Buenos Aires, Cuzco, and Santiago de Chile, he has not hesitated to roam beyond viceregal limits, even into New Spain.

Municipal government in America was born of Spain and Spanish experience in the Canary Islands and the West Indies. As the Iberian town bore the imprint of Spain's rulers from the time of the Roman conquest, so the colonial cabildo followed the pattern of its Castilian prototype at the time of the Christian Reconquest. Throughout Professor Moore's account, one feels the heavy hand of the Monarch on the cabildo and the expectant eyes of its *regidores* on Madrid. Charles V, in founding municipalities as bases from which to conquer the native population and tap American riches, granted a modicum of freedom and self-government. But, in utilizing the town council as an agency for spreading Spanish tradition and subjugating a continent, Philip II transformed paternalism into absolutism.

To the cabildo's multifarious powers and diverse agencies of enforcement, Professor Moore devotes two-thirds of his volume. As municipal bureaucracy burgeoned, the council wielded increasing influence over the lives of its constituents. Its functions ranged from choice of magistrates and induction of royal officers to sponsorship of fiestas and regulation of apparel. It allotted land, recruited soldiers, established markets, and fixed prices. It sought to attend human suffering, promote public morality, and foment cultural progress. The cabildo became a sun of royal authority and a mirror of local sentiment.

The decadence of the cabildo under the successors of Philip II led to its relative weakness under the Bourbons. Its initial vigor deteriorated into subservience and indifference. By increasing authoritarian control, sapping economic and

political liberties, interfering in elections, and encouraging the purchase and inheritance of offices, in Professor Moore's view, the Hapsburgs introduced debilitating influences. In analyzing the growth of popular discontent against these incursions, he seems to infer a loss of democracy. With his interpretation of the causes, nature, and extent of the decadence, some specialists may disagree. Clearly, the cabildo was never so independent as the government of the medieval free city nor so democratic as the town meeting of New England. By the eighteenth century it had lost much of its autonomy; it had had little democracy to lose.

For the non-specialist in colonial institutions, in spite of the breadth of Moore's researches, the cabildo does not truly come alive. The institutional skeleton is there, relatively intact. So are much of the tissue and nerve structure. But the lay reader will not feel the vivid, pulsating cabildo, composed of mortal beings and controlling the lives and fortunes of citizens. Considering the diversity and diffusion of sources, perhaps this is inevitable. More likely, it is inherent in institutional as contrasted with social history. In any case, this is not to criticize the author for what he did not attempt or what the sources did not permit him to do. But one can still long for a portrayal of the cabildo as a dynamic organism shaping the urban character of colonial Spanish America.

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HAROLD F. PETERSON

New Mexico: Land of Enchantment. By E. B. Mann and Fred E. Harvey. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1955. Pp. 295, illustrations, bibliography. \$5.00.

Judging from what might be termed the foreword, this book was prepared to extol the virtues of New Mexico in order to attract tourists to the State. The very long list of acknowledgements in the appendix indicates that the book was prepared for the public schools.

The table of contents in the front is duplicated at the end of the book under the heading of Outline of Contents. It is a more elaborate table of contents. Part One: The Land, covers

in 58 pp. the geological ages, prehistoric man, State names and symbols, climate, geography, recreation, flora and fauna, population, and tourist sites.

Part Two: The People, starts with prehistory. It brings the story down to the present in pp. 59-137. Part Three: The Government, pp. 141-196, explains the advantages of group living and traces the origin of government and its development from Magna Charta to the present. Greater space is devoted to the form and function of the State Government. Part Four: The Industries, pp. 197-244, discusses agriculture, the range cattle industry, forests, transportation and communication. Part Five: The Schools, pp. 245-274, deals with the value of education and outlines the public schools system, its problems and administration. A brief discussion of the colleges is included in this section.

An appendix includes a guide to the pronunciation of the Spanish language, a list of governors of New Mexico, a list of newspapers, radio and television stations, and the counties.

Even a cursory examination of *New Mexico* reveals that a great deal of thought was devoted to planning the book. The results on the whole are excellent. There are one to three fine photographs on nearly every page. Here and there the reproduction of a drawing or painting provides a pleasing variation. Maps and charts, statistical and otherwise, are scattered at suitable places. A concise history of each county is set apart in a box which adds another touch to the variation that marks the format as a whole. An occasional splash of green color relieves the usual black and white.

From the standpoint of enlightening the young mind, and presenting the story of New Mexico in an interesting form, I doubt that a better book could be planned. The style is a little too bombastic at times to suit this reviewer, But I assume that it conforms to the notions of public school officials since they receive abundant recognition in the list of acknowledgements. It at least ought to have the effect of preparing New Mexican youngsters for competing in bragging contests with those from Texas and California.

The one defect that strikes my attention, and a rather serious one, is the text. It does not measure up in quality to

the rest of the book. Too many of the prominent men and women who aided in preparing the book either nodded at their tasks, or the list of acknowledgements is largely a front. Many statements are either incorrect or leave an improper impression in the mind of the reader. For instance, one should not write about the Indians today (the Apache and Navaho) as nomadic. If riding to town in a pick-up truck is nomadism, then the statement is valid. It is better to point out that Indians are full-fledged citizens. They are not the Indian of history who fought the white man with a bow and arrow and lived by the chase.

Huge cattle ranches did not exist in New Mexico during the Civil War to supply the Civil War armies. The first cattle were driven to New Mexico after the War to feed the Indians at the Bosque Redondo. The day of the cattle ranch was yet to come.

A Territorial legislature did not draw up a constitution for the State of New Mexico. It was framed by a constitutional convention, the classic American procedure and one that every school boy and girl ought to know.

The continental divide does not run along the high ridges of the Jemez Mountains and Mount Taylor. An ordinary road map will show the youngster that the divide is far to the west of those mountains.

New Mexico volunteers did not lose the battle of Valverde by themselves. There were regular Federal troops present, not to mention some volunteers from the Territory of Colorado.

The Conchas Reservoir when full has a surface area of 17,000 acres (p. 38). The C. R. when full has a surface area of about 21 sq. mi. (p. 50). Seventeen thousand acres divided by 640 acres (per sq. mi.) yields a surface area of 26.5 sq. mi.

I could mention some fifty more questionable points in this book and there are probably others that I did not see. I hope that the classroom teachers will call them to the attention of their students. The quality of the text is surprising when measured by the names of those who aided in its preparation.

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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PADRE MARTÍNEZ: A NEW MEXICAN MYTH

By E. K. FRANCIS*

THE CASE of Don Antonio José Martínez, parish priest of Taos at the time of the American invasion, is still very much alive in New Mexico. The powerful personality of the old New Mexican padre, who died in 1867, has all the reality of a political myth. He has been cast in the role of the great yet enigmatic antagonist of Jean Baptiste Lamy, first Catholic bishop of Santa Fe, another New Mexican legend made famous through Willa Cather's fictionalized history *Death Comes to the Archbishop*. In fact there are few books on nineteenth-century New Mexico—fiction, popularization or scholarly history—which would omit mentioning the two entirely. The story of their dramatic fight not only strikes the imagination, it also offers a key to the understanding of the Spanish-American minority in the Upper Rio Grande region.

Don Antonio's controversy with his bishop came toward the end of an active life which would have been noteworthy even without this incident. For it straddles three periods in the history of his people, the Spanish, Mexican and American, and is interwoven with every important event of nearly fifty fateful years of transition. One of its moving forces, though by no means the only or even the strongest one, was resistance against foreign domination. Yet this has been twisted into resistance against Catholic dominance and into a self-

* University of Notre Dame. The research on which this paper is based has been supported by the University of Notre Dame, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the American Philosophical Society. The author is also indebted to Fray Angelico Chavez, O.F.M., for valuable advice and information, and to the custodians of the document collections mentioned in the body of the paper. E. K. F.

seeking struggle for personal power. Three camps have had a vital interest in seeing it this way: English-speaking Americans have sought a confirmation for their story that the Spanish people had submitted peacefully, even eagerly to the conquest. Protestants, doing missionary work in the once solidly Catholic region, have welcomed any sign of an inner readiness on the part of the people to break away from the church of Rome. Catholic historians, finally, found a vindication for the course taken by Lamy and his successors. Oddly enough the case of Padre Martínez seemed to satisfy all three mutually exclusive view points, although this required some bending of facts and some looking the other way in the face of inconsistencies and contradictions. Such is, of course, the stuff of which all social myths are woven: one part gossip and rumor, one part invention, a good dose of wishful thinking and a kernel of truth. It is the objective of this essay to get at that kernel of truth. Any attempt to straighten out the record of the pastor of Taos would, however, require more space and probably more solid documentation than is presently at our disposal. Hence this paper will be confined to one chapter of his biography, giving sufficient background to make it intelligible.

In reconstructing the events which led to Padre Martínez' excommunication we rely upon archives that have never been utilized in their entirety although some of the materials have been known to several others. Primarily we draw upon documents, now being calendared, in the archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe; also of the University of Notre Dame, the New Mexico Historical Society, the Huntington Library, and the Coronado Library of the University of New Mexico.¹ Among publications, Judge Warner's Lamy biography,² though presented in the disorderly manner of an amateur, proved a particularly rich and unexpectedly reliable source of information.

1. These archives shall be referred to in the following by the abbreviations: *Archdiocese, Notre Dame, Hist. Soc., Hunt. Lib., Cor. Lib.* Photostats of the Martínez material in the Archdiocesan archives are at Notre Dame.

2. Louis H. Warner, *Archbishop Lamy: An Epoch Maker*, Santa Fe, 1926. Other pertinent titles can readily be located in the excellent and comprehensive bibliography compiled by Lyle Saunders: *A Guide to Materials Bearing on Cultural Relations in New Mexico*, Albuquerque, 1944.

Antonio José Martín was born in Abiquiú, the son of Severino Martín and María del Carmen Santisteban. When four days old he was baptized there on Jan. 20, 1793. His father belonged to the 16th-century New Mexico family, *Martín Serrano*, which by this time was by far the most numerous and widespread in the Rio Arriba area, saturating every settlement from Santa Cruz to Taos. His parents were residing at Taos when Antonio José married María de la Luz Martín at Abiquiú, May 20, 1812. She was also a Martín Serrano but no relation at all. According to the Valdez "Biography" of Padre Martínez, his parents had moved their family to Taos in 1804; Antonio José's wife died a year after the marriage, leaving an infant daughter, María Luz, who died in 1825; the widowed father, however, had already entered the Seminary at Durango in 1817, to be ordained on Feb. 10, 1822. Back in Taos in 1823, to rest at the paternal estate because of a "chest affliction," he there occasionally assisted Fray Sebastián Alvarez of Taos. From Taos the young priest went to Tomé as temporary pastor in 1824. The Tomé records show that he was assistant to Cura Madariaga of Tomé from December, 1823, to March, 1824. Not long after he was pastor of Abiquiú, his birthplace, and from July, 1826, he was pastor of Taos until his last years.³

It is significant that on his return from Durango the young priest signed his surname as "*Martínez*," and that during his lifetime practically all of the numerous Martín Serrano clan followed suit. More significant is the fact that his formative years, from 1804 on, were spent in Taos, already starting to be a teeming border town along the western prong of the future Santa Fe Trail and the meeting place of white man and Indian, Spaniard and American, farmer and stockman, trader and trapper. He was only twenty-four when, at Durango, he came in contact not only with clerical erudition but also with the new spirit of Catholic Enlightenment and National Liberalism. In fact, the Republic of Mexico was born during his seminary course. As in other Catholic coun-

3. Bapt. and Marr. records of Abiquiú, Taos, Tomé. *Hunt. Lib.*, Ritch No. 262. Cf. Fray Angelico Chavez, O.F.M., *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period*, Santa Fe, 1954.

tries national independence in Mexico had been spearheaded by priests, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla and José María Morelos. Their fight for the rights of the people against the political powers of the day led them into opposition to the church hierarchy and its alliance with the state. But since the successful revolution of 1821 the same Mexican patriotism had become the nursery of a new generation of seminarians. Among them were Martínez and several other students from the north. Shortly after his return Father Antonio took over the parish of Taos and went about to build this strategic position into one of national leadership. Uppermost in his mind stood the welfare of his people, the neglected and exploited mountain peasants of the Rio Arriba. Although himself a clergyman and a landowning *patrón*,⁴ he never hesitated to memorialize and, if necessary, to castigate publicly the powers that be, clerical or secular, Mexican or American, whenever he thought an injustice had been done or conditions required improvement and reform.⁵

Once the pastor of Taos is recognized as a Mexican nationalist and champion of the common people, both Spanish and Indian, his life and actions, which most writers have found perplexing and sinister, show a remarkable consistency and carry moral conviction. One of his early concerns was church taxation which, to his mind, weighed heavily upon the poor people of New Mexico. He won his case in both Durango and Mexico City.⁶ He also was involved in the pronunciamiento of 1837 in which Governor Albino Pérez, sent from Mexico to enforce a new system of local administration and taxation, perished together with several of his aides and supporters. It is here not the place to determine Don Antonio's precise role in these events, but his words and actions prove that he was substantially in sympathy with the grievances of the people though not with their method of seeking

4. The word is used here in the dual meaning of a semi-feudal local lord and a political boss. In Mexico it is historically associated with the institution of peonage.

5. As a true representative of the Enlightenment, the padre produced his lasting achievements in the broad field of education.

6. Cf. Warner, *Archbishop Lamy*, p. 75. Martínez himself refers to the incident in several places, among others in a letter to Bishop Lamy of October 21, 1857 (*Archdiocese*).

redress.⁷ From an early period he also was strongly opposed to concessions made by local officials to American traders such as Charles Bent who, he warned the central authorities, were spreading corruption among Indians and Mexicans, and increased the danger threatening from the United States.⁸

When in 1846 General Stephen W. Kearny's army occupied the country without meeting any effective opposition by Governor Manuel Armijo, Don Antonio Martínez was, like other leaders and many of the common people, deeply disappointed at the turn of events. Again he has consistently been named in connection with the abortive attempts to rid New Mexico of its conquerors. He even has been designated as the elusive instigator of the Taos rebellion which cost the life of Governor Charles Bent, his old enemy. With equal consistency has his participation been denied by himself and his friends.⁹ There will be some more appropriate occasion for us to advance the reasons for our belief that he had considered popular resistance a justifiable act of national warfare and had hoped that this, with the support of the Mexican government, would lead to the liberation from alien yoke. When the movement went out of hand, he tried to forestall and mitigate senseless violence on both sides, not without incurring the enmity of some of his fellow countrymen.¹⁰ In any event, it is an established fact that, once the futility of this course of action had become apparent, he was among the first to agitate for New Mexico's admission to the United States; from her democratic institutions he expected relief from the ills which through years of neglect had beset the country.

7. Besides by Warner, *op. cit.* the matter is treated in a fragment of *La Vida del Presbítero Antonio José Martínez* por el Licenciado Santiago Valdez which bears the annotation: "para ser revisada, anotada y aumentada por el Licenciado Benjamin M. Read," and is dated February 1878 (*Hist. Soc.*). The whole original is in *Hunt. Lib., Ritch Collection*, No. 262.

8. *Ibid.*; see also Ralph E. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, vol. I, Torch Press, 1914, pp. 60 ff. In a letter of April 1, 1826, Martínez was instructed by the Mexican Government to watch the Americans in his vicinity and to intercept their mail. (*Hist. Soc.*)

9. Besides Warner and Valdez, also Pedro Sánchez, *Memorias sobre la vida del Presbítero Don Antonio José Martínez en un tomo*, Santa Fe, 1903, and Benjamin M. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, Santa Fe, 1912, p. 446.

10. Cf. letter of Martínez to Lamy of November 27, 1856 (*Archdiocese*).

After New Mexico had been ceded to the United States in 1848 by virtue of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, the American bishops and Fathers of the Seventh Council of Baltimore lost no time in petitioning the Holy See that its ecclesiastical administration, too, be separated from Mexico.¹¹ A French missionary working in the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy, accompanied by his old friend Joseph Projectus Machebeuf arrived in Santa Fe on August 8, 1851, as Vicar Apostolic for the former Mexican territories east of California. In a letter to Archbishop Anthony Blanc of New Orleans he described the reception in glowing colors mentioning in particular: "*El Señor Vic[ari]o de Santa Fe vint nous attendre à cent milles de la capitale. Il est extrêmement généreuse; quelques semaines avant notre arrivée ayant entendu dire queles[!] Américains et quelques Mexicains s'étaient réunis pour me procurer une maison, il leur envoya dire qu'il consentait volontiers[!] à me'offrir la sienne qui était meilleure et plus convenable qu'aucunne autre . . .*"¹² Yet the first impression was deceptive. Barely three weeks later Lamy was forced to confide in his former superior, Archbishop John B. Purcell: ". . . what would you think of a priest who does not preach to his congregation but only once a year and then at the condition that he will receive \$ 18 ? Such is the case here, and it grieves me to tell you that is not the worse [!] yet . . ." ¹³ At about the same time Machebeuf, more outspoken in his criticism of the native clergy, wrote: ". . . the great obstacle to the good which the Bishop is disposed to do among [the Mexicans] does not come from the people but from the priests themselves who do not want the Bishop, for they dread a reform of their morals, or a change in their selfish relations with their parishioners."¹⁴

11. See J. B. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross: Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico*, Banning, California, 1898, p. 193.

12. Letter of August 15, 1851 (*Notre Dame*). Señor Vicario of Santa Fe came to wait for us a hundred miles from the capitol. He is extremely generous; a few weeks before our arrival, having heard that some Americans and some Mexicans had gotten together to get me a house, he sent word to them that he would be happy to offer me his which was better and more convenient than any other. [Translation by Prof. H. B. Alexander, Professor of Philosophy, University of New Mexico. Ed.]

13. Letter of September 2, 1851 (*Notre Dame*).

14. W. J. Howlett, *Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf . . . First Bishop of Denver*, Pueblo, Colorado, 1908, p. 165.

The main reason for the early tensions between the French and the native clergymen was the unwillingness of the latter to accept a foreigner and emissary of the American hierarchy as their superior. Don José Antonio Zubiría y Escalante, the old bishop of Durango, at first seemed to side with them. It required a special trip of Lamy and the Vicar, Don Juan Felipe Ortiz, to Durango to settle the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Territory.

Shortly after Lamy had returned, he began to show his enemies who was the master in the house. Early in the following year he reported to Purcell that, without much ado, he had suspended the 65-year-old pastor of San Miguel, a former member of the legislature, when one Sunday night he had got drunk, fallen from his horse and broken a leg. The prelate continued: "... there are several other cases in which I might use the same severity but still, as they have not been caught in the very act, I must wait with patience, and try at least to keep them under fear." He expressed the hope that this would be a warning to some but admitted: "I am obliged to go very slow and to be very prudent; for the clergymen have not only great influence but they have been the rulers of the people." Most of them had made the people believe that he had no authority and would not come back from Durango. Afterwards "they showed me good face, though I have good reasons to think they will submit rather by force than by good will." Some of them might leave, the bishop concluded, and he wished them Godspeed.¹⁵ In the same year another parish priest was removed, Manuel José Gallegos of Albuquerque, a former student of Padre Martínez. In fact, every one of the younger Mexican priests had come under his influence; for no less than thirty former students of the little preparatory school which he conducted at Taos received holy orders.¹⁶ As reasons for the disciplinary action against Gallegos, Machebeuf's biographer mentions drinking, gambling, dancing and causing public scandal.¹⁷ The charges against

15. Letter of February 1, 1852 (*Notre Dame*).

16. The figure is mentioned by Henry R. Wagner, "New Mexico Spanish Press," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 12 (1937): 1-40.

17. Howlett, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

these priests have a certain significance for the evaluation of the Martínez case. For most writers have at least hinted what Blanche C. Grant asserted as a fact,¹⁸ namely, that he was excommunicated because of his immoral life.

Now the Mexican priests have been widely blamed, mostly by Anglo-Saxon and Protestant observers but also by some less prejudiced sources, for such shortcomings as gambling, drinking, neglect of duty, and women. At least as far as Padre Martínez is concerned nobody has ever accused him of excessive conviviality or neglect. He was a rather stern and austere man who went about his many projects with more than usual devotion. But there have been persistent rumors that he had left several children. Two different persons with different surnames, in particular, have been mentioned as his sons: Santiago Valdez and Vicente F. Romero, both at one time active in Protestant church work. A passage in the autobiography of a Presbyterian minister of Spanish descent is fairly typical¹⁹ although, like most clerical authors touching upon the subject, he is more cautious than others. He explains that the pastor of Taos had been married but that his children, who had been among the first Protestants in the Territory, had changed their name to the mother's maiden name Romero. Thus it would appear that the padre's marriage before entering the priesthood accounts for part of the confusion. On the other hand, his deceased wife's maiden name had also been Martín and their only child had died at the age of twelve.

The foregoing speculations are mere guesses, however, based probably on the universal tendency of non-entities to acquire dubious prominence, however shamefully, on the coat-tails of an outstanding historical figure. Fray Angelico Chavez informs me that Padre Martínez was never openly attacked by even his bitterest enemies on grounds of immorality, something that Latins will use first if they can lay hands on it and which they sometimes fabricate. But not with Martínez. An unsigned poison letter in the Ritch collection, accusing him of such things with his own niece, is evidently

18. *When Old Trails were New: The Story of Taos*, New York, 1934.

19. Gabino Rendón, *Hand on My Shoulder*, New York, 1953, p. 55.

the work of her degenerate husband whom Martínez rightfully prosecuted for wasting her inheritance and treating her with utmost cruelty. After the Padre's death, the shameless claims of descent from him began, even getting into print in "vanity" county histories and biographies. These were either from bastard individuals who found no father or grandfather in the records, or from those who did find as their grandfather an "Antonio Martínez" or "José Antonio Martínez" or "Antonio José Martínez." But, as previously stated, the Martínez name is legion in the Rio Arriba church records, at Taos especially, where there were several contemporaries of the three similar name-combinations just mentioned. In fact, Padre Antonio José Martínez had two married brothers in Taos, an *Antonio* Martínez, married to Teodora Romero, and *José María* Martínez, married to María Carmen Sánchez, and both of these had large families.

Santiago Valdez, however, is indeed mentioned with some emphasis in Don Antonio's testament of June 27, 1867, as "of his family," a phrase used by others, clergymen and laymen, for servants and orphans aggregated to their household. Referring to Valdez, the Padre here makes the following statement: "I have from his infancy taken care of him and adopted him with all the privileges and educated him . . . he has not recognized any other father and mother but me, and besides he has been obedient to me; for this reason I depose and it is my will that his sons take and carry my surname in the future."²⁰ Valdez was also one of the executors of his will and inherited his books and papers.

The official file in the Archdiocesan archives, in which the priest's many other failures and transgressions are dealt with in detail and unsparingly, does not contain a single reference to any immoral conduct. There is an undated letter by a certain Dolores Perea at Isleta in which she informs Bishop Lamy "of the scandals Padre Martínez is causing" by having as his housekeeper a woman of bad fame in the community, or at least in the writer's estimation. Our Padre Martínez, however, was never stationed at Isleta, much less

20. Quoted by Warner, *Archbishop Lamy*, p. 87.

in Lamy's time; the only priest there with a similar name was the Rev. F. Martin, 1854-1856, one of Lamy's own Frenchmen. It was quite natural for the Perea woman or any other New Mexican to render this French surname into the common Spanish one, "Martínez," itself a corruption of Martín Serrano.

Unless more convincing evidence should turn up yet, we would be inclined to discard the charge of vice as spurious. In a large measure it may be due to the unwillingness of many Protestants to accept absolute sacerdotal celibacy even as a likelihood, the attempts of some enemies of Martínez and his cause to cast doubt upon his moral integrity, and last but not least the sensationalism of certain authors.

We are convinced that the reasons for the clash between the native clergy and the foreign prelate must be sought on quite a different level than that of immorality, sexual or otherwise. In the case of Padre Antonio Martínez such considerations probably did not enter the picture at all but are later fabrications. Judging from the correspondence with his fellow bishops, we suspect that Lamy from the very beginning realized how much depended on his ability to surround himself with an adequate number of willing and congenial helpers. At once he made the greatest effort to avail himself of "young and zealous priests" so as to reinforce and eventually to replace the natives.

On April 10, 1853, the bishop again addressed Purcell to share with him his worries: ". . . now that I have commenced to reform some abuses and to lay down a few rules for the clergymen, I have met with a great deal of opposition having been obliged to suspend few [four?] Mexican priests for the most notorious faults; *they have submitted but have said that I did not observe the rules prescribed by the Canon Law in inflicting these censures. The truth is that if I would comply with all formalities they want, I could never stop the abuses.*" Yet the prelate was patently disturbed at their threat to appeal to a higher authority such as "the Court of Rome." In such an eventuality, he wrote, "it might be prudent

for me to prevent them," and asked Purcell to intervene for him.²¹ The passage is apt to shed new light upon the subsequent events.

As his letters to Blanc and Purcell show, the question of the clergy remained Lamy's principal concern during the next few years. But relief was near. At the beginning of 1852, he had at his disposal 19 priests, 17 of whom were natives, for a flock of 70,000 widely dispersed Catholics with 25 dilapidated churches and 40 chapels to take care of. By 1855 the number of the active diocesan clergy had shrunk to 14, although a few new Spanish names had been added to the roster. But after the first troupe of French priests and theologians had arrived at Santa Fe in 1854, the bishop felt strong enough to break the resistance of the native clergy. According to the diocesan directory there were just two of the old guard left by 1857 although the total number of priests had again risen to twenty-two.²² It is during these years of the great house-cleaning that Don Antonio Martínez was removed from his position, which he had held for almost thirty years.

It may be significant that the pastor of Taos was among the very last New Mexican priests to incur the bishop's censure. As a matter of fact, in the correspondence with Purcell his name does not turn up at all before March 3, 1857, when Lamy wrote with much exasperation: "Gallego [!], the Ex-delegate [to Congress], the old [Juan Felipe] Ortiz and, worse than these two others, the old Martínez of Taos, whom I was obliged to suspend last October, are chiefly engaged to embarrass us every way [!]. And as their relations and acquaintances are numerous and influential they give us plenty to do."²³

It would appear that either the padre's influence among the people had been greater than that of any other native clergyman or he was clever enough to keep himself out of the

21. Italics supplied. (*Notre Dame*).

22. *The Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory* (Baltimore: F. Lucas, Jr.) for the years 1850, 1855 and 1857.

23. *Notre Dame*.

quarrel. In any event, his relations with the superior seem to have been businesslike and correct.²⁴ In addition it should be noted that he did not always side with his censured confrères. In one election campaign he supported William Carr Lane against Gallegos because the American would be able to plead New Mexico's cause in English. Similarly, in the controversy between Lamy and Vicario Juan Felipe Ortiz, whom he had opposed also on other occasions,²⁵ the Taos leader went along with the bishop's party.

The second case is particularly revealing. When Don Juan Felipe had been relieved of his office as representative of the Bishop of Durango, he had been given the pastorate of Santa Fe. Later, however, the prelate divided the parish, entrusting his own Vicar General Machebeuf with the care of the Cathedral church and the city center. Ortiz protested vigorously and even sought redress in Rome, whereupon he was removed from office on April 30, 1856, and eventually excluded from all priestly functions. Late in 1853 Don Antonio, who was frequently consulted as an authority on Canon Law,²⁶ helped Lamy in the preparation of his defense against the Vicario's recriminations.²⁷

From the rather voluminous documents bearing upon the conflict between Martínez and Lamy it would appear that it was primarily a head-on collision between two strong personalities. Seen through the eyes of the Taos priest its proximate cause was the manner in which the new Ordinary, disregarding established precedence, had tried to enforce the collection of church levies. While he had reduced the stole fees in 1852,²⁸ he kept insisting on the prompt payment of

24. As an example see the letter of Martínez to Lamy of November 29, 1855 (*Archdiocese*).

25. Governor Donaciano Vigil consulted Martínez on May 1, 1848, about the case of Padre Nicolás Valencia of Belén. In his answer of May 8, 1848, the pastor of Taos declared Ortiz' action against the priest *ultra vires*. (*Hist. Soc.*) It is by the way a misconception that Ortiz was the Vicar General of Bishop Zubiría. In reality he was a vicarius foraneus, or dean, with special powers delegated to him by the bishop.

26. Besides Vigil, also Governor James S. Calhoun solicited Padre Martínez' opinion on April 20, 1851. (*Hist. Soc.*)

27. Letter of Martínez to Lamy, of December 14, 1853 (*Archdiocese*).

28. Christmas letter to diocesan clergy as quoted by Martínez. (Translation in *Archdiocese*.)

what he assumed to be customary tithes and first-fruits. On occasion he seems to have gone so far as to invoke the help of an *alcalde's* court²⁹ to secure collection.³⁰ The most controversial step, however, was the bishop's announcement of January 14, 1854,³¹ that the priests were to exclude from the sacraments all household heads who refused to pay tithes, and to demand triple fees for baptisms from other members of such families.

This was the very question which had preoccupied Don Antonio for twenty-five years. He considered it his personal achievement that in 1833 the compulsory collection of tithes had been abolished by the Mexican Congress. As late as September 6, 1850, Bishop Zubiría, upon the padre's urging, had reminded the clergy³² that they should not enter into any agreement with the faithful about the payment of church contributions but accept what was offered them voluntarily. Rather than by way of compulsion the necessary support for clergy and church buildings should be elicited through persuasion. Lamy, on the other hand, saw the matter in quite a different light. In a letter to Purcell³³ he referred to Gallegos, Ortiz and Martínez saying: "Their tactic now is to try to cut us off from the little means we get from the people, such as the small part of *diezmos y primicias our people are accustomed to give*. . . . The three clergymen mentioned above have got a handsome fortune from the church;³⁴ and they know very well that if we were deprived of the temporary [!] means we could not stand very long."

On January 28, 1856, the pastor of Taos reported to his

29. The New Mexican *alcalde* had somewhat wider powers than the Justice of Peace in most other jurisdictions of the United States.

30. Cf. articles in the *Gaceta de Santa Fé* of May 28 and August 27, 1853.

31. Copy in *Hist. Soc.*

32. An entry to this effect in the parish books at Taos is mentioned by Santiago Valdez, *op. cit.* Martínez quotes from folio 24 of the document in his letter to Lamy of November 12, 1856.

33. March 3, 1857 (*Notre Dame*). Italics supplied.

34. Martínez never tired of protesting that his personal income was mainly derived from private means, particularly from his farms, and that he had to work hard personally to make ends meet and to contribute to many charitable and patriotic causes. Cf. Cecil Romero (ed.), "Apologia of Presbyter Antonio J. Martínez," *New Mexico Historical Review* 3 (1928): 225-246. (Copy of the original Spanish text in *Hist. Soc.*)

superior that his health was failing and that he might soon be forced to resign his benefice.³⁵ At the time he was just turning sixty-three but was to live another eleven turbulent and active years. On April 22 the earlier warning was followed up with the request to appoint an assistant.³⁶ Father Ramón Medina, who had been recently ordained,³⁷ was mentioned as an acceptable candidate in preference to a foreigner; for Padre Martínez explained that the people were opposed to "*Americanos*," as they called all those not born in the country. He suggested that the young priest would thereby gain experience under the pastor's supervision so that he could take over after the latter's formal resignation ("*dando yo entonces una formal resignación*"). Yet Lamy, instead of sending Father Medina as an assistant, appointed Padre Dámaso Taladrid to the post with wide powers. In making the announcement the bishop wrote to Martínez ". . . *de este modo V. quedará sin ningún cargo y libre de todo peso para descansar, mucho más en la edad avanzada en que le encuentra.*"³⁸ This meant the acceptance of Don Antonio's resignation which he clearly had not the slightest intention to tender at this particular time.³⁹ There is also another revealing detail: the bishop's file includes a Spanish draft of his letter to the padre which was written by no other than the latter's successor!

Padre Dámaso Taladrid was a former Spanish army chaplain whom Lamy, on his trip *ad limina* in 1854, had met in Rome, and in whom he seems to have put unusual confidence. The bishop entrusted Taladrid with several difficult assignments including financial deals, and apparently ex-

35. Letter in *Archdiocese*. Martínez repeatedly referred to his feeble constitution. Just after the revolt of 1837 he described himself in the *Apologia* as almost decrepit but indicated at the same time that he was doing the work of three or four men.

36. ". . . *digo a V[ue]S[eñoría] I[lustrísima] que si hubiera algun Ec[lesiasti]co que pudiese enviar a servir esta administración, yó á esperanza de conservar mi salud . . .*" (*Archdiocese*).

37. He served as parish priest at San Juan, Abiquiú, Santa Cruz, and for many years until 1906 at Peñasco. Cf. *Lamy Memorial: Centenary of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1850-1950* [Santa Fe, 1950].

38. May 5, 1856 (*Archdiocese*). ". . . thus you will be without any responsibility and free of every burden so that you may take it easy, especially at your advanced age."

39. This is confirmed by Martínez himself in a letter to Bishop Lamy, November 27, 1856 (*Archdiocese*).

pected that his experience and descent would make him well suited for the delicate situation at Taos. What the prelate, however, overlooked was the fact that Martínez was no longer a Spaniard, but a Mexican who distrusted any European, whatever his nationality. In other respects, too, Taladrid was not a wise choice for the task. He was quite an odd character, a notorious gambler and, judging from his weird handwriting, possibly a psychopath. Worse than that, he was a dangerous intriguer who not only was informing Lamy about Martínez but at the very same time was also informing on Lamy in his correspondence with Don Manuel Alvarez, a Spaniard by birth and former American consul at Santa Fe who was still an influential man in the Territory and moreover the bishop's creditor. Taladrid's venomous and jeering reports do not make pleasant reading. Neither do Martínez' cantankerous complaints about Taladrid's antics and chicanery. But they do permit the reconstruction of the actual events.

It is conceivable that Don Antonio had never been quite serious about his threat to resign. He himself admitted later⁴⁰ that the real reason for this step had been his reluctance to comply with the episcopal regulations concerning church levies which had been contrary to his conscience. Infuriated by Lamy's maneuvering and Taladrid's insolence, he was no doubt driven to greater extremes than he at first had contemplated. He sent a violent attack upon the administration of the Catholic church in New Mexico to the *Gaceta de Santa Fé* which was published on September 3, 1856, by its editor, W. G. Kephardt, an ordained Presbyterian minister. Earlier the padre had built a private oratory where he undertook to say mass without asking for the proper permission. This, he explained, was done because Taladrid made it difficult or impossible for him to use the parish church. Such were overt transgressions against elementary church discipline which gave Lamy an opportunity for drastic punishment. Thus on October 24, 1856, he declared in a curt note that, because Martínez was celebrating mass in his own home, he was de-

40. Letter to Lamy of July 9, 1860, quoted in an article published by Martínez on July 18, 1860 (Translation in *Archdiocese*).

prived of all canonical faculties until he would withdraw the article in the *Gaceta*.⁴¹ The old pastor steadfastly refused to accept the censure; for not only did he feel that he had been grievously wronged and that the bishop was in error, he also convinced himself more and more that it was his duty to look after his parishioners, who, in his opinion, were being abused by Taladrid and indirectly by Lamy.

As soon as Don Antonio had realized that he could not control Taladrid in the same peremptory manner as he had expected to control Medina, he had begun to resume various functions of a parish priest. This at first was done in individual cases among his kin and friends but later Martínez interfered whenever Taladrid refused to administer sacraments or bury people in accordance with the diocesan regulations or when he charged what the old pastor considered exorbitant stole fees. The censure changed little in the real situation; if anything Don Antonio became only more active and more obstinate. The bishop went twice to Taos to mediate between the two fighting priests, although we do not know whether this was done before or after the suspension. Nevertheless, it is quite obvious that even later Lamy was not yet ready to burn all bridges. In the following spring Martínez requested that Taladrid be recalled and another priest sent in his place. He declared that he was not interested in his benefice but that he was most anxious to have his parish administered by a priest with good qualities for the spiritual welfare of the faithful.⁴² Eventually the superior relented and replaced Taladrid with young Father José Eulogio Ortiz, a brother of the old Vicario and former pupil of Don Antonio.⁴³

A more conciliatory gesture could hardly be expected and

41. The order is quoted *verbatim* by Martínez in a letter to Lamy, April 13, 1857 (*Archdiocese*).

42. Letter to Lamy of April 13, 1857 (*Archdiocese*).

43. Taladrid, who before going to Taos had worked in Santo Domingo, was now sent to Mora, a restless frontier town on the other side of the Sangre de Cristo mountains. Not long afterwards, however, his name disappeared from the catalogue of the diocesan clergy. The young Padre J. Eulogio Ortiz was on very friendly terms with the bishop who even took him along on his trip to Rome. He mentions him in a letter to Purcell of February 1, 1858: "Padre Ortiz whom you saw in Cincinnati is doing pretty well. He did not meddle in the differents [!] I had with his brother." (*Notre Dame*.)

Martínez, in fact, declared himself over-joyed with the solution and most grateful to his Excellency.⁴⁴ Yet the peace and harmony did not last long. Padre Eulogio seems to have done his best to humor the old man, for whom he felt genuine compassion. "Poor, unfortunate Martínez," he reported to the bishop, had visited him in despair full of good will and ready to recognize him, Ortiz, as the rightful parish priest.⁴⁵ But Ortiz had his orders which included the controversial regulations concerning church levies. Martínez demanded that he stop the obnoxious practices in his parish. The young priest refuted his accusations and assertions one by one with the best reasoned arguments which we have found in any of the extant documents.⁴⁶

The old pastor had been too long accustomed to be boss in his bailiwick, and had become too deeply enmeshed in his own casuistry to listen to the voice of reason. Padre Eulogio's loyalty to the bishop appeared to him as a betrayal of the good cause. Martínez declared him *ipso facto* excommunicated for certain of his official actions. Moreover he asserted his own obligation to take over the complete care for the parish.⁴⁷ There ensued the impossible situation of two pastors claiming to be in charge of the Taos district, both natives, one authorized by the Ordinary of the diocese, the other supported by customary deference.

The same conditions prevailed in the neighboring parish of Arroyo Hondo, whose incumbent, Mariano de Jesús Lucero, had associated himself with Don Antonio, his friend of many years' standing. The people were perplexed and took sides, a large number of Spaniards following Martínez; for as Machebeuf's biographer writes, they "had always known and respected him and . . . could not now imagine that he could be in the wrong. Besides, his relatives were powerful in Taos and had the pride of wealth and position which would permit neither them nor him to accept what they considered

44. Letter of Martínez to José Eulogio Ortiz of June 22, 1857, and to Lamy of October 21, 1851 (*Archdiocese*).

45. Letter of José Eulogio Ortiz to Lamy, of July 23, 1857 (*Archdiocese*).

46. Letter of José Eulogio Ortiz to Martínez, of November 12, 1857 (*Archdiocese*).

47. Letter to Lamy of March 29, 1858, that is, after he (Martínez) had already been excommunicated by Lamy (*Archdiocese*).

a humiliation."⁴⁸ This posed a serious problem for the church which Lamy tried to resolve by excommunicating both rebellious priests.

The Vicar General was sent to Taos to read the sentence in a solemn ceremony from the pulpit of the parish church. There were threats of violence and riot. But the "*Americanos*" of the town offered Machebeuf protection. They were "thoroughly prepared and had their men advantageously posted to watch every movement of the enemy, and any attempt at creating a disturbance would have been met vigorously." One of their leaders was Kit Carson, the famous scout, who declared: "We shall not let them do as they did in 1847 when they murdered and pillaged . . . I hate disturbances among the people but I can fight a little yet, and I know of no better cause to fight for than my family, my church, and my friend the Señor Vicario."⁴⁹ The next day Padre Lucero met with the same fate at Arroyo Hondo. With this, however, the matter was far from settled. Martínez made an indirect reference to the event in a letter to Machebeuf who had visited his house to reason with him during the night of April 19. "*La bulla estrepitosa,*" he wrote, "*que se ha causado en la vecindad en estos días, hasta decirse que se valdrán contra mí de la Autoridad Civil, de fuerza armada de los mismos habitantes, y aún de la tropa del gobierno . . .*" Then he summed up the stand he had taken on that occasion: the censures and penalties inflicted upon him were null and void so that he remained the rightful pastor of Taos according to the laws of the church as well as those of "a liberal Republican Government."⁵⁰

48. Howlett, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

49. Howlett, *op. cit.*, p. 232. Carson had been received into the Catholic church by Martínez a year before his marriage to a native *Taoseña* in 1843. Cf. Brother Claudius Anthony, "Kit Carson, Catholic," *New Mexico Historical Review* 10 (1935): 323-336.

50. "*Así me explico para que me entienda y no pase á molestar mi quietud y reposo en mi casa, y en auxiliar a mis Feligreses que me ocupan en sus necesidades, y cuyo deber imprescindible me impone la Religión Católica que profeso, y la investidura de Cura propio: yo conosco los deberes de mi conciencia, el amparo que tengo en las leyes Canónicas y en nuestro Gobierno liberal Republicano . . .*" Letter of May 2, 1857 (Archdiocese). "The noisy agitation [he wrote] which has been stirred up among the local citizens in these days, to the point of its being said that civil authority, force of arms by the inhabitants themselves, and even government troops will be used against me . . ."

This resulted in a schism which, however, went never beyond the parishes of the two excommunicated priests. Padre Martínez carried on as before, administering to the faithful, addressing letters of complaint and advice to Lamy, publishing polemical articles in the *Gaceta* and through his own printing press but, at the same time, protesting his unswerving allegiance to the Roman Catholic religion and, on occasion, even his due respect for the legitimate authority of the bishop. That this was a true but localized schism is also borne out by the significant fact that after the padre's death on July 27, 1867, almost all his followers returned to the fold including most of the Martínez clan who, according to Howlett, were brought back through a mission given by the Jesuits in 1869.⁵¹ To our knowledge, the indomitable old pastor of Taos was the only Mexican priest opposing Bishop Lamy who died without final submission, after receiving the last sacraments according to the rites of the Catholic church from the hands of his faithful disciple Lucero.⁵²

This curious combination of loyalty and rebellion will become more intelligible when one analyzes Don Antonio's own interpretation of the whole affair. He has frequently been claimed by New Mexican Protestants as one of their own, at least as a pioneer of Protestantism among the Spanish-Americans. There also have been speculations that he might have joined the Episcopalian church if it had been more active in the area.⁵³ The rumor that he was about to start some new sect had, in fact, been circulated even before his excommunication but was emphatically denied by himself.⁵⁴ He declared at the time with great dignity and conviction that he was forever unto death a priest of the Christian, Catholic, Apostolic and Roman faith despite certain differ-

51. *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

52. Lucero as well as the renegade friar Benigno Cárdenas, a native of Mexico who for some time officiated out of Tomé as a recognized Presbyterian minister, eventually recanted, and even Gallegos was buried from the church in 1875. With regard to Vicario Ortiz there is a statement witnessed by Don Juan de Jesús Trujillo, priest of Santa Cruz, of January 22, 1858, indicating that on his death bed he had asked for the bishop to administer the Holy Sacraments to him. (*Archdiocese.*)

53. Cf. Rev. Thomas Harwood, *History of New Mexico Spanish and English Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church from 1850 to 1910*, 2 vols., Albuquerque, 1908, 1910, and Gabino Rendón, *op. cit.*

54. Undated translation of an article in the *Gaceta de Santa Fé* (*Archdiocese.*).

ences of opinion between him and the present bishop. There is no indication in the available documents that he ever changed his mind on this point. It is true, however, that throughout his life he had favored religious tolerance, that he entertained friendly relations with Protestants, particularly clergymen, who lent him their moral support and whose letters of approval he published on occasion, and that his writings contain references to "pure religion" to which, as he explained, various kinds of believers adhered. But in its interpretation he expressed himself in terms of specifically Catholic dogmas and without making substantial concessions to any contradictory Protestant beliefs.⁵⁵ Even if he was rather broad-minded in many things and a liberal at heart, that is, of the eighteenth rather than the later nineteenth-century variety, his was not a case of heresy⁵⁶ or immorality, as the terms are conventionally understood, but clearly pertains to the realm of church government and discipline which, of course, has its own moral and theological implications.

Four distinct issues were involved: the collection of tithes and the penalties threatened in this connection; the publication of articles criticizing the bishop; the exercise of ecclesiastical functions without proper faculties; the validity of the disciplinary actions taken by the bishop. Enough has been said about the first problem to confine ourselves to a rather brief summary. Martínez tried to prove that the exaction of tithes and stole fees was not customary in New Mexico at the time of Lamy's arrival, a requirement of Canon Law for the continuation of the practice, and that it was without sanction either in Mexican or American law. Furthermore he denounced the practice as "true simony."⁵⁷ These and certain other measures taken by the bishop he declared of such a nature that they bring upon the author the vacancy of the benefice which he occupies.⁵⁸ On several occasions he sug-

55. Cf. his "Notes" of September 24, 1859 (Translation in *Archdiocese*).

56. See, however, *Codex Juris Canonici*, Canon 2340, §1: "*Si quis, obdurato animo, per annum insorduerit in censura excommunicationis, est de haeresi suspectus.*"

57. "Notes" of September 24, 1859 (Translation in *Archdiocese*). See, however, *Codex Juris Canonici*, Canon 1502: "*Ad decimarum et primitiarum solutionem quod attinet, pecularia statuta ac laudabiles consuetudines in unaquaque regione servantur.*"

58. Cf. pamphlet dated Taos, July 18, 1860 (Translation in *Archdiocese*; the first typed page and title is missing.)

gested that Lamy and those priests who complied with his objectionable rulings were to be considered *ipso facto* excommunicated. Finally, Padre Martínez pointed out that the burden imposed in this way upon the native people of New Mexico was out of proportion with the taxes required by the secular government. He figured that, if all of the bishop's demands were met, the total contributions would run to more than \$170,000 while only \$30,000 in taxes had been voted by the Legislature and the \$15,000 or \$20,000 needed for school purposes had not been made available.⁵⁹

With regard to his first incriminating article in the *Gaceta*, Martínez referred to certain insinuations "*que . . . se hallan varias injurias contra los respetos y estimación que se debe á la digna persona de V.S.I. [Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima], y yo habia defaltado á la modestia en que debería haber.*" He seems to have always felt this was a weak point in his defense. On this particular occasion he went so far as to admit that he might have overstepped "*los límites de la moderación.*"⁶⁰ He should have used rational arguments instead of invectives. Elsewhere he explained it this way, and the argument is sufficiently interesting to read it in his own words: "*Con respeto á que yo toqué en unos escritos que puse en la Gaceta la materia de Dismos, no lo debe estrañar V.S.I., esto fué una opinión de muchos años atrás concebida: el año de 1829 toqué esa misma materia enviando una petición al alto Gobierno Mejicano, fué recibida y comunicada en los Periódicos; tengo un ejemplar Impreso en que se vé esforsado mucho el punto de que Dismos y Aranceles al mismo tiempo es muy gravoso é injurioso á los fieles; sin embargo, el Gobierno Eclesiastico de Durango lo supo y consideró aquella esposición como una opinión que á su Autor fué licito proponer. ¿ Pues como en un Gobierno mas liberal cual es el que actual rije, se debería tener á mal que yo tal hiciese como aquellos mis escritos?*"⁶¹

59. "Notes" of September 24, 1859 (Translation in *Archdiocese*).

60. Letter to Lamy of December 14, 1856 (*Archdiocese*). "that . . . there are several offenses against the respect and esteem due the worthy person of your Illustrious Lordship, and that I have been at fault with regard to the modesty I should have.

61. Letter of Martínez to Lamy of November 12, 1856 (*Archdiocese*). "With regard to the fact that I discussed the subject of tithes in some writings I placed in the Gazette,

Martínez repeatedly emphasized the fact that this was a republican and liberal government where everybody had a right to speak his mind for the enlightenment of the people. More than that, it was his duty as a citizen, native, active member of the community, Christian, and priest, to speak for the people who were ignorant and intimidated.⁶² His protestations have the ring of sincerity. While he did oppose "*los Americanos*," first as potential fifth columnists and later as conquerors and interlopers, he was genuinely enthusiastic about the Constitution and institutions of the United States. For under such auspices he expected the realization of many social, political and ecclesiastical reforms for which he had been fighting all his life. Despite suspension and excommunication he therefore continued to raise his voice and to arouse public opinion in order to put pressure upon the bishop to change his, as he thought, unjust and injurious policy.

At least in the beginning, Don Antonio Martínez had felt rather uneasy about the exercise of certain priestly functions without permission. In his earlier letters he did not say very much about it; for he was much too good a lawyer to overlook the fact that these were not personal rights but delegated powers which according to Canon law are derived from the Ordinary. Hence he tried to persuade Lamy to accept his

your Illustrious Lordship should not take it amiss. This was an opinion I formed many years ago. In the year 1829 I discussed that same matter when I sent a petition to the superior government of Mexico. It was received and published in the newspapers. I have a printed copy in which the point that [the collection of] tithes and fees at the same time is very onerous and injurious to the faithful is clearly emphasized. Yet the ecclesiastical authorities of Durango were aware of it and considered that statement an opinion which its author was legitimately entitled to express. Then why, under a more liberal government, like the one actually in power, should it be considered wrong for me to abide by what I have written?"

62. "*Estos escritos [que he publicado per medio de la Gaceta de Santa Fé] los he puesto fundado en la libertad de comunicar los pensamientos y opiniones para que tenemos derecho los Republicanos á fin de que obren en la ilustración de los Pueblos; y toqué sobre cosas de Iglesia principalmente de los diezmos de V.S.I. exige su íntegro pago bajo pena; porque se me hizo que el tal Estatuto es muy en contra de este Pueblo en que vé la primera luz, y del que soy un miembro activo; pues como Ciudadano es mi deber procurar el bien procuramunal; y como fiel Cristiano y Eclesiástico lo conveniente de mi alcance por el bien espiritual de los fieles que . . . se esponen a ser ligados con dichas penas. . . ."* (*Ibidem*). Elsewhere Martínez stressed the same point in a reference to the writings in the *Gaceta*, "*en que di mi opinion al Público, teniendo ellos un fundamento racional, y que V.S.I. sabe muy bien que en nuestro Gobierno Republicano, somos libres los ciudadanos para dar nuestra opinión y publicarla en los Periodicos, mucho mas cuando los procedimientos de los empleados parecen ser perjudiciosos á la sociedad.*" (Letter of Martínez to Lamy of April 13, 1857 [*Archdiocese*].)

excuses for doing what he obviously should not have done. Yet the very circumstances of his suspension and excommunication also provided him with a legal argument to justify his continued exercise of the functions of a parish priest. Thus the question of faculties is closely connected with the last one, namely the validity of the censures against himself. Canon law is very explicit on this point and does everything to protect the individual cleric against the abuse of authority. It was here that Martínez felt in his own element; in fact in this area he outranked Bishop Lamy who, as we recall, admitted that he could not be bothered with legalistic formalities. The prelate had left himself open to attack and Don Antonio was not slow to take advantage of it. He pointed out that the bishop's censures were null and void because the due process of law had been neglected. What the padre overlooked, however, was that for a long time to come the bishops of the United States, in consideration of her being a young missionary territory, were permitted a much greater latitude in dealing with their clergy than in older Catholic countries including Mexico.

It is here not the place to discuss the technical merits of the case. Suffice to mention that Martínez contended that, if it was a matter of a "*pecado de contumacia*," the sentence should have been preceded by three canonical admonitions. If, however, he was indicted for the commission of a crime he should have been granted a hearing before a duly appointed ecclesiastical judge.⁶³ It is doubtful whether during Lamy's tenure a regular court for the handling of disciplinary cases was ever instituted in the diocese, since such was not customary in the United States before 1884. In 1855, the Provincial Council of St. Louis⁶⁴ proposed a more orderly procedure for the suspension of priests according to which the bishop should be assisted by two consultors chosen partly by democratic vote from among the diocesan clergy. Yet these rules apparently were not enforced and it is unlikely that Lamy observed them in any disciplinary action he took

63. Letter to Lamy of November 12, 1856 (*Archdiocese*).

64. Until 1875, when Santa Fe became an Archbishopric, its bishop remained a suffragan to the Archbishop of St. Louis.

against the native priests. He rather seems to have proceeded under a practice, customary in England for some time and extended to this country in 1878, according to which a bishop could discipline a priest "from his own well-informed conscience," while the latter had the right of appeal to the Metropolitan and even higher church authorities.

Furthermore, Martínez declared that the foreign prelate was prejudiced and hostile to the native clergy.⁶⁵ But this constituted a very minor point; the main argument was that, since also a bishop is bound by Canon law and since Lamy had not observed the proper procedures, the suspension and later the excommunication were invalid, and that he, Martínez, remained the *parochus proprius*⁶⁶ of Taos with all the prerogatives of this office. Accordingly he not only had the right but the duty to celebrate mass, preach sermons, administer the sacraments, bury the dead, and in general direct the religious and temporal affairs of his parish. To his mind he also was bound in conscience not only to disregard the regulations about tithes and fees but, as far as was in his power, to remedy the damage that was being done in this respect by others. "I am so much more bound by the laws of the church," he wrote to Lamy, "when Your Excellency violates them."⁶⁷

It is important to realize that Padre Martínez never attacked the Roman Catholic church as such or any of her doctrines. He did not even question the legitimate authority of Bishop Lamy. To him the whole controversy constituted a particular legal case to be resolved by proper judicial means, in which the bishop himself was presumed in error.

65. In a petition to the Territorial Legislature of December 28, 1865, Lamy is called an enemy and persecutor of the ecclesiastical sons of the country whom he suspended and removed without regard for Canon Law. (New Mexico Archives, Pascual Martínez Papers, Folio 1082, *Coronado Library*, University of New Mexico.)

66. Although not mentioned in the Martínez file, there was also involved the question of irremovable rectors which played a considerable role in the earlier history of the Catholic church in America. Generally speaking the Archbishops of Santa Fe, following an established custom in this country, claimed the right of removing parish priests as circumstances demanded it even where parishes were concerned which had originally been constituted with an irremovable *parochus proprius*. See e.g. a correspondence of Archbishop John B. Pitaval with the Apostolic Delegation of January 9 and 15, 1912 (*Archdiocese*).

67. Letter of July 9, 1860, quoted in an article of July 18, 1860 (Translation in *Archdiocese*).

He was fighting against the error not the institution. We do not believe that his casuistry was a mere pretext, although in his more rational moments the padre must have realized that the canons he knew so well condemned him on more than one point. The old pastor of Taos had exercised ecclesiastical functions without the necessary faculties, publicly criticized his Ordinary without due moderation, failed to submit to proper authority and caused a schism.⁶⁸ Jean Baptiste Lamy, on the other hand, emerges as not quite the same mild, kindly and gracious French prelate whom Willa Cather has painted in the character of her Bishop Latour. He had never condescended to argue the case with the old and, after all, meritorious priest, but persistently invoked the undeniable authority of his office. He was a practical man who wanted to get things done, and done his way. If results and success are the sole criterion of history then his course of action was the right one. Under the circumstances it even may have been unavoidable. But it left a wound in the side of the Catholic church in New Mexico which was long to heal, and the scar can yet be felt. To the Spanish-American minority, however, the wholesale removal of the native clergy has been a tragedy; for it deprived them of their natural leaders capable of cushioning the shock of conquest from which as a group the Hispanos have never quite recovered.

68. See in particular *Codex Juris Canonici*, Canon 127 which clearly prescribes: "*Omnes clerici, praesertim vero presbyteri, speciali obligatione tenentur suo quisque Ordinario reverentiam et obedientiam exhibendi.*" With regard to the penalties and censures for obstinate disobedience against the proper Ordinary and for inciting others to disobedience against his legitimate orders, see also Canon 2331.

EARLY NAVAHO GEOGRAPHY

By FRANK D. REEVE

IN EARLY Navaho history, the reader is confronted with certain geographic terms that are not familiar. They are Cebolleta, Navaho and Piedra Alumbre or Lumbre. Their historical locations are essential in tracing the story of the Navaho people. Fixing the locations is partly a matter of defining words.

The Spanish word *alumbre* means alum, which is a mineral salt. "In color it may be either reddish, gray, white, streaked white, or it may have a pearly lustre."¹ This is a commercial alum which is used as a mordant in dyeing.

The word *lumbre* means fire, spark from a flint, splendour, brightness, lucidity, clearness.

The term *pedra lumbre* was used by Fray Alonso de Benavides in his memorial to New Mexico in the late 1620's. Describing the country of the Navaho people, beginning approximately from an east-west line just to the south of Mt. Taylor, he wrote of the mountainous country to the northward as follows: "This cordillera runs another fifty or sixty leagues, the which are full of deposits [*minerales*] of rock alum [*pedra lumbre*, for *alumbre*]."² The term *pedra lumbre* is thus translated as "rock alum," with the translator, however, taking the liberty of substituting *alumbre* for *lumbre*. It supposedly follows from Fray Alonso's words that the said mountain chain is generously endowed with this particular mineral.

Another translator of the same passage adopted that supposition: "This mountain range runs along for another fifty or sixty leagues, and for the entire distance it is covered with rock alum."³ The author of an earlier edition of the *Memorial*

1. *The Encyclopedia Americana*, 1950. For further description and chemistry see Stuart A. Northrop, *Minerals of New Mexico*. Albuquerque, 1942 (The University of New Mexico Bulletin, Whole number 379).

2. *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides 1630*, p. 44. Translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer. Annotated by Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletcher Lummis. Chicago, 1916. Privately printed.

3. *Benavides' Memorial of 1630*, p. 45. Translated by Peter P. Forrestal, C. S. C. Introduction and notes by Cyprian J. Lynch, O. F. M. Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1954.

did not translate the words *piedra lumbre*.⁴ Benjamin M. Read translated the word as "salt petre."^{4a}

In using the term *cordillera*, Fray Alonso might have been thinking of the Chuska range along the present-day Arizona-New Mexico boundary, but more likely he was describing the broken mesa country of the continental divide extending northeastward from west of Mt. Taylor toward the northwestern base of San Pedro Mountain. In this stretch of country there is one known source of alum. It is located in northwestern Sandoval County, westward from the present-day town of Cuba. Otherwise there are only a few and very scattered known deposits of this mineral in New Mexico,⁵ although traces of it might be found elsewhere when protected from the elements since it is soluble in water.

Fray Alonso also stated that the Pueblo folk painted their clothing and, in order to secure the necessary ingredient, they invaded the region westward of the Rio Grande Valley to secure the material, *piedra lumbre* (heretofore translated as rock alum). The Navaho used an impure native alum in dyeing wool in the eighteenth century,⁶ but there is no definite information that the Pueblo people used it in Benavides' day, nor does its scarcity support his statement about the source of supply. A mineral that the Pueblo artist did use in decorat-

The Spanish text reads: "Esta cordillera corre otras cincuenta ò sesenta leguas, las quales estàn llenas de minerales de piedra lumbre." Ayer edition, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

4. Alonso de Benavides, "Memorial on New Mexico in 1626," New York Public Library, *Bulletin*, 3:417-28, 481-99 (Jan. to Dec. 1899).

4a. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 689 (1912).

5. Stuart A. Northrop, *Minerals of New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1942.

On the South side of Mt. Taylor "there is a small deposit of alum. The deposit is an encrustation covering a few square feet around a seep at the top of a shale parting in the sandstone at the base of the Mulatto tongue of the Mancos shale." C. B. Hunt, "The Mount Taylor Coal Field," p. 53. United States Geological Survey, Bulletin 860-B, 1936. (Geology and Fuel Resources of the Southern Part of the San Juan Basin, N. Mex., pt. 2).

6. Washington Matthews, "Navajo Dye Stuffs," p. 613. Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, *Annual Report*. Washington, 1893. Charles Avery Amsden, *Navaho Weaving: Its Technic and History*. Santa Ana, Calif.: The Fine Arts Press, 1934. The Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, pp. 228-234. Saint Michaels, Arizona, 1910.

"This was a low-grade, naturally occurring alum used by the Navajos, Moqui and Zuñi as a specialized mordant in dyeing processes. It is still gathered from under large rocks in the flat reservation country of New Mexico (Stella Young, *Navajo Native Dyes* [Chilocco, 1940], pp. 8, 18)." *Ibid.*, p. 45, note 101.

ing *pottery* was iron oxide. Azurite, "a blue carbonate of copper," was also suitable for a pigment.⁷

If the Pueblo people invaded the Navaho country and fought those people for materials used in dyeing, as Fray Alonso records, these other minerals were probably the ones they sought. Another possibility for fighting lay in the Pueblos' use of a yellow stuff or pigment (used for coloring walls) which was secured from a site near the present-day town of Tierra Amarilla.⁸ Furthermore, they were interested in securing "native chert and flinty material" from the ancient mine workings along the south side of Cerro Pedernal (Flint Hill),⁹ a few miles west and south of Abiquiu, which could be used in fashioning weapons and craft tools; "material which is undoubtedly from this site is found abundantly [among the abandoned Pueblos] as far down the

7. "Frequently found in Chaco ruins unworked, in beads, and powdered for pigment. Probably derived from the Zuñi mountains, or from isolated patches in the Navajo (old usage) sandstone in the Dutton plateau." Donald D. Brand, Florence M. Hawley, Frank C. Hibben, *et al.*, "Tseh So, A Small House Ruin. Chaco Canyon, N. M." The University of New Mexico *Bulletin*. Anthropology Series, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 55 (Whole no. 308, 1937).

There was probably no need for alum in decorating pottery because clay contains some alumina or alum. "Clay is composed of silica combined with alumina. A sufficient quantity of this added to the lead carbonate would make the liquid flow smoothly when applied as paint; it would also retard the settling out of the heavy lead carbonate.

"Clay in the glaze paint could account for the considerable amount of silica and alumina found in the analysis. It is not necessary, however, to postulate the addition of clay to the liquid paint, for clay is present in abundance in the slip and paste of the potter, and, during firing, this would be attacked by the excess lead oxide." Florence M. Hawley and Fred G. Hawley, "Classification of Black Pottery Pigments and Paint Areas," p. 27. The University of New Mexico *Bulletin*. Anthropological Series, vol. 2, no. 4 (Whole no. 321, 1938).

"Copper oxide is rather rare in nature. There are, however, two carbonates which are fairly common—green malachite and blue azurite. Both of these minerals were known and commonly used for paint by the Pueblo Indians." *Ibid.*, p. 26.

There is no light thrown on the use of *alum* for dyeing by the Pueblo people in Amsden, *op. cit.*; Roland F. Dickey, *New Mexico Village Arts*. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1949; Harry R. Tschopik, Jr., *Navaho Pottery Making*. Cambridge, 1941 (Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, vol. 17, no. 1); Florence M. Hawley, "Chemistry in Prehistoric American Arts," *Journal of Chemical Education*, vol. 8, no. 1 (January, 1931).

8. J. P. Harrington, "The Ethnogeography of the Tewa Indians," Bureau of American Ethnology, *Twenty-ninth Annual Report*, p. 112 (1916).

9. Cerro Pedernal in the Tewa Indian language is known as the flaking stone, flint, or obsidian mountain. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Frank C. Hibben states that the Tewa word is *Tsiping* which means "flaking stone," or "pointed stone mountain." "Excavation of the Riana Ruin and Chama Valley Survey," p. 15. University of New Mexico *Bulletin*, Anthropology Series, vol. 2, no. 1 (Whole no. 300, 1937). He apparently relies on Harrington, *op. cit.*

Chama as the Rio Grande."¹⁰ Similar materials also could have been found in the valley of the Rio Puerco of the East, a region where the Pueblo "paint seekers" would have encountered Navahos.¹¹

The better translation for the statement by Fray Alonso that the mountains in the Navaho country are full of "minerales de piedra lumbre" than the one heretofore accepted is that he was speaking of "minerals of colored rock" rather than rock alum. He used the plural form of the word for mineral; he also wrote *lumbre* and not *alumbre* which means alum.^{11a} This translation fits with the geological formations of northwestern New Mexico. The area is marked by lava flows and considerable exposure of the Cretaceous formation: "Underlying the lavas of the Taylor and Acoma plateaus, its

10. *Ibid.*, p. 15f.

Chert: "An impure, brittle, usually grayish-colored quartz. Chert is sometimes called hornstone; also the term chert is often applied to any impure flinty rock, including jaspers. The usage of the term in archaeological reports is uncertain. Used for artifacts in the same manner as chaledony. Pebbles of gray, brown, and black chert are found in the nearby Morrison, Ojo Alamo, and Torrejon formations; but possibly much of the chert used in the Chaco area (and all over northern New Mexico) came from the prehistoric quarries on the flank of the Cerro Pedernal in the Chama drainage." Donald D. Brand, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

A large ceremonial hornblende spearhead has been found in a Chama Valley pueblo excavation. J. A. Jeançon, "Excavations in the Chama Valley, New Mexico," p. 20. Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 81* (Washington, 1923). Hornblende is found in volcanic rocks near Abiquiu Peak (the same or a sister peak of Cerro Pedernal). Northrop, *Minerals*.

For further description of the geology and mineralogy of the Piedra Lumbre see E. D. Cope, "Report on the Geology of that part of northwestern New Mexico examined . . . 1874," Secretary of War, *Report*. 44 cong., 1 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, pt. 2, pp. 981-1017 [1676] and O. Loew, "Geological and Mineralogical Report on Portions of Colorado and New Mexico," *Ibid.*, pp. 1017-1036.

11. Geo. M. Wheeler, *Report Upon Geographical and Geological Explorations and Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian*, 3:525f. Washington, 1875. Hunt, "Mt. Taylor Coal Field," p. 51. James H. Gardner, "The Puerco and Torrejon Formation of the Nacimiento Group," *Journal of Geology*, 18:719 (1910).

"About 70 per cent of the pebbles of the Ojo Alamo are of jasper, variously colored chert, or pink or white quartzite. Of the remainder, pebbles of sandstone, andesite, felsite, porphyrite, gneiss, and schist are fairly common, and pebbles of granite and obsidian are also present. Practically all the pebbles are well rounded. They range in size from sand grains to a few that are 6 inches in diameter." Clyde Max Bauer, "Stratigraphy of a part of the Chaco River Valley." United States Geological Survey, Professional Paper 98-P, p. 276 (1916).

11a. A quarter century earlier, the first Governor of New Mexico, Don Juan de Oñate, made the statement: "From the metals that we find here, we can obtain all colors and the finest." George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1623*, 1:484. The University of New Mexico Press, 1953 (vol. 6, Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940. George P. Hammond, general editor).

exposure forms a belt around each of them. Overlying the Trias and Carboniferous, which appear in the Zuni uplift, its exposure encircles that also, except where covered by lava. In like manner it flanks the Nacimiento uplift on the west and south. North of the Zuni range and the Taylor plateau, and west of the Nacimiento range, it covers the country to the limit of our survey."

"The Cretaceous rocks are an alternating series of sandstones and shales, in which the sandstones are yellow, and the shales gray and yellow, with bituminous layers and coal. In the upper part of the series, the sandstones incline to green, and are soft; in the lower, they incline to orange, are harder, and form heavier beds."¹² The lava and other strata contain a variety of colored stones.

Piedra lumbre as a geographical place name became applied to two localities in New Mexico. The one later in point of time and of little historical significance is an arroyo in the Navaho country west of the present-day town of Cuba. When Colonel J. M. Washington led a military force into the Navaho country in 1849, Jemez Pueblo was the jumping-off place. Traveling in a generally northwest direction beyond the neighborhood of Cuba, the expedition crossed an "insignificant" tributary of the Rio Puerco "which drains the valley called Canada de Piedre de Lumbre."¹³ This valley drains into the Cañon de Torreon which in turn is a western tributary of the Rio Puerco of the East.¹⁴ The "valley" or arroyo is marked by volcanic action.

12. Wheeler, *Report upon Geographical . . .*, 3:543f.

A lava flow overlays the Cretaceous northward from Mt. Taylor, and it too could add to the colored appearance of the country: "The variety of trachyte most widely distributed is of light color, the characteristic hue being pale-yellow, and is usually of light weight. Imbedded crystals of feldspar are nearly always visible, and occasionally quartz, mica, and hornblende. I have rarely detected an iron oxide, but the rock is usually magnetic."

Ibid., p. 526. Chert "color runs the whole gamut of the rainbow." Hibben, "Excavation of the Riana Ruins . . .," p. 15.

13. James H. Simpson, *Journal of a Military Reconnaissance, from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to the Navajo Country*. Philadelphia, 1852.

14. There are three Rio Puercos in New Mexico. For the sake of clarity I shall refer to them as the Rio Puerco of the West which flows into the Little Colorado River; the Rio Puerco of the East which rises on the northwestern slope of the Nacimiento Range and flows southward into the Rio Grande; and the Rio Puerco of the North which is a short tributary of the Rio Chama in north-central New Mexico.

For a geological description of the Arroyo Torreon see O. Loew, *op. cit.*, p. 1024.

Farther northward another and much earlier named *Piedra Lumbre* has been recorded since the seventeenth century. It is the region at the junction of the Rio Puerco of the North and the Rio Chama, a locality of bright colored rock formations. An eye witness description of a century ago illustrates very well how the geographical term could have arisen.

Captain J. N. Macomb led a government exploration party northwestward from Santa Fe in 1859, following the route later dubbed by historians as the "Old Spanish Trail." J. S. Newberry, a geologist, accompanied the expedition. He did a little sightseeing by deviating from the line of march, ascending Abiquiu Peak (Cerro Pedernal). "Almost beneath us [he wrote] was the junction of the Puerco and Chama, in a broad valley of excavation, as red as blood, from the exposed surfaces of the eroded marls; farther west, higher table lands, composed of the yellow and blue rocks of the Lower and Middle Cretaceous."¹⁵ Rejoining the party on the trail leading up the Arroyo Seco on the north side of the Rio Chama, he was charmed with the fantastic forms of the surrounding buttes: "Their colors are exceedingly brilliant, crimson and orange being the most conspicuous. The vivid green and level valley is framed by these colored cliffs. . . ."¹⁶

This particular region of colored rocks is of course in a mountainous country. In the seventeenth century, the term *cordillera* or mountain was linked with *Piedra Lumbre* (or *Alumbre*). When Juan Domínguez de Mendoza was commissioned by Governor Otermín (1677-1683) to lead an expedition against the Navahos in 1678, he was instructed to travel westward from the Pueblo of Zia, at the southern end of the Jémez Range, "to the cordilleras of Casa Fuerte Navajo, Río Grande, and their districts. . . ." On the return trip he was to "set out to the cordillera of the *Piedra Alumbre* and march through that Territory" where the enemy came to strike at the settlements in the Rio Grande Valley in the Santa Fe area.¹⁷ (Without further discussion at this point,

15. J. S. Newberry, *Report of the Exploring Expedition from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West in 1859*, p. 70. Washington: U. S. Engineering Department, 1876.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 70.

17. Commission as Lieutenant General to Juan Domínguez, Santa Fe, July 12,

the Rio Grande mentioned is the Rio San Juan in north-western New Mexico.) The instructions imply that Captain Domínguez returned by way of the Rio Chama Valley, through the Piedra Lumbre.

Nearly a century later, a land grant was made to José de Riaño (or Reaño) in the Rio Chama Valley west of Abiquiu. The boundary of the grant included the valley of Piedra "Alumbre." On the south it was marked by the Cerro Pederal, on the west by a mesa adjoining the Cañon de la Piedra "Alumbre," and on the north by some red bluffs. The title documents also read: "to the west of the Pueblo of Abiquiu at a distance of three to four leagues there is a valley commonly called 'de la Piedra Alumbre'. . ."¹⁸

The valley literally to the "west" of Abiquiu is that of the Rio Puerco of the North. The mesa referred to as the western boundary is the Mesa Prieta. As mapped by the United States Geological Survey, the Mesa Prieta is at the junction of the Rio Puerco of the North and the Rio Chama, west of the former and south of the latter. Across the Canyon of the Rio Chama to the north, the high country is named Mesa de Los Viejos. The land grant boundary line as subsequently surveyed in the late nineteenth century included the lower stretch of the Rio Puerco, the line running along the base of the Mesa Prieta. It continued along the eastern base of Mesa de Los Viejos in a northeastern direction to a point at the apex of the upper Arroyo Seco, then turned sharply to the southeast and, with varying directions, to the east and south to the Rio Chama.¹⁹

If the lower stretch of the Arroyo Seco along the northern side of the Rio Chama is accepted as lying to the west of the "Pueblo of Abiquiu," although it is to the *northwest*, then it

1678. Documents, 31, 32. *Biblioteca Nacional Madrid*, Ms. 19253. This document with translation was provided by France V. Scholes who, with Miss Eleanor B. Adams, will annotate the Dominguez Papers for publication in the Coronado Historical Series under the general editorship of George P. Hammond, cited hereafter as *Dominguez Papers*.

18. Piedra Lumbre Grant (1766), R73 (F152). Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, New Mexico. There is a microfilm of this archive in the Library, University of New Mexico.

19. United States Department of the Interior, Geological Survey. *Quadrangle maps*: Echo Amphitheater, Youngsville, Ghost Ranch, and Cañones. New Mexico, 1953.

The Arroyo Seco sometimes appears on other maps as Rito del Canjilon (cangilon). The latter is also sometimes designated as a tributary of the Arroyo Seco.

could be the valley of historical interest. The eastern portion of this valley, as now marked on the Geological Survey map, is named Llano Piedra Lumbre. The western portion, across the arroyo channel, is named Llano del Vado. At the apex of the valley are the red bluffs mentioned in the title papers to the land grant, and so vividly described in the words of J. S. Newberry.

A decade after the land grant, the Domínguez-Escalante expedition, seeking to learn more about the distant country to the northwest of Santa Fe, and with an eye to the possibility of opening a route to Monterey, California, passed this way. Fray Silvestre Vélez de Escalante kept a diary of their experiences. Traveling along the Rio Chama to a point about five miles west of Abiquiu, "We then turned northwest [Fray Silvestre wrote], and having gone about three and a half leagues over a bad road, for in it there are some small and very stony mesas, we halted for siesta on the north side of the valley of La Piedra Alumbre, near Arroyo Seco."²⁰ The journalist also recorded: "They say that on some mesas to the east and northeast of this valley, alum rock and transparent gypsum are found."

The cartographer of this expedition, Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco, prepared an excellent map of their travels.²¹ A range of hills is marked parallel to and on the north side of the Rio Chama to where it turns northward just above Abiquiu. Along the base of the hills is inscribed the words Piedra Alumbre. A second parallel range to the north is marked Sierra del Cobre, a mountain well known to the eighteenth century Spaniards. The absence of the word Sierra in connection with Piedra Alumbre implies that the term was used

20. As translated in Herbert E. Bolton, *Pageant in the Wilderness*, p. 133. Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1950. A reprint from the *Utah Historical Quarterly*, vol. 18 (1950).

The authorship of this Diary of the Domínguez-Escalante expedition has been credited heretofore to Fray Silvestre, but a scholarly re-examination of the matter by Miss Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez has led to the judgment that Fray Atanasio Domínguez was the senior member of the expedition and is entitled to the credit of joint authorship of the Diary. For further discussion see Adams and Chavez, *infra* note 22.

21. A colored reproduction of the Miera y Pacheco map is in Bolton, *op. cit.* A black and white reproduction in Amsden, *Navaho Weaving*. And an enlarged microfilm copy in *Historia 26* (pt. 3, Coronado Library, University of New Mexico).

just as recorded by Fray Silvestre; that is, it referred to the valley. However, he did not mention that alum was found in the valley; *if* it existed as "they say," it was to be found some place northeastward from the valley.

On a map prepared for Governor Anza in 1779 by the same cartographer, the words Piedra Alumbre are inscribed along the *south* side of the Rio Chama in the same locality. At first glance, the upper Rio Chama Valley would be the Piedra Lumbre. The Arroyo Seco, marked on the map correctly, has no label attached to it.²² The map markings imply that the term meant the general region of colored rocks that marked the area where the Rio Puerco of the North and the Arroyo Seco, a few scant miles apart, join the Rio Chama. And this is the way it was used a century after Fray Silvestre and his companions took their siesta in the Arroyo Seco.

Antonio Atencio, native New Mexican, eighty-five years of age, knew of two places named Piedra "Lumbre"; one was the arroyo to the west of Cuba: "The other place called Piedra Lumbre is beyond the Chama river and in fact right on the river, near where the Chama and the other Rio Puerco joins." Bartolo Padilla, age sixty-three, knew that "the Piedra Lumbre is between the Rio de Chama and the Cerro del Pedernal," which is south of the Rio Chama. "It is a prairie (llano)," he said, "and the whole vicinity is known by that name." Residents of Copper City, a one-time settlement near Cuba, protested against confirmation of the title to the San Joaquín del Nacimiento land grant in the 1880's. Their petition read that, "The 3rd boundary line is to the east along the skirts of that range of the Zuni [Jemez] mountains which extends to the *Flint Stone* (pedre lumbre) and looks toward said Pueblo" of Abiquiu.²³ The *Flint Stone*, of course, meant the Flint Hill (Cerro Pedernal).

The word Navaho was early adopted by the Spanish as

22. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, eds., *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, p. 238. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1956.

In nineteenth century geographical terminology, the range of hills immediately north of the Rio Chama opposite the present-day village of Abiquiu was the Cerro Cobre (Sierra del Cobre). This explains the difference in location of the place names on the two maps of 1776 and 1779. In other words, the range immediately parallel to the river was and is the Sierra del Cobre. Court of Private Land Claims, Case #52. Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, N. M.

23. All these quotations are from the title papers, R 66 (F 134), Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

the name for the homeland of a group of Apache folk who moved into north-western New Mexico prior to the arrival of the white man. It was applied in a vague way to the region lying west and northwest of Nacimiento Mountain, but also acquired a more specific geographical meaning. The first known recorded use of the name is found in the writing of Father Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón, a contemporary of Fray Alonso Benavides. Curious to learn more about a nation that lived farther away than these Apaches, he inquired at the Jemez Pueblo about the possibility of securing a guide to visit them. His hosts replied, "[One only had to] go out by way of the river Zama; and that past the nation of the Apache Indians of Navajú there is a very great river . . . and that the river suffices for a guide."²⁴

The meaning of the name was first explained by Fray Alonso. Discussing the several Apache groups in the Southwest, he stated that "these of Navajò are very great farmers [*labradores*], for that is what 'Navajò' signifies—'great planted fields' [*sementeras grandes*]."²⁵ Modern scholarship supports Fray Alonso's statement. Edgar L. Hewett, writing in 1906, explained the origin of the name as follows: "In the second valley south of the great pueblo and cliff village of Puye in the Pajarito Park, New Mexico, is a small pueblo ruin known to the Tewa Indians as Navahú, this being, as they claim, the original name of the village. The ruined villages of this plateau are all Tewa of the pre-Spanish period. This particular pueblo was well situated for agriculture, there being a considerable acreage of tillable land near by. . . ." The Tewa Indians assert that the name "Navahú" refers to "*the large area of cultivated lands.*"²⁶ Many years later, John P. Harrington stated that "The Tewas still use

24. Translation in Charles F. Lummis, *The Land of Sunshine*, 12:183 (Los Angeles, 1900). The quotation can also be found in Amsden, *Navaho Weaving*, p. 127. The Spanish document is printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*. Tercera Serie, Mexico, 1856; it is entitled, "Relaciones de Todas las Cosas que en El Nuevo-Mexico se han visto y sabido, asi por mar como por tierra, Desde el Año de 1538 hasta el de 1626, por el Padre Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron. . . ."

The portion dealing with Oñate's trip to the South Sea is printed in Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest 1542-1706*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1916. This version must be used with caution.

25. *Memorial 1630*, p. 44. Ayer edition.

26. "Origin of the Name Navaho," *American Anthropologist*, ns. 8:193 (1906). This passage can also be found in Benavides' *Memorial 1630*, p. 266, note 45. Ayer edition.

the compound noun 'návahúu' (in Spanish, 'arroyon enmilpeado') to designate a large arroyo with cultivated fields—a perfect description of the old-time Navaho region, with its cultivated fields in canyons."²⁷

The "old-time Navaho region" is not too difficult to locate. The Spanish had occasion to become acquainted with the locality when they began to have trouble with these people in the seventeenth century. As early as 1663, Captain Nicolás de Aguilar referred to the Apache people "in the jurisdiction of Casa Fuerte and Navajó. . . ."²⁸ This statement implies two localities for this branch of the Apaches.

In the Juan Domínguez documents, a double and sometimes triple-word term appears. The Spanish were having difficulty in the decade of the 1670's with the Apache people "of the Río Grande, Nabajo, and Cassa-Fuerte . . .," or "the cordilleras of Navajo, Casa Fuerte, and the other places. . . ." And again, "the cordilleras of Casa Fuerte Navajo, Río Grande, and their districts. . . ." Or "the said cordilleras of the west, of Casa Fuerte, Navajo, peñoles, and other places. . . ."²⁹

When Fray Alonso de Posadas prepared his description of New Mexico a decade later, he clearly applied the name *Rio Grande* to the river known today as the Rio San Juan, which flows across the northwestern corner of New Mexico.

27. "Southern peripheral Athapaskawan origins, divisions, and migrations," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. 100. Washington, D. C., 1940 (Essays in Historical Anthropology of North America). See also Barbara Aitken, "Letter," June 5, 1951. *New Mexico Historical Review*, 26:334 (1951).

The suggestion has been advanced that the name derives from the Spanish word *navaja*, meaning a clasp knife or razor, because warriors carried great stone knives; or from *nava*, meaning a field or flat land. The Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, pp. 23, 26.

Since the word is not Spanish in origin, but Tewa Indian, there is no compelling reason to retain the older Spanish spelling, *Navajo*. The English form of *Navaho* can be pronounced correctly in an English speaking society, and therefore lends itself more readily to popular usage without difficulty. This point has been well reasoned by Berard Haile, O. F. M., "Navaho or Navajo?" *The Americas*, 6:85-90 (July, 1949).

The spelling *Navajo* was adopted through ignorance of the derivation of the word and was subsequently dropped by scholars when the truth was learned. F. W. Hodge, "The Name 'Navaho.'" *The Masterkey*, 23:78 (May, 1949).

The Navaho people call themselves *dinē* or *dině*, meaning men or people. Franciscan Fathers, *op. cit.*

28. Charles Wilson Hackett, ed., *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, 3:143. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937.

29. *Domínguez Papers*, Docs. 23, 29, 31-33.

He also mentioned the Rio Colorado of the West and the Rio Grande del Norte of central New Mexico, rivers which retain those names to this day; so there is no confusion in his own mind about river locations, nor does he leave any doubts in a reader's mind: in reaching the Rio Grande (San Juan), he wrote, "one passes by the mountains which they call casa fuerte or Nabajó. . . ." ³⁰

Nearly a century later, Fray Silvestre, who took the siesta in the Piedra Lumbre, stated that this river, "which then they called *Grande*, today is named Nabajo. . . ." ³¹

The change in name from Rio Grande to Rio Navaho occurred sometime during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. As late as 1749 it was referred to as Rio Grande. ³² Fray Silvestre explained in the diary of 1776 that a small stream named "Río de Navajó," flowing from the east, joined the "San Juan River." Below the junction point, the stream was called "Río Grande de Navajó because it separates the province of this name from the Yuta Nation." ³³ Today the stream is known throughout its length as the Rio San Juan. However, the eastern-most tributary still bears the name of Rio Navaho.

Since the Rio Grande de Navaho separated the Utah (or Ute) Indians from the Navaho, the country of the latter lay south of the river. And it was to this region that the name Navaho became applied as the homeland of those people. The expression Casa Fuerte was not used in the eighteenth century, nor was the word *cordillera* continued in use. On the

30. "Copia de un Informe hecho à Su Magd. sobre las Tierras del Nuevo Mexico." Archivo General Nacional, *Historia 3* (Part 1, p. 32. Coronado Library, University of New Mexico).

A printed copy is in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Tercera serie. Mexico, 1856.

31. Fray Silvestre Velez de Escalante, "Extracto de Noticias." *Biblioteca Nacional Mexico 3* (Pt. 1, photo 212, Coronado Library).

A partial copy of this document is in A. G. N., *Historia 2* (Part 2, Coronado Library). It is entitled *Restauración del Nuevo México por Don Diego de Vargas Zapata*. It has been printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, Tercera Serie. Mexico, 1856. It was a resume of the Spanish archives of New Mexico at Santa Fe. Fray Silvestre has been established as the author by J. Manuel Espinosa, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 22 :422-25 (May, 1942).

32. Fray Juan Miguel de Menchero to Gov. Véles. Cachuþín as quoted in Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcazitas to Gov. Véles, Mexico, October 18, 1749. *New Mexico Originals*, PE30 (Bancroft Library, Berkeley, Calif.).

33. Bolton, *Pageant in the Wilderness*, p. 137f.

contrary, expressions such as "province" of Navaho, *rancherías* of Navaho, and Apache Navaho became the common terms.³⁴ But of these three terms, the "Province of Navaho" was without doubt the specific name for a particular geographical region, that of the "great planted fields" where a branch of the Apache people lived; and this Province was in the drainage area of the Rio San Juan. In time, descendants of the Apaches living there simply became known as Navahos.

The Province of Navaho included the canyons that stem in a southeasterly direction from the Rio San Juan where it flows in a southwesterly direction in New Mexico. Writing in 1778, Fray Silvestre implied that the Navahos lived on both sides of the Rio San Juan, but I doubt that this was so, except possibly in a few instances. Testimony in official hearings held by Gov. Joachin Códallos y Rabál (1743-49) in 1743 to learn more about the Province of Navaho made it very clear that the Indians lived south of and away from the river. In fact, the Rio Grande (San Juan) was referred to as being *outside* of the Province of Navaho at a distance of about ten or more miles, depending upon the point of departure used by an informant in reckoning the distance. The Navahos lived on the tops of the hills for maximum security against Indian or Spanish attacks, and cultivated the spots in the canyon below where water was available from spring or rainfall. They ranged as far east as the Piedra Lumbre and raided into the Rio Grande Valley, but their habitations were in the tributary canyons of the Rio San Juan. In one specific instance the term "Canada Grande larga" was used in describing the region.³⁵

34. Statement of Maestre de Campo Roque Madrid, January 8, 1710. *Provincias Internas* 36, expediente 3 (typewritten copy, pp. 78, 81. Edward E. Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago). Statement of Fray Juan de Tagle, October 17, 1705. *Ibid.*, expediente 5, p. 126. Statement of the Cabildo of Santa Fe, October 13, 1705. *Ibid.*, p. 134. And see N. M. A., doc. 199.

35. *Sarjento Maiôr Don Joachin Códallos y Rabal Governador y Capitan General de la Nueva Mexico. Testimonio á la letra de los Auttos que originales se remiten al superior Gobierno del Exmo Señor Conde de Fuenclara . . . Sobre La Reducion de los Yndios Gentiles de la Provincia de Navajo al Gremio de Nuestra Santta Madre yglecia, Febrero 26, 1745.*

This manuscript will be referred to hereafter as *Códallos y Rabal Ms.* It is to be found in the Bancroft Library in a file labeled *New Mexico Originals*, reference number PE24.

An imperfect translation has been published: W. W. Hill, *Some Navaho Culture*

"The Canada Grande larga" no doubt is the Canyon Largo on present day maps. It is the longest of the canyons in the region under discussion. About eight miles from the junction with the valley of the Rio San Juan, Canyon Blanco branches to the south from Canyon Largo. Between these two canyons, the tableland is known as the Mesa Cibola, and on this mesa lived a concentration of Navaho people in the eighteenth century who were very much concerned about defense:³⁶ "Most of the sites were fortified. Towers of the upper Largo were strategically located on buttes and high points above the canyon and so placed in relation to each other that they formed a chain of observation points. Fortification walls were common. Buttes and Mesa points often had walls along their edges or across narrow places. A wall two hundred feet long was located on a mesa rim in upper Blanco Canyon. Some sites were located in strategic positions in relation to trails."³⁷

Tree ring studies of Navaho dwellings in the upper Largo and Blanco canyons reveal a possible range in time from 1735 to 1777. An archaeological survey of the several canyons eastward and northward from Blanco Canyon as far as Pueblito Canyon revealed evidence of Navaho occupancy in Pueblito Canyon as early as 1656 ± 20 .³⁸ And a few ring specimens from Gobernador Canyon date the occupation as early as $1491 + X$ to 1541 ± 20 , "which places the Navajo in the Gobernador at a time verging on the prehistoric."³⁹

Changes During Two Centuries. Washington: The Smithsonian Institution, 1940 (Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collection, vol. 100 (Whole volume)).

See also Escalante, "Extracto de Noticias," and Van Valkenburgh in Roy Malcom, "Archaeological Remains, supposedly Navaho, from Chaco Canyon, New Mexico," *American Antiquity*, 5:8 (July, 1939).

36. I am using the following maps for current geographical terminology: Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, Navaho Service, *A Geographical and Historical Map of the Navajo Country*. Window Rock, 1940. United States Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, *New Mexico Base Map*, 1955 (Provisional edition).

37. Malcom F. Farmer, "Navaho Archaeology of Upper Blanco and Largo Canyons, Northern New Mexico," *American Antiquity*, 8:66 (July, 1942).

John P. Harrington states that the original homeland according to Navaho legend was Largo Canyon (Tinétzah). They shifted east to around Stinking Lake (Burford Lake) and then expanded to the west and south. "Southern peripheral Athapaskawan origins . . .," p. 515.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 71. Dorothy L. Keur, "A Chapter in Navaho-Pueblo Relations," *American Antiquity*, 10:84 (1944).

39. Edward Twitchell Hall, Jr., "Recent Clues to Athapaskan Prehistory of the

The Province of Navaho was not the only location for this branch of the Apache people who came to be known by the name of Navaho. Seventeenth and eighteenth century notions located them in the region extending from Mt. Taylor northward to the Rio San Juan, in keeping with Fray Alonso's account of the 1620's. In the latter half of the eighteenth century, they spread westward into the Chuska range. Meanwhile, they did have one other specific location. When Captain Roque de Madrid invaded the Province of Navaho in 1705, he pursued the inhabitants who fled to the *penoles* or mountainous retreat toward the south for a distance of two *jornadas*, or two days journey. There he attacked them and was repulsed.⁴⁰

The *penoles*, or *castillejos* as they were sometimes called, are the volcanic necks and sandstone crowned mesas that dot the valley of the Rio Puerco of the East between Mesa Prieta east of the river to Cebolleta Mountain on the west. El Cabezon is the most prominent of the volcanic necks and marks approximately the northern limit of their distribution. Cebolleta Mountain is a long level lava-topped mesa that extends northward from the highest peak in the general region which is known at Mt. Taylor. The peak itself is an old volcanic cone, but it is not the origin of the lava on Cebolleta Mountain. There were numerous volcanic outlets along the Mountain of later age than Mt. Taylor. "The flows are basalt or andesite, and their maximum thickness is about 100 feet. Most of them, however, are around 65 feet thick."⁴¹ As the underpinning weathers away, large chunks of lava break off and lie on the slope of the mesa. These impede the actions of men on horseback very much to the advantage of defenders on top. And it was just such a difficulty that Captain Madrid experienced.

Southwest," *American Anthropologist*, n. s. 46:100 (1941). Keur, *op. cit.*

A suggestion that the Navahos may have resided as far east as the Gallinas Canyon is advanced by Frank C. Hibben, "The Gallina Phase," *American Antiquity*, 4:131-6 (October, 1938).

40. Escalante, "Extracto de Noticias."

41. Hunt, "The Mount Taylor Coal Field," p. 53. Wheeler, *Geographical and Geological Explorations . . .*, 3:537.

"The Cretaceous region is characterized by innumerable *mesas*, or tables, the tops of which are sandstone, and the bases, shale." *Ibid.*, 3:545.

A mesa to the north of Cebolleta Mountain could have served as the site of the Captain's predicament in-so-far as distance on this particular flight is involved, and evidence of Navaho occupation has been found there. At the base of Western Chacra Mesa, some eight miles east of the old ruin of Pueblo Bonito, there are old Navaho hogan sites. They have not been dated and might be fairly recent.⁴² However, the Chacra Mesa was not as suitable for defense as Cebolleta Mountain.

The mesas in general slope toward the north and have their escarpments on the southern side. They were not suitable for defense against determined foes because their tops could be reached from the northern side. Cebolleta Mountain on the other hand was defensible with steep inclines and sheer cliffs on all sides. Furthermore the Navaho country was described in the eighteenth century as "beginning from the small castles (*castillejos*) which are at a distance of twelve leagues (thirty miles) to the west from Jemez pueblo. . . ."⁴³ This fits very well with the location of Cebolleta Mountain and the nature of its geography.

As for the time of occupation, the Navahos had been located there since the sixteenth century. When the Espejo expedition marched westward from Zia Pueblo in 1583, they reached the foot of a mountain about twenty-five miles (ten leagues) away. They "found here peaceful Indian mountaineers who brought us tortillas. . . ." ⁴⁴ The tortillas indicate

42. Roy Malcom, "Archaeological Remains . . ." 5:4.

"Whatever evidence there may be on the present surface for outlines of fields or of irrigation systems must be attributed to Navajo farmers (who have cultivated plots in the canyon for anywhere from one to five hundred years) and to white settlers (who have been in the canyon for at least forty years)." Donald D. Brand, et alia, "Tseh So . . ." p. 113.

The correct spelling for this geographical site should be: "Chacra (Amer.) An Indian rustic habitation, plantation, or farm." The site has been labeled: Chacra, chaco, chaca.

43. *Códallos y Rabal ms.* Testimony of Bustamante.

"Taking the trail from San Mateo, a Mexican village on the northern foot of Mount Taylor, to Laguna, situated southeast of this mountain, we find ourselves, on emerging from the forest, upon a high, perpendicular bluff, where a grand panorama meets the view. Before us is a wide, level country, bordered in the east by the Sierra Zandia, and in the south by the Ladrone, Madalena range, and Sierra Mimbres. The sheet of basalt on which we stand is fully 30 feet thick, and rests upon a sandstone stratum exposed to a height of 700 feet." Loew, "Geological and Mineralogical Report . . ." p. 1027.

44. George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Expedition into New Mexico made by Antonio de Espejo 1582-1583*: As revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán a

that the bearers of these gifts were a corn growing people, and this was certainly true of the Navahos.

Assuming that the more common route westward from the Rio Grande Valley Pueblos in the seventeenth century was by way of Zia Pueblo, then the next contact with the Apaches (that is, Navahos) of Cebolleta was experienced by Vicente de Zaldívar in 1599. By order of Governor Juan de Oñate, he explored the country to the west. With a small detachment of twenty-five men, he traveled more than two hundred leagues inland, "traversing many nations of warlike people, such as the Apaches, who are very numerous and extend for more than two hundred leagues, judging by what I have seen, and that I left them all at peace and friendly." So far, his description of the location of the Apaches is very general and no doubt exaggerated in area, unless groups west of the Moqui people are included in his estimate. But Zaldívar proceeded to state "that I went up the sierra with a lone companion, endangering my life, so that they could see that we intended them no harm, but treated them affectionately, presented them with gifts, and reassured them so that they served us as guides and gave us native blackberrys."⁴⁵

Since these people of the mountain furnished guides, they were contacted early in this western expedition. Their friendliness harmonized with the experience narrated by the Espejo party. Later information about the Apaches to the westward, beginning with the writings of Zárate Salmerón and Benavides, point to Cebolleta Mountain as the most likely place to fit the story told by Zaldívar.

member of the party, p. 86. Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1929.

F. W. Hodge states: "I have already shown ("The Early Navajo and Apache," *American Anthropologist*, July, 1895), and my proofs have since been materially strengthened, that the Navaho were unknown to the Spaniards before Oñate's time (1598), although they repeatedly crossed what later became Navaho territory. . . ." *Fray Alonso de Benavides' Revised Memorial of 1634*, eds. F. W. Hodge, George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, p. 296, note 105. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1945. I disagree, of course, with this judgment.

But Mr. Hodge earlier stated that a band of *Apaches* had located near the site of the later pueblo of Laguna in the days of Espejo. *History of Hawikuh*, p. 111, note 30. Los Angeles, 1937.

45. "Zaldívar's Inquiry before the Audiencia, April, 1602," in George P. Hammond and Agapito Rey, *Don Juan de Oñate: Colonizer of New Mexico 1595-1628*, p. 814. The University of New Mexico Press, 1953 (George P. Hammond, ed., Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, vol. 6).

When Bishop Benito Crespo visited New Mexico in 1730, he journeyed to the western pueblos and commented on the possibility of obtaining a great increase in Christian converts because "the place of the pagans, called Cebolletas, is within seven leagues of the pueblo of Laguna."⁴⁶ His statement refers to the Cebolleta Mountain or one of its canyons. The present-day village of that name, north of Laguna Pueblo, did not exist in 1730.

Assuming that the Bishop's mileage was reasonably accurate, the "place of the Pagans" was the site later settled by New Mexicans, in the nineteenth century, or the village known today as Cebolleta. So these Apaches were located southward from their fortified place on Big Bead Mesa at the north end of Cebolleta Mountain. Bishop Crespo made his jaunt to western New Mexico during an era of peace between the Navaho and Spanish. The Indians therefore felt secure in the canyons along the slope of the Mountain, although they did not abandon their mesa top location.

Scarcely a generation after Bishop Crespo's visit, Fray Juan Miguel de Menchero labored to spread Christianity among the Apaches. He pleaded for assistance to work among the "pagan Apache in the mountain of Cebolleta" as he had done among the pagans of *Navaho*.⁴⁷ And by Navaho he meant the folk in the northern Province of Navaho.

In 1762, Antonio Baca petitioned for a land grant in the valley of the Rio Puerco of the East. The location was bounded on the west by "the high mountain, where the Navajo Apaches cultivate."⁴⁸

Abundant physical evidence has been found of Navaho homesites on Cebolleta Mountain. On the north end of this highland is the Big Bead Mesa. The mountain is bounded on the north side by Arroyo Chico, a western tributary of the Rio Puerco of the East. "The evidence afforded by dendro-

46. Benito Crespo to Viceroy Juan Vázquez de Acuña, Bernalillo, September 8, 1730, in Eleanor B. Adams, ed., *Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760*, p. 98. Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, vol. 15 (1954). Also *New Mexico Historical Review*, vols. 28, 29 (1953-1954).

47. Menchero to Señor Teniente General de este Reyno, Archivo General de Indias, *Mexico 89-2-17* (Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, typewritten transcript).

48. Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, New Mexico. R101 (F176). This document has been published in 43 Cong., 2 sess., Hse. Ex. Doc. 62, p. 72 [Serial 1645].

chronology . . . is that the Big Bead Mesa and vicinity were occupied by Navahos from 1745 (± 20) to 1812 (± 20).” A total of ninety-five hogan sites have been discovered in the vicinity of the mesa and adjacent canyon. “These little settlements are sufficiently numerous within an area of a few miles square, to indicate a rather remarkable concentration of Navaho population, provided, of course, that they were contemporaneous.”⁴⁹

The name for this early Navaho homesite is a Spanish word meaning onion. Describing the farming activities of the Acoma people who were visited by Espejo, he recorded that “We . . . found Castilian onions, which grow in the country by themselves, without planting or cultivation.”⁵⁰ Some of the Pueblo folk and the Apaches used it for food.⁵¹

The term Casa Fuerte means a stronghold or fortified place. It could have been applied in a general way to the fortified mesa tops that the Navahos inhabited in the Province of Navaho and to the south. However, it was commonly used in the singular form and therefore implies a specific location. It may have been the term for the Cebolleta Mountain stronghold. It is also possible that the Spaniards saw the ruins of Pueblo Bonito in Chaco Canyon in the seventeenth century,⁵²

49. D. L. Keur, “Big Bead Mesa, an Archeological Study of Navaho Acculturation, 1745-1812,” *American Antiquity*, vol. 7, no. 2, pt. 2, p. 21 (Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology, No. 1, October, 1941). But as Miss Keur points out, the evidence does not indicate the time of the earliest arrival of the Navahos. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

The author gives the exact location of the Mesa as T. 14N, R. 4W; Long. 107 12', Lat. 35 28'.

50. Antonio Espejo, “Account of the Journey to the Provinces and Settlements of New Mexico, 1583,” in H. E. Bolton, ed., *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 183. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916.

51. Edward F. Castetter, *Ethnological Studies in the American Southwest*, p. 15. The University of New Mexico Bulletin, Whole number 266 (Biological Series, vol. 4, no. 1, 1935).

Cebolleta is a “diminutive of *cebolla* [onion] that correctly signifies the ‘young onion’ picked early for the table. The word was seldom used in this regard [in New Mexico], *cebollita* and *cebolla verde* being the most common terms.” Fray Angelico Chavez, “Neo-Mexicanisms in New Mexico Place Names,” *El Palacio*, vol. 57, no. 3 (March, 1950).

52. Juan Domínguez might have advanced much farther westward into Navaholand: “The early history of the region is vague and indefinite. No mention of it is made by chroniclers of the Spanish regime of New Mexico, although a name and the date 1661 are inscribed upon a wall of Inscription House, a prehistoric pueblo near Navajo Mountain.” Ralph L. Beals, George W. Brainerd, and Watson Smith, *Archeological Studies in Northeast Arizona*, p. 1. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California

perhaps Juan Domínguez on one of his several campaigns against the Navahos. But there is no direct evidence at hand to prove this point. The term did not carry over into eighteenth century usage. *Los Penoles* or *castillejos* was a reasonable substitute unless, of course, Casa Fuerte was the specific term for the Chaco ruins.

In summary, the terms Piedra Lumbre, Province of Navaho, and Cebolleta acquired definite geographical meaning and location, evolving gradually as accepted terminology from the time of Espejo.

The Piedra Lumbre was a strategic site for entry into the Navaho country. At this junction point, travelers or soldiers could proceed northward and cross the Rio Chama at El Vado into the northeastern part of the Province; or they could turn southward up the valley of the Rio Puerco of the North and travel by easy gradient westward across the head waters of the Rio Gallina. From there the way was open to any part of the Navaho country. The Province of Navaho and Cebolleta were the main homesites of these people until the last half of the eighteenth century. Then under pressure from foes they spread westward into the mountainous region along the present-day Arizona and New Mexico state boundary. They retained a foothold in the Cebolleta region with difficulty until the American occupation of the Southwest in 1846 and their removal to a Pecos valley reservation in 1863-1864.

Press, 1945 (Univ. of Calif. Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 44, no. 1).

The "Trail leads into Navajo Canyon to the famous Inscription House Ruins, named from an almost illegible carving on the wall interpreted by some to read 'Carlos Arnais 1661' ". Harold S. Colton and Frank C. Baxter, *Days in the Painted Desert and the San Francisco Mountains: a Guide*. 2nd edition, p. 68 (Bulletin No. 2. Northern Arizona Society of Science and Art) Flagstaff, 1932.

JOHN SIMPSON CHISUM, 1877-84

By HARWOOD P. HINTON, JR.

(Continued)

Chisum's last trail herd for the season was en route west soon after the first week in November. Preparations for this drive had been announced in the *Independent* on October 20, at which time it was also mentioned that he had previously routed two immense herds north to the railroad. In far off Tucson, on November 9, the *Weekly Miner* further stated:

Chisum, the King of cattle men in New Mexico, has just started another large band of beeves from his ranch on the Hondo, to Arizona. Let them come, they will be devoured by the honest hardy miners who are delving with the hidden treasures of our mountain fastnesses.

Thus ended the Jinglebob's most hectic year on the Pecos, and as chilling winds began sweeping the solitudes of the High Plains, the monotony of winter range riding was commenced.

Early in December, Chisum completed his plans for a trip east. All arrangements for receiving and accommodating his younger brother, James, who was traveling from Denton County, Texas, with three minor children, had been made. Pitzer Chisum and a group of herders were to meet the party at Horsehead Crossing on the Pecos, some two hundred miles below Roswell, and escort it to the ranch. On the 18th of the month, Chisum and the McSweens left Lincoln, heading north by buggy for Trinidad, Colorado, where they planned to entrain for Saint Louis.²⁴

When the travelers reached Las Vegas on Christmas Day, they were taken into temporary custody by the Sheriff of San Miguel County. The Catron law office in Santa Fe had telegraphed him to place the two men under forty-eight hour detention, pending the issuance of warrants to prevent their leaving the Territory. Several days later, McSween, protesting that he was leaving New Mexico on business involving his client, John Chisum, and Robert D. Hunter, was returned

24. Tape Nos. 1, 8, 9, 11, mention trip from Denton County, Texas, to the Pecos. For date of Chisum and McSween departure, see Angel Report, 1878, p. 24.

to Lincoln under guard. There, after being interrogated by Judge Bristol regarding non-payment of an insurance policy he had collected for the heirs of Emil Fritz, the attorney was released under bond. He was to re-appear in April to face charges of embezzlement. Chisum, in the meantime, remained in custody in Las Vegas on the pretext of resisting arrest.²⁵

Early in January he was served an injunction which enumerated the particulars of eight unrequited court decrees. Previous attempts to attach his property had proven fruitless, according to the petition, for the Sheriff of Lincoln County had reported that Chisum had no goods, chattels, land or tenements in the County whereon to levy. The complainants, however, believed:

. . . the said John S. Chisum, had equitable interests in things in motion or other property of the value of one hundred thousand dollars, and more . . . possibly held by a 3rd party in secret trust or under a colorable title. . . .²⁶

The cattleman's financial condition at the time of his incarceration is not entirely clear. Seemingly he held title to little or no personal property or real estate in New Mexico, all assets being temporarily under assignment to Hunter, Evans and Company. This firm, which contracted for about half of his herd of nearly eighty thousand head in the late fall of 1875, evidently had received as bond, pending consummation of delivery, complete title to Chisum's entire holdings in the Territory. This conclusion is drawn from an investigation which culminated in a court decree, dated November 14, 1885. It declared that Hunter, Evans and Company had, in 1879, returned to Pitzer Chisum certain property previously held by his older brother. This, it went on to say, had been done at John Chisum's request so as to ". . . defraud, hinder and delay . . ." settlement to his creditors, who, from

25. Angel Report, 1878, p. 24. Las Cruces *Echo Del Rio Grande*, January 19, 1878, published a letter from McSween. John S. Chisum, "Statement," (cited hereafter Chisum Statement) in the files of Chaves County Historical Society. Only fragments of this Statement, dated January 16, 1878, were available for perusal.

26. *Alexander Grzelachowski et al v John S. Chisum*, Case No. 724, filed in Las Vegas (San Miguel County), New Mexico, on June 3, 1878, but recently unearthed in County Clerk's office, Albuquerque. This bundle of papers contained a Bill of Complaint, a Demurrer, and other sundry documents of lesser importance. Also see Chisum Statement.

that time until his death, were unable to collect as he had no apparent assets.²⁷

Whether the Pecos rancher attempted fraud is a moot question; various facts indicate that he did not. Certainly, the assumpsit suits, listed in the Bill of Complaint tendered him in jail, did not force the Hunter sale, as it was several months after that transaction that they began to plague him, and then apparently to test his prosperity. Another item for thought regards the firm's subsequent transfer to Pitzer, a stipulation of the stock assignment in 1875. The younger Chisum was to be permitted, as the deliveries progressed, to select several thousand head of heifers as reimbursement for nearly ten years' association with his brother in the cattle business. As assumed, full title to this herd did not become effective until the bulk of the consignment to Hunter, Evans and Company was satisfied. This occurred in 1879.²⁸ Such were the claims and evidence, pro and con, regarding John Chisum's insolvency in January of 1878.

On the 16th, he began composing a defense, probably intended for newspaper publication if his release could not be effected. In it, he reviewed several of the judgments and commented at length on the Rosenthal Case. This litigation, Chisum explained, had been based on a supposedly defunct promissory note, one among many issued in 1867 by a packing establishment at Fort Smith, Arkansas, that had fraudulently used his name in its title. He had been cleared of the legal entanglement and the concern's obligations by a Texas court a few years later. In the mid 1870's, he added, some of these notes were acquired by influential and aspiring interests in New Mexico, who proceeded to test their validity. William Rosenthal, a Santa Fe merchant and erstwhile beef contractor, had been granted \$2370.68 in claims by a District Court at Bernalillo in October of 1877. Chisum had ignored the judgment. In sum, this was his side of the Rosenthal suit.²⁹

27. *Ayres, Adm'r v Pitzer Chisum et al.* Certified Copy of Final Decree of Court in Chancery at Hillsboro, New Mexico, November 14, 1885. Copy in Deed Book A, pp. 457-65, Chaves County, New Mexico. This decree was finally satisfied on August 25, 1897, in Fifth Judicial Court, Socorro, New Mexico.

28. Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 302.

29. *Rosenthal v Chisum* suit, adjudged in Second Judicial Court, Bernalillo County,

Actually, the evidence in this suit, at face value, was convincing. Two instruments of equity were exhibited by Catron, the plaintiff's lawyer—a promissory note signed by John C. Wilber, a member of the packing firm; and the articles of co-partnership for the same, on which appeared Chisum's signature. Over the objection by counsel for defense, depositions supporting the authenticity of both documents were read for the record. Catron, called as a witness, testified:

... that he had seen the said defendant, John S. Chisum, write, and had also had correspondence with him, by which means ... he believed the name of John S. Chisum, signed to the paper filed in said case, marked 'agreement' was the genuine signature of ... Chisum.³⁰

Neither the note, the articles of incorporation or the corroborating statements were made a part of the permanent record, however. This, as later explained, was done at the discretion of the court.³¹ Such, in summary, was the principal case predicated on the defunct packing notes.

Action on the requests embodied in the Bill of Complaint was speedily realized. During the latter part of January, Henry L. Waldo, the Territorial Chief Justice and a Judge in the First Judicial District, which included San Miguel County, examined and ordered the motions to be favored. A writ of *ne exeat regno* to restrain the cattleman from leaving New Mexico was instituted, a twenty-five thousand dollar bond set, and the defendant subpoenaed to appear before Justice Waldo at Santa Fe on February 2.³²

Thomas F. Conway, Chisum's attorney, immediately filed a demurrer which contained eight exceptions to the Bill. The first objection stated the injunction disclosed no matter of

New Mexico, in October 1877, and is described in Bill of Complaint in *Grzelachowski v Chisum* papers. Chisum, in the spring of 1868, issued a statement to the public, denouncing the fraudulent use of his name by Wilber, Chisum and Clark, a packing firm at Fort Smith, Arkansas. See *The Dallas Herald*, May 16, 1868. Further elaboration may be found in the Chisum Statement.

30. *Rosenthal v Chisum*. *Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the Territory of New Mexico, from January Term, 1852, to January Term, 1879, Inclusive*. Reported by Charles H. Gildersleeve, (Chicago: Callaghan & Co., 1897), Vol. I, pp. 633-9.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Waldo's decision appears in writing on back of the Bill of Complaint, *Grzelachowski v Chisum*.

equity for a court to act on, referring to the major question as to the location of the cattleman's assets. Another suggested that the nature of the case precluded a court of equity from compelling such discovery. Succeeding passages touched on the legality of the writ and inquired whether the defendant was constrained to make any statement other than through said instrument.³³ Pending review and decision, this document, interposed to contest the validity of the Bill of Complaint, temporarily stalemated all local legal machinery. Relief was in the offing.

Sometime in the early part of March, Chisum executed his bond and was released from custody. The necessary sureties had been obtained by his attorney and James Chisum, who had arrived in Las Vegas some weeks previous from the ranch. By the middle of the month, the two brothers were heading south down the Pecos.³⁴ Undoubtedly they discussed at length and with apprehension the incidents that had convulsed Lincoln County in their absence.

Anarchy in Lincoln County

Throughout the spring and summer of 1878, ranching for the Chisums became increasingly precarious. These conditions stemmed, in the main, from a vendetta launched in Lincoln County by Alexander McSween following the murder of John H. Tunstall by members of a Brady posse on February 18. The circumstances of his friend's untimely death had prompted the attorney to immediately secure constable warrants from Justice of the Peace John B. Wilson and place them in the hands of Richard M. Brewer, Tunstall's foreman, for execution. By this act there was set in motion an armed group whose personnel with the passing months came to include men with unbridled criminal inclinations. Many Jinglebob employees joined the band, and on various occasions

33. Demurrer was included with legal documents of *Grzelachowski v Chisum*. It was signed by Chisum on March 13, 1878. On June 6, 1878, Judge Sam C. Parks, San Miguel County, ordered the following: "The Writ of Ne Exeat in said case is quashed & the Bond of said Chism & securities to the Sheriff of San Miguel County is cancelled & ordered to be delivered up." Chisum was free, for the time being, of legal entanglements.

34. Chisum undoubtedly left Las Vegas soon after the Demurrer was filed and he was allowed to post the required bond. WC to HPH, October 25, 1954, says his father left for Las Vegas to aid John very soon after they arrived from Texas.

Chisum's headquarters on South Spring River was host to this roving constabulary.

One such visit occurred about two weeks before the Chisum brothers arrived at the ranch from Las Vegas. On the afternoon of March 7, Brewer, at the head of a dozen men, rode into the corral. With them as prisoners were William S. Morton and Frank Baker, two known members of the death-dealing Brady posse. They had been surprised and captured the preceding day near the mouth of the Peñasco River, some forty odd miles to the south. Most of the group were well acquainted at the headquarters, and all were quickly welcomed, fed, and provided sleeping accommodations for the night inside the fort-like adobe. Baker and Morton were quartered in the only room that did not have an outside exposure, the bedroom of James Chisum's nineteen year old daughter, Sallie. She afterward recalled: "A guard, armed to the teeth, watched them all night to prevent any possibility of escape."¹

After the Brewer party had unsaddled their mounts and hobbled them for the night, one of the members, an eighteen year old youth named William H. Bonney, approached Will Chisum, Sallie's younger brother, and inquired as to fishing possibilities in nearby South Spring River. The young Chisum was corralling the milch cows, but upon completing this chore, he procured hooks and lines and accompanied the young posseman out to the earthen dam, one hundred yards away. Bonney, noticeably bucktoothed, beardless, and wearing his hair long, which was the custom of many at the time on the frontier, was soon to be known and feared throughout New Mexico. Tagged with the alias, Billy the Kid, by friends, he reputedly had arrived to the land of the Jinglebobs and made the acquaintance of John Chisum sometime during the previous fall.²

It is generally believed that the cattleman employed him for a short while, though statements by several of the young

1. *New Mexican*, May 4, 1878, reviews background for movement of the Brewer posse. *Independent*, April 13, 1878, prints William S. Morton's letter, dated March 8 at South Spring River, in which he reviews capture and arrival at the ranch. WC to HPH, October 25, 1954, and quote regarding Sallie Chisum from Coe, *Frontier Fighter*, p. 94, further point up the episode.

2. Tape No. 9; WC to HPH, February 15, October 25, 1954.

drifter's personal friends in Lincoln County qualify this assumption considerably. Recalling the Kid's statement concerning his arrival to the Pecos, John P. Meadows later said that Bonney ". . . joined Mr. Chisum's outfit in some way, but he was with Chisum [only] a while and then drifted off up the Hondo. . . ."³ Probably the most simple yet apt observation regarding the Chisum-Bonney relationship was made by Florencio Chavez. He said: "I know that he was often with John Chisum, but was only riding around with him."⁴ Upon leaving the Pecos, Bonney had headed west into the Ruidoso country, south of Lincoln. Meadows continues:

He told me about living with Dick Brewer and Frank and George Coe. He stayed quite a while with them and then went over and went to work for Mr. Tunstall, who had cattle on the Feliz.⁵

The Englishman's death turned the youth vindictive, for by March 1878 he was already regarded a refractory element by McSween partisans.

On Saturday morning, March 10, the Brewer posse left the ranch, ostensibly bound for Lincoln. At Roswell, five miles to the northwest, they stopped for Morton to mail a letter. The contents of this correspondence, addressed to H. H. Marshall, a lawyer in Richmond, Virginia, was later made public. In it, the cowboy outlined the circumstances of Tunstall's demise, commented on his due from eighteen months' employ by J. J. Dolan and Company, and apprehensively added:

. . . I have heard that we were not to be taken alive to . . . Lincoln. If anything should happen, I refer you to T. B. Catron, U.S. Attorney, Santa Fe, N. M., and Col Rynerson, District Attorney, La Mesilla, N. M. They both know all about the affairs. . . .⁶

Two days after the posse's departure, Frank McNab, a Chisum foreman and a member of the Brewer group, returned to the ranch, bringing news that Morton and Baker had been

3. Statements by John P. Meadows in *Roswell Record*, February 26, 1931.

4. Florencio Chavez, "Fought With Billy the Kid," *Frontier Times*, IX (March 1932), p. 243. Eugene Cunningham interviews Chavez.

5. Meadows, *Roswell Record*, February 26, 1931.

6. *Independent*, April 13, 1878.

killed a few miles west of Roswell while attempting to escape.⁷

The McSween faction, however, rode the crest of disension only momentarily, as indicated by a letter written by Ash Upson on March 18. In it, he reflected on the general unrest in Lincoln County, explaining:

Lincoln, the county seat, is under martial law. Governor Ax-tell has just left there, where he by demand furnished two companies of nigger cavalry, issued his proclamation declaring justice of the Peace an improper person to fill the office and declared his office vacant, nullifying all his acts since last August. . . .⁸

In fact, by this time, the situation at the county seat had become so critical that the McSweens were forced to flee. The attorney sought asylum across the Pecos from Roswell in the vicinity of the Bottomless Lakes, while his wife temporarily joined the Chisum household. Such was the state of affairs when John and James Chisum reached South Spring in the latter part of March.⁹

On Friday, March 29, Sheriff Brady and a detail of colored troopers led by Captain George W. Smith dismounted at the ranch. The sheriff had ridden to the Roswell area to summon grand and petit jurymen to appear on the first Monday in April and, if possible, to make a few arrests. Strong partisan feelings at Lincoln had precluded his raising a posse for the trip, so he had applied for and secured a military escort. Knowing McSween had been arraigned to appear in about a week at court, Brady approached the attorney's wife with the offer of security in transit to and temporary safe lodgings at Fort Stanton for her husband if he would return east with the soldiers. Captain Smith supported this suggestion and Mrs. McSween finally promised to discuss the matter with her husband as soon as possible. At the departure of the

7. Garrett, *Authentic Life*, p. 64; *Roswell Record*, October 7, 1937; WC to HPH, March 22, October 25, 1954.

8. Reprinted in *Roswell Record*, October 7, 1937.

9. Montague R. Levenson to Rutherford B. Hayes, April 2, 1878, in File No. 44-4-8, Record Group 60, Department of Justice Records, National Archives. Levenson's correspondence was transmitted to the United States Attorney General by a letter from the Secretary of State on April 8, 1878.

Sheriff's group later in the day, Chisum agreed, with the lawyer's consent, to exert a maximum effort to overtake the military somewhere east of Lincoln.¹⁰

Early next morning the cattleman's party was heading west in spite of the heavy rain that seriously slowed its progress. According to Montague R. Levenson, accompanying the group:

. . . we were obliged to put up a Sunday 31st March at a ranch about 10 miles below Lincoln, having made 25 miles that day. We started the next morning and upon reaching Lincoln, were told that the Sheriff and one of his aids . . . had been killed.¹¹

Brady and George Hindman, a deputy, had been shot down earlier that morning by Bonney and several others, who had been crouching and waiting behind a low adobe wall adjoining the McSween store. Lincoln was swarming with soldiers when the travelers from Roswell entered town.

Throughout the day, while their property was being searched by both civil and military authorities, the McSweens lodged with the Ellises. Soon after arrival, Chisum contacted Colonel Purrington, called to the scene from Fort Stanton, and requested that the attorney be removed from Lincoln at his earliest convenience. Later in the day the cattleman returned to the McSweens, saying that after ". . . a heap of difficulty Col Purrington had at last consented to take McSween . . . to the fort."¹² That afternoon a detail of troopers, escorting prisoners and civilians, rode west from the county seat. Chisum remained in Lincoln to attend the spring term of District Court.¹³

During the second week in April, interested citizenry from the surrounding region began arriving at the county seat, which at that time was in the Third Judicial District. Soldiers were posted throughout town when Judge Warren G. Bristol and party were escorted in and quartered at a local hotel. A day or two before the proceedings began, a cavalry detail brought McSween and others in temporary custody at

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Ibid.*; *Independent*, April 13, 1878.

13. *Levenson to Hayes*, April 2, 1878.

Fort Stanton into town. On Saturday, April 13, the Grand Jury was empanelled.¹⁴

At the opening of court, Judge Bristol briefly summarized for the jurors the available evidence regarding recent factional hostilities in the county. There was an unequivocal overtone of bias when he explained:

In regard to the McSween case I am able to speak with some definiteness, because he has been before me on a charge of embezzlement, when a large amount of testimony was taken. In regard to the other side, very serious charges are and for a long time have been floating through the community, but no evidence has been presented to me as to their truth or falsity. I can speak of them only as rumors . . .¹⁵

The Judge then went further afield in adding that McSween's adherents had manufactured public opinion detrimental to the court, the motive evidently being to induce men to aid him resist its legal machinery. Returning to specifics, he proceeded to examine the charges of embezzlement filed against the attorney by Charles Fritz and Emily Scholand, heirs of Emil Fritz. They had employed McSween to collect an insurance policy belonging to the deceased. He had cashed it, but made no move toward settlement, claiming the heirs were under intimidation by the Murphy interests. They then sued out a writ of attachment on property jointly held by McSween and Tunstall. Still the account remained unsettled.

Bristol then alluded to the "rumors" regarding Murphy et al. He quickly dismissed the claim of Murphy influence by saying the attorney knew that laws existed to protect any such misappropriation. And as far as Murphy and his adherents employing a gang of outlaws, ostensibly "... for the purpose of depredating upon and stealing their neighbors stock . . .", there was no evidence.¹⁶ On this note, the Judge concluded his charge to the jury.

A certain gravity and interest were added to the proceedings by Chisum's presence in Lincoln. His attendance at court had not been required, nor were his holdings directly en-

14. *Independent*, April 13 and 20, 1878.

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

dangered by McSween's arraignment. But he, as others, no doubt wisely foresaw the serious implications of the attorney's conviction. So, as the days of testimony dragged on, his influence waxed invisibly but strongly. Sometime during the third week of April, McSween wrote Minnie T. Behrens, Tunstall's sister, concerning the cattleman's interest at court. He pointed up their previous relationship with the young Englishman as follows:

John S. Chisum, a man worth half a million dollars . . . is an old single man; John was single; we had no children; I tell you that we were happy. I can say that I have never known Mr. Chisum to think so much of a young stranger as he did of John H. Tunstall. . . .¹⁷

On Wednesday, April 24, the Grand Jury returned its verdict in the McSween case. Specifically, the foreman stated: "We fully exonerate him of the charge, and regret that a spirit of persecution has been shown in this matter."¹⁸

An hour after the Court adjourned, an open meeting of citizens was held in the jury room. Probate Judge Florencio Gonzales presided while feelings and suggestions were publicly aired. After a heated discussion of existing local civil and domestic conditions and their remedy in the light of the recent court decision, Gonzales appointed a committee, consisting of John S. Chisum, Juan B. Patron and Avery M. Clenny, to draft a set of resolutions expressing the will of the gathering. Six resolves were subsequently worked out and reported. The first brought into focus the crux of the situation and established a basis from which the remaining five expanded. It stated:

That it is the sense of this meeting that our present troubles are only a continuance of old feuds, dating back five or six years, that they now cease, as the cause has been removed.¹⁹

Although laudable and timely, these statements proffered little to ameliorate the tension still gripping Lincoln County.

17. Alexander A. McSween to Minnie Tunstall Behrens, —April 1878. In files of Chaves County Historical Society.

18. *Independent*, May 4, 1878.

19. *Ibid.*

McSween's exoneration was actually of little consequence, for the disposition of the indictments returned against the murderers of Tunstall and Brady hurriedly fanned the flickering coals of antagonism. Those implicated in the Englishman's death postponed their trials and were released under bond, while warrants for the arrest of the murderers of Brady were placed in the hands of John N. Copeland, who had been appointed Sheriff by the County Commissioners on April 10. Thus the way was paved toward reopening of range hostilities.²⁰

About the first of May a letter, dated April 28 and signed by Marion Turner, was published in the *Las Vegas Gazette*. Its author, a former Chisum employee, reviewed the recent events at court and generalized on past and well worn salient points of the range controversy. In appraising the situation, he said:

My impression is that there was a power (pecuniary) on the Rio Pecos, the prerequisites of which both parties sought to procure. . . . My firm belief is that although the adherents of these parties have been guilty of 'killing their enemies,' there was no murder in the matter, but a contest for 'the best of the fight,' any good man would try to get.²¹

Further elaboration in a more poignant and incriminating vein appeared in *The Grant County Herald* on June 8 in the form of a statement to the public by a person who preferred to remain anonymous. It described his settling on the Peñasco River during the summer of 1877 and added that pressure from the Chisum interests had forced his departure. More specifically, the nestor rancher wrote:

I knew that Chisum would be glad to see me killed and so I just left my crops and sailed out. Lots of men are leaving the county in the same way, because they say that McSween and . . . Chisum are paying four dollars a day for a man and his rifle and intend to drive everybody else out.

No substantiation for this charge is known, but it is representative of the rumors circulated by both factions to recruit or intimidate.

20. *New Mexican*, May 4, 1878; Garrett, *Authentic Life*, p. 70, Note A.

21. Quoted from the *Roswell Record*, October 7, 1937.

Chisum had accomplished his purpose at Lincoln, that of providing influence and support toward the acquittal of his friend and business associate, Alexander McSween. Insufficient evidence had freed the attorney, but a paucity of proof also had precluded definite action against those involved in cattle stealing, a thorn to the Jinglebob since its initial operations in New Mexico. As the future seemingly promised little relief, plans for a temporary abandonment of the ranch were under serious consideration when Chisum returned from the county seat soon after the termination of court. When he left the headquarters again in May, arrangements for a definite move were in the offing.²² Meanwhile, clouds of violence were gathering again.

Outspoken threats flung broadcast by certain McSween adherents soon galvanized the county into action. McNab, in initiating a rumor that a major campaign was forthcoming to clean cattle rustlers out in the Seven Rivers region, set off immediate reactions in that area. Small ranchers organized for defense and dispatched men to augment Sheriff Copeland's forces, which were conducting a rather phlegmatic campaign to accost Brady's assailants. One of the Seven Rivers groups, led by George W. Peppin, ambushed McNab and several others near the Fritz ranch below the county seat on April 29. The former Chisumite was slain and his party captured after a running fight. En route to Lincoln, Peppin's party espied a lone horseman riding east and turned to investigate. The rider was James Chisum, who, after a twelve mile chase, managed to outdistance his pursuers. At his relation of the incident later at the ranch, there undoubtedly arose a feeling of apprehension for the personal safety of the Chisum household.²³

In the weeks that followed, this concern became grave, particularly when a plot to disfigure Pitzer Chisum was uncovered. Mrs. Poe recorded the story as she heard it in the fall of 1881 from John Chisum. She quotes him as saying:

22. The exact date of Chisum's departure is unknown, but Fulton, in a letter to HPH on May 17, 1954, stated: "The darkey Frank Chisum was my source of information as to the month, May . . ."

23. *Herald*, May 11, 1878; *Independent*, May 11, 1878; WC to HPH, May 3, 1954.

Some of the men who were against us planned to mutilate Pitser. They were going to capture him at Captain J. C. Lea's house, where he was visiting, and give his ears a jinglebob slit and put a Chisum Long Rail brand on him. Captain Lea got wind of it through an outsider. He sent his colored boy out to the corral to get Pitser's horse, and take it secretly to the back door. Luckily, it was a dark night, so he got away without much trouble. . . .²⁴

Attempts at bodily injury were not the only means utilized to cause the Chisums anxiety.

Numerous incriminating articles soon appeared in various territorial news organs to revitalize old accusations. The Lincoln firm of Murphy and Dolan undertook a vigorous writing campaign in the *Mesilla News* and *Santa Fe New Mexican* to present their cause as one of defense against overwhelming odds. The *Prescott Arizona Miner*, on June 7, summarized such correspondence:

Lincoln County, New Mexico, seems to be undergoing a reign of terror. A lawyer by the name of McSween is largely responsible, according to reports from Murphy & Dolan. They also accuse J. S. Chisum, the cattle king, of being in with McSween and other parties making to defraud Murphy & Dolan and other good men. J. J. Dolan, in a letter to the *New Mexican*, states Chisum wants to control the contracting business of New Mexico and Arizona. . . .

During the early part of June McSween was again forced to leave Lincoln. Temporarily, he joined a group of his partisans, a majority of which were wanted men, at San Patricio, a small Mexican settlement to the southeast on the Ruidoso.

Intensified efforts to break up this band were initiated when Governor Axtell appointed Deputy Peppin to replace Sheriff Copeland on May 28. The new sheriff lost no time in delegating authority; he selected Buck Powell and William C. Johnson as deputies in the Seven Rivers locale and placed Marion Turner in charge of a posse at Roswell.²⁵

On June 20 the McSween forces evacuated San Patricio and rode east, apparently bound for the Chisums. Upon learn-

24. Poe, *Buckboard Days*, p. 162; Brothers, *A Pecos Pioneer*, p. 54; Frederick R. Bechdolt, *When the West Was Young*. (New York: The Century Co., 1922), p. 22.

25. *Roswell Record*, October 7, 1937.

ing of this, Turner began scouting their supposed route. About noon on July 4, his forces entered Roswell where they were informed that their quarry, numbering more than a dozen men, were visiting at South Spring. Without delay the posse turned south; at the head of South Spring River, about a mile west of the Jinglebob corral, it was halted to reconnoiter. The adobe headquarters, purposely built with walls four feet thick to withstand Indian attacks in earlier times, had been prepared for defense. Will Chisum, who was up on the flat roof with Bonney and others, recalls:

. . . there was not a shot fired all that day. The Seven Rivers party, as it was called, stayed all day about one mile from the ranch till dark, then they rode out in the flat and stayed all night.²⁶

George Coe, also present, adds that Turner's posse ". . . held on until nightfall in an attempt to get up to the barns and corrals. . . ." ²⁷ No attack was made, however, and the following morning the would-be assailants were gone.

One morning, a day or so after the McSween group had left, several members of the posse returned to the ranch. James Chisum, the only one of the Chisum brothers present, met them near the corral, explained that there were women and children in the house, and cautioned against incendiarism. Some discussion among the riders ensued; finally, one man blurted out, "Old man, we're right with you!" ²⁸ Apparently in disagreement about a further course of action, they rode away.

The Turner debacle further linked the Chisums to McSween's belligerent defiance of the law. The *Mesilla News*, on July 14, explained:

John S. Chisum, it is reported, furnishes . . . McSween's boys with fresh horses to ride after they run a while from the Sheriff. . . . Chisum's house is also opened to them to use as a fort against the officers of the law. . . .

26. WC to HPH, February 15, 1954; Garrett, *Authentic Life*, pp. 94-5.

27. Coe, *Frontier Fighter*, pp. 102-5.

28. WC to HPH, February 15, 1954; Tape No. 10.

Sheriff Peppin, in an official report filed later that summer, also believed that the attorney's forces had been ". . . fed, clothed and horses exchanged for fresh ones . . ." by the Chisums.²⁹

On July 16, McSween rode into Lincoln with over fifty heavily armed men; in a matter of hours they had barricaded themselves in various adobe buildings. By the next day, Peppin's posses had surrounded these stations and voiced a demand to those for whom warrants were held to surrender. This was refused and intermittent firing began. On the third day, a cavalry troop arrived from Stanton, but made no move to intervene as the civil authorities had the situation under control. The attorney's residence was set afire that afternoon; by nightfall the entire building was ablaze. Bonney and several others escaped, but McSween was killed as he fled through the rear door. On July 20, news of the battle reached the Chisums.³⁰ Definite moves to close out the headquarters were begun.

In spite of unsettled local conditions, the ranch had been the scene of large-scale cattle activities throughout the spring. Well armed trail outfits had consecutively and successfully left the Pecos, driving sizable herds to distant points. One such group particularly elicited considerable comment. This party, probably under temporary hire by Hunter, Evans and Company to facilitate their presently jeopardized deliveries, was captained by Jesse Evans, general manager of the vast Comanche Pool cattle co-operative located in Central Kansas. Composed of fifty men, several wagons and a large horse remuda, it left Dodge City on April 5, ostensibly bound for New Mexico to ". . . gather from the ranges about twenty thousand cattle. . . ." ³¹

29. Affidavit by George W. Peppin, Sheriff of Lincoln County, which was enclosed in a letter to the United States Attorney General by the Commanding Officer at Fort Stanton, New Mexico, on August 15, 1878. In File No. 44-4-8, Record Group 60, Department of Justice Records, National Archives.

30. Sallie Chisum "Journal." MSS in Chaves County Historical Society. She mentions that Charles Bowdre, who was in the McSween battle, arrived to the ranch on July 20 with the report.

31. For information regarding Jesse Evans, see Ralph H. Records, "At the End of the Texas Trail; Range Riding and Ranching, 1878," *West Texas Historical Asso-*

Its arrival to the Pecos country stirred the *Mesilla News* on June 1 to impulsively speculate:

Chisum has hired 80 men to come down from Kansas to help him do his fighting and dirty work and swears he will run every small cattle owner or rancher off the Pecos river for a distance of 200 miles.

While these herders gathered and put to trail successive consignments, Jinglebob cowboys rounded up cattle for delivery to Robert K. Wiley and Tom Coggin, prominent Texas ranchers, who held an unrequited promissory note from Chisum. Trailing of this herd, over eight thousand head, to its designated range on the Pease River in the Texas Panhandle was to begin upon termination of Evans' activities on the Pecos, which proved to be by the late summer.³²

James Chisum and his three children were the only members of the family to accompany Rail brand stock to new and safer pastures; Pitzer remained on the ranch with a skeleton range outfit. Several thousand heifers, previously set apart to form the nucleus of a proposed select beef herd, composed the bulk for removal. It was a moot question as to the probable date of their return to home pastures; it was hoped that this could be effected at an early time. The initial point of concerted movement for the Chisums was evidently Bosque Grande, as a fifteen day lay-over was begun there on July 31. Two weeks later, the herd, under the direction of Charles Nebow, an old-time Jinglebob trail boss, was moved north up the east bank of the Pecos. The Chisums and an ex-Negro slave, called Frank, regularly helped in the drive. Sallie

ciation Yearbook, XIX (October 1943), p. 116. Records writes of the experiences of his father, Laban S. Records. Movement of the Evans group is from Robert M. Wright, *Dodge City, the Cowboy Capital and the Great Southwest*. (Wichita: Wichita Eagle Press, 1913), pp. 262-3. Wright writes his recollections of early Dodge City, quotes from the *Dodge City Times*, April 6, 1878, and comments on the personnel of the Evans outfit.

32. Information regarding the transfer to Coggin-Wiley, see: Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 330, 365; *Prose and Poetry*, p. 315; William M. Pearce, "The Establishment and Development of the Matador Ranch, 1882-90," *West Texas Historical Association Yearbook*, XXVII (October 1951), pp. 7-8. For movement of herds, see Charles A. Siringo, *Riata and Spurs*. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927), p. 55. Siringo mentions that he saw several Chisum herds pass through the Texas Panhandle during the fall of 1878.

drove one of the two wagons in which was packed the family baggage. Some one hundred and fifty head of horses were loose herded along nearby. After three days' travel, the stock was halted a few miles southeast of Fort Sumner for a brief rest. According to a journal which Sallie kept, the monotony of the trek thus far had been alleviated by the infrequent visits of William Bonney, who was now without livelihood and regarded an outlaw. On September 11, the caravan, well provisioned and somewhat refreshed, left the Pecos Valley, heading northeast out onto the High Plains.³³

John Chisum probably joined the group at Fort Sumner, for Will states that his uncle "... accompanied the outfit from the Pecos Valley to the Canadian," and adds, "I guess I saw him every day . . . and everywhere in regard to the drive."³⁴ The cattle king's whereabouts and actions during the previous months are not presently known, but newspapers reported him in Las Vegas about the middle of August. This is supported by an entry in Sallie's journal to the effect that her uncle had written in August that he had completed arrangements for her and her brothers to enter school that fall at Anton Chico.³⁵

Near Red Lake, ten miles east of Sumner, the Chisums turned north, skirting the eastern edge of Taiban mesa. Travel was purposely slow. On September 17, after nearly a week on the prairies, they reached Fort Bascom, which was located five miles north of present-day Tucumcari. From here, the herd was pushed into the southern drainage of the Canadian and due east along its banks to Ute Creek, the last camping site of note in New Mexico. On Saturday 28, they crossed the line into Texas.

In the days that followed, temporary dugouts and corrals were constructed in the breaks near the mouth of Trujillo Creek, about thirty miles west of Tascosa. Early in November, Sallie, Walter and Will Chisum, accompanied by the faithful Frank, returned west along the Canadian by wagon

33. Sallie Chisum "Journal."

34. WC to HPH, January 28, 1955

35. *Mesilla News*, August 10, 1878; Sallie Chisum "Journal."

to attend school. Their uncle had left several weeks previous for Santa Fe.³⁶

On September 30, General Lew Wallace had replaced Samuel B. Axtell as Governor of New Mexico. This appointment followed written and verbal reports by a Department of Justice investigator, Frank W. Angel, to Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, that much of the existing political and economic unrest in the Territory could be traced to its administration.³⁷ Wallace, soon after assuming office, was approached by Chisum and others representing interests in the lower Pecos country regarding plans for quieting the unsettled conditions. In reviewing the Lincoln County controversy in later years, the General fastened much of the blame on Chisum. The cattleman, he explained, had attempted to monopolize the frontage of the Pecos by forcing out the small grazers. In retaliation, Wallace recalled:

. . . they began stealing from him. To protect himself, the Texan went down into his native state and recruited about seventy men—murderers, thieves, and dangerous men of all classes. . . . His enemies, seeing these warlike proceedings, banded together in common defense, and the result was open war.³⁸

Early in October the new Governor composed a rather lengthy report to President Hayes. In it, he surveyed the difficulties he had encountered. The United States Marshal had warrants which were unserved; courts were inoperative due to partisan feelings of all the citizenry; and an obvious bias on the part of the executors of the law was evident. In closing, he solicited the President to declare a state of insurrection existent so that troops could be ordered into the field. The Executive Order was forthcoming, and on November 14,

36. WC to HPH, February 15, March 22, May 3, 1954. Also see John L. McCarty, *Maverick Town, the Story of Old Tascosa*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1946), pp. 41-2.

37. For report on the Angel interview, see Carl Schurz to Rutherford B. Hayes, August 31, 1878, in Hayes Memorial Library. For a summary of Wallace's activities soon after assuming office, see Irving McKee, *Ben-Hur Wallace: The Life of General Lew Wallace*. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1947), p. 144.

38. Lew Wallace, *An Autobiography*. (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1906), II, pp. 914-5.

1878, the new Governor issued a general amnesty to all involved in the Lincoln hostilities since February 1.³⁹

To the Chisums, now on a foreign range, this proclamation offered little, in a real sense, to erase old animosities or guarantee future security of person or interests. However, it did indicate that vigorous moves were perhaps in the offing.

Restoration of Law and Order

Subsequent to a military purge of Lincoln County in the spring of 1879, the Chisums returned to the Pecos. They found old antagonisms dying slowly, although many former partisans had returned to their farms and ranches. Particularly encouraging was the increase in immigration to the Roswell vicinity, which for several years had experienced little activity. True, a roving aftermath of former days persisted, but the mores of organized society were vigorously at work, augmenting the confidence inspired by Governor Wallace's campaign earlier in the year.

John Chisum arrived to Mesilla, New Mexico, by stage from the west during the last week of February 1879. He probably had spent the previous month in Arizona. This is inferred from a statement in the *Globe Arizona Silver Belt* on January 24; it mentioned that the Chisum-Hunter interests had recently sued out a writ of attachment on a herd in that locale. When interviewed in Mesilla, Chisum made no comment on this affair, but did say that after a trip through Colorado, Utah, Nevada and California he had disposed of his Arizona holdings to return to New Mexico. Several days later, he boarded the stage for Santa Fe, no doubt purposely

39. *Ibid.*; McKee, *Ben-Hur Wallace*, pp. 144-7; *The Grant County Herald*, October 12, 1878. Hayes issued a proclamation warning all groups organized for violence to disband by October 14. Wallace issued a proclamation threatening Lincoln County with martial law. *Arizona Star* (Tucson), on October 17, 1878, stated: "Gov. Lew Wallace has called upon the Pres. for troops to assist him in preserving order in New Mexico." The most interesting summary of the Amnesty and its ramifications, civil and military, was published in *The Grant County Herald*, on December 28, 1878. Specifically, the article was entitled, "An Open Letter by Lieut. Col. N. A. M. Dudley, 9th Cavalry Commander, Fort Stanton, to His Excellency, Governor Lewis Wallace," and was dated November 30, 1878.

avoiding involvement in the military operations predicted for Lincoln County.¹

Governor Wallace reached Fort Stanton during the first week of March. Within a week, four detachments of cavalry began scouting suspect ranches for stolen stock. Each commander carried a list of all the legitimate cattle brands registered in Lincoln and descriptions of some thirty-five individuals wanted for murder. Orders were to inspect known cow camps and corrals and impound and return any and all recognizably stolen animals to the county seat.²

The Chisums stood to benefit from these operations, which were actually being directed against old adversaries, so they lost no time in making suggestions. On March 26, Pitzer Chisum wrote the new commanding officer at Fort Stanton, Captain Henry G. Carroll, from South Spring. He reported peculiarly marked cattle in and around Bosque Grande and added: "Parties giving these brands never had a hoof of stock til recently."³ In submitting this information, the rancher was hoping that the military would extend its reconnaissance north from Roswell into an area which was being overlooked. Three weeks later, Governor Wallace received a letter from John Chisum. This correspondence, pleading no attempt to meddle, carried a conscientiously outlined plan to curb future depredations in the Pecos Valley. Chisum, drawing from an intimate acquaintance with the nature and topography of southeastern New Mexico, wrote the following from Fort Sumner:

1. *Independent*, March 1, 1879.

2. The incident that undoubtedly crystallized Wallace's intentions to come to Lincoln County was the murder of Huston J. Chapman, Mrs. McSween's lawyer, in front of the Court House at Lincoln on February 19, 1879. The Governor left Santa Fe with General Edward Hatch, Commanding General of the Territory, on March 2, en route south to Fort Stanton, a five days' journey. From *The Grant County Herald*, March 8, 1879. For particulars of the campaign: McKee, *Ben-Hur Wallace*, pp. 147-50; *Mesilla News*, May 17, 1879. Troops were ordered into the field on March 11.

3. P. M. Chisum to Capt. H. Carroll, March 26, 1879, in the Wallace Collection. General N. A. M. Dudley was relieved of command at Fort Stanton by Governor Wallace on March 12, 1879, to stand a courts-martial. According to Mrs. McSween, the officer's non-intervention on July 19, 1878, in the fighting at Lincoln had, in a large measure, brought on her husband's death. Captain Henry G. Carroll, in charge of a detail at Roswell since the fall of 1878, was called to direct Wallace's forces and assume temporary command at Stanton. In December 1879, Dudley was exonerated of all charges. This information from *The Grant County Herald*, March 22, December 13, 1879, and *Roswell Record*, April 29, 1892.

If ten good men were stationed at a large spring twelve miles east of this place, it would prevent robbers from coming in off the plains onto the Pecos. . . . If twenty men were stationed at Pope's Crossing on the Pecos, it would prevent them from coming up the Pecos; having these two points guarded you have possession of the main keys to the settlement of the Pecos.⁴

It is unknown whether either letter was seriously considered; for the Governor's attention during the first week in April was turned to obtaining convictions in district court, which had commenced at Lincoln.

Of the two hundred or more indictments prepared by the grand jury, few received satisfying legal action. Bonney, whom Wallace had persuaded to testify, was the star witness against many former Murphy partisans on trial. But a majority of the arraigned pled pardon under the amnesty and were released; others took a change of venue for retrial to neighboring districts. After the session ended and the Governor left for Santa Fe, local newspapers reviewed his efforts. The *Mesilla News*, for example, on May 17, criticized his use of the military for arrests and blamed Chisum for such instigation. The *Independent*, in reply, sympathized: "Unfortunate John Chisum! How much unrest and agony of mind you have caused the *News* scribes. Although far from the source of the strife, you are still remembered in their dealings."⁵

Toward the end of the summer, the Chisums completed preparations to move their now drastically reduced herd back to its home pastures. John Chisum, who had arrived to his temporary nestor ranch several weeks before the close out on the Canadian, accompanied the stock on its return. The exact date of re-activating operations at South Spring is not known; Sallie's journal, however, intimates the headquarters had been re-occupied by the first week of November 1879. Chisum cattle were evidently again grazing their old ranges by this time also, for on the 11th she reports seeing her brother Will, who had participated in the return drive.⁶

4. John S. Chisum to Governor Lew Wallace, April 15, 1879, in the Wallace Collection.

5. *Independent*, May 24, 1879. *The Grant County Herald*, on May 10, 1879, carried an excellent review of the court proceedings.

6. WC to HPH, October 25, 1954; Sallie Chisum "Journal."

The herd now had new owners. Hunter, Evans and Company, temporarily holding title, had transferred it to Pitzer in the Panhandle; he, in turn, assigned an interest to James several weeks later. Moreover, the animals bore a new Chisum brand in conjunction with the Jinglebob earmark. The Rail brand had been John Chisum's trademark in the Southwest for nearly twenty years, but the sale and assignment to Hunter, Evans and Company had necessitated the origination of a new brand. A lazy U on the thigh, top turned back, was tried for a while. Finally, though, a U burned high up at the tip of the left shoulder was recorded in the brand books of San Miguel County in 1879.⁷

Soon after they began full scale ranching along the Pecos, the Chisums experienced the worst scourge of rustling to date. During the late fall their cattle and others were repeatedly struck by a band of former McSween partisans, led by William Bonney. One Chisum range outfit, early in January 1880, located about eighty head of U cattle in Canyon Cueva, more than a hundred miles north of the ranch. Both brand and earmark had been crudely mutilated. The "earbobs" were cleanly eliminated and an OX superimposed over the U.⁸

Starting the animals south, the party was camped one cold day near Fort Sumner when Bonney and two companions rode up and requested permission to inspect the drove. Consent obtained, the leader of the trio rode out and among the cattle, and shortly returned apparently satisfied. He then invited the chilled herders into town for liquor. James Chisum, head of the outfit, declined at first, stating his men were tired; however, he finally relented, probably thinking a refusal might endanger the stock. That evening in a saloon they were insulted and threatened by an inebriated cowboy named Joe Grant. Bonney, after a warning, killed him. Although

7. Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record*, p. 302. Statement is: "On driving his herds back to the Pecos River from the Canadian, Mr. P. Chisum disposed of an interest to his brother, James." Brand change is from WC to HPH, March 9, April 3, 1954, and WC to Maurice G. Fulton, April 4, 1940. Date of brand registration from William M. Raine and Will C. Barnes, *Cattle*. (Garden City: Doubleday Doran and Company, Inc., 1930), p. 161.

8. Garrett, *Authentic Life*, pp. 118-20. Brand alterations described in WC to HPH, March 22, 1954.

there were no repercussions, the Chisum group hurriedly left town and returned to their camp.⁹

Fort Sumner was also the scene of an unexpected meeting between Bonney and John Chisum. Only a thread of fact persists, and the fabric has become a patchwork of legend. In short, Bonney approached the cattleman one day and demanded payment for services previously rendered in Lincoln County. Chisum, according to his nephew, calmly replied, "You know just as well as I do that I never hired you to do anything for me."¹⁰ The matter was not pressed further. In a larger sense, this terse response reflected the general feelings of a region weary of erratic living conditions and too busy with the future to consider unsubstantiated debts to the past.

Lincoln County was slowly rising from its lethargy. Indian troubles, domestic upheavals and lack of transportation had precluded population influx and growth. Even by 1880, the 20,000 square mile county had but 2,513 inhabitants, and more than a third of these were practically transients, attracted thither by a succession of gold strikes which began in the Jicarilla Mountains, thirty miles northwest of Lincoln, the previous August.¹¹ Grazing continued to be the most substantial inducement for immigration, but the pioneer cattlemen monopolized the strategic water holes. The days of the open range, however, were quickly drawing to a close; the sheep rancher, the farmer and the amenities of civilization were appearing on the horizon.

Roswell, sixty miles due east of Lincoln, had particularly shown little tendency toward growth; settlement had been sporadic and largely restricted to areas on or near North and South Spring Rivers. During the desultory contest which

9. *Ibid.*; *New Mexican*, January 17, 1880, reported the Joe Grant killing. Other information from Tape No. 2.

10. This episode probably occurred during the spring of 1880, for during that summer and fall, Bonney's inroads on Chisum herds increased tremendously. For details: WC to HPH, April 5, 1954; Tape No. 10; and George B. Anderson (ed.), *History of New Mexico*. (New York: Pacific States Publishing Co., 1907), I, 227. James Chisum contributed the story.

11. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1570-1888*. (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), pp. 795-6; Keleher, *Fabulous Frontier*, pp. 81-3. In 1880, Lincoln was the largest town in the County, with 638 inhabitants; Stanton, with 118 inhabitants, was smallest.

rocked the County in 1878, there was a great deal of anxiety apparent in the locale, for known participants in the struggle regularly visited the Chisum headquarters. But from all reports, the little straggling oasis near the confluence of the Hondo and the Pecos was never the scene of violence. Many, however, abandoned the hamlet when the Chisums pulled out. The *Las Vegas Gazette* on August 17, 1878, explained:

Six wagon loads of emigrants from North and South Spring in Lincoln County passed through town Tuesday going north. A deputy sheriff rode up and demanded that they take up arms and go with them and fight. This they refused to do and loaded up and left. . . .

Roswell came to life again following Wallace's campaign though, and by the early summer of 1880 temporary structures of more than a dozen households could be seen in its environs.

The preceding fall, eight families had settled within several miles north and east of the Chisums. Two large irrigation ditches had been dredged north from South Spring River. One, called Pumpkin Row, was taken out about a mile west of the Jinglebob corral; the other, the Texas Ditch, was headed north some distance east of the square adobe. The area east of the Chisum headquarters soon became known as "The Farms," as it was settled principally by Mormons. Neighbors with an agrarian bent were especially welcomed by Chisum, and on various occasions he tendered aid and advice as the need arose. For example, in one instance he dispatched ox wagons to the Davis Mountains, more than a hundred miles south of the Texas-New Mexico line, for cottonwood and willow saplings to line their acequias, as well as his own.¹²

On June 2, the census enumerator visited the ranch; eighteen persons, all male, were noted as residents. James Chisum was listed as head of the household; his two sons, herders; his two brothers, cattle dealers; and William Robert,

12. Brothers, *A Pecos Pioneer*, pp. 1-7; *Lincoln County Leader*, (White Oaks), December 8, 1888; Anderson, *History of New Mexico*, II, 797. The *El Paso Times*, August 16, 1953, carried an article covering interviews with many old-timers in the Roswell region.

whom Sallie had married on January 26, as a boarder. Among the twelve employees, the most notable were Burrel Dickison and Benito Juarez, cooks; William Hutchison and John Ewers, long-time Chisum cowboys; Cornell Larimore, a gardener who came to New Mexico with the James Chisums in December 1877; and Paul Kroeger, blacksmith.¹³ On considering that less than a dozen men were operating the Jinglebob, one quickly surmises the extent of the herd reduction.

The number of employees on the Chisum payroll, during the early 1880's, varied according to the season, however. During the roundups, spring and fall, more than two dozen cowboys, including Mexican herders from nearby settlements, were called in to work the "circle." But upon terminating the marking and branding, dispatching of trail herds, if any, and the scattering of line riders for the winter, a majority of these men were laid off. Mexicans were also retained to clean irrigation ditches, care for the garden and fields and perform menial household duties at the ranch headquarters. Then, of course, the meager yet responsible chores such as loose herding the milch cows, running errands, etc., were the accepted obligations of Chisum's young nephews, Walter and Will.¹⁴

Perhaps fundamentally more a part of the ranch than the owners themselves was Frank "Chisum." At the close of the Civil War, Frank chose to remain with his former master, John Chisum, and together with a younger brother was brought to New Mexico in the early 1870's. Most Negroes with cattle outfits during those days were cooks, but Frank, in every sense, was an all-around cowboy. His fidelity was never questioned, and repeatedly he was placed in positions of responsibility and trust, as exemplified in his being sent

13. Population Statistics of Lincoln County, Territory of New Mexico, in the Tenth Census: 1880. This information received from the National Archives on May 10, 1954. Sallie Chisum was married to William Robert at Anton Chico, New Mexico, on January 26, 1880. Robert, born January 27, 1854, in Germany, arrived in New Mexico in 1874, and while clerking in a mercantile establishment in Anton Chico during the fall of 1878, met Sallie. See Anderson, *History of New Mexico*, II, 775-6.

14. Information on Chisum employees from WC to HPH, March 22, April 9, May 3, 1954. The *Las Vegas Gazette*, on August 30, 1881, mentioned Walter and Will boarding a train for school.

with the James Chisum children from the Canadian to Anton Chico in November 1878. Frank was a chronic stutterer, which made him the butt of many jokes; yet good-naturedly he laughed with the crowd. During the early 1880's, he accumulated a small herd, probably as recompense for wages due, and at John Chisum's demise became an independent and modestly successful rancher. In later years, he disposed of his stock and retired to Roswell, where old timers still attest that his mind remained remarkably clear into senility.¹⁵

Not to be overlooked are Chisum's incidental interests which did much to advertise the potentialities of the Pecos Valley and induce immigration into that region. As early as 1877 he indicated interest in the agricultural possibilities of the Hondo-Pecos area; during the summer of that year a large acequia, capable of irrigating a thousand acres, was constructed on the ranch. This ditch, taken out near the head of South Spring River, ran parallel to the south bank of that artesian stream and east past the square adobe into a sowed field. The farming was supervised by Felix McKittrick who on land of his own nearby conducted experiments with various varieties of wheat, buckwheat and rye.¹⁶ Also stirring the sod at this time in the vicinity were Mormons, who were experiencing exceptional harvests. Regarding these developments, the *Independent*, on October 20, 1877, observed:

Two years ago there were not three cultivated farms within thirty miles of the mouth of the Hondo. This season no less than thirty farmers are gathering their crops within a five mile radius. . . .

Chisum withheld no means to cultivate and produce the most adaptable crops. Kelly "Blue Plows," with cast iron points, were ordered and freighted overland from the factory in East Texas to the ranch.¹⁷ He imported and planted grains

15. *Las Vegas Optic*, August 27, 1885, summarizes Frank's association with the Chisums. Other information from Tape No. 3, and WC to HPH, March 5, May 3, 24, 1954. Fulton knew Frank, often talked with him about the Chisums, and declares the Negro's memory, especially for dates and events, was remarkable. Interview with Maurice G. Fulton, April 10, 1954

16. *Independent*, July 28, 1877.

17. T. C. Richardson, *East Texas: Its History and Its Makers*. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1940), III, 1109. George A. Kelly operated a foundry and plow factory at Kellyville, Texas, until 1880, when he moved to Longview.

of varying types and potential in soil whose yield was remarkable when periodically refreshed with moisture. His ventures with alfalfa brought that crop into recognized prominence as a mainstay of the region.¹⁸ Millet also proved suitable, as indicated in a letter the cattleman wrote the editor of the *Las Vegas Gazette* on August 6, 1880:

You will find, in a box sent you, two heads of millet I raised on my ranch. I have been trying the different kinds of grasses and millet to find which suits our climate and soil best. I would request you to examine this, and if you know of any better millet, let me know what it is, so I can get the seed

Editorial comment in the same issue was that the heads were ". . . larger than ears of pop corn and unusually well filled." Proving and promoting agriculture seems to have been the extent of Chisum's endeavors in that vein, which is understandable in the light of the fact that his primary concern was with livestock.

Continued

18. Poe, *Buckboard Days*, p. 164. Chisum and alfalfa.

Notes and Documents

MRS. ALEXANDER M. JACKSON LETTERS

Alexander M. Jackson was born about 1823, and sometime after 1840 moved to Ripley, Tippah County, Mississippi, where he engaged in the practice of law. The place of his birth is not known to the writer, nor is the full name of his wife, who signed her letters "C. C. Jackson." In December 1846 Jackson recruited a company of volunteers for the War with Mexico and was elected its captain; accordingly he was always thereafter known as Captain Jackson. His company was assigned as Company E to the Second Mississippi Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Reuben Davis of Aberdeen, Miss. (not to be confused with the First Mississippi Volunteers, commanded by Jefferson Davis). The Second went to northern Mexico in February 1847 and served in the army of General Taylor. It was never in combat and thus suffered no battle losses, but disease took a large toll of the men in the regiment. The company is of most interest because of the part some of its members played in the Civil War. First Lieutenant William C. Falkner became a Colonel in the Confederate service, and was the great-grandfather of the living writer William Faulkner (the spelling of the name was changed by the Colonel's son). Second Lieutenant Thomas C. Hindman became a Major General in the Confederate army, and Private Mark P. Lowrey a Brigadier General.

Reuben Davis, in "Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians" (p. 69) describes Captain Jackson thus: "He was of Irish descent, and possessed in large measure the ardent temperment, vivid attachments, and fiery personal courage of his race. He was small and delicate in person, with a large head and a quick brain. In manner he was gentle and courteous, and his honor and honesty were never questioned. In spite of his Irish blood, he was no orator, but he delivered the facts and law of his case compactly and with a clearness that could not be exceeded. . . . After that war was ended he received at the hands of President Buchanan the appointment

of Chief Justice of New Mexico. This post he held until Mississippi passed the ordinance of secession, upon which he resigned and came home to take his part for weal or woe with the State of his adoption. That long agony ended in humiliation and defeat. He removed to Austin, Texas, where he still lives, honored and useful and in the enjoyment of a handsome fortune, the reward of his own energy and prudence."

Davis, who wrote his book in 1889 and almost entirely from his own memory, did not know all of the details of Jackson's career during the Civil War period, which are given in a letter from Nat P. Jackson, the Captain's son, written in 1867.

Despite Captain Jackson's ability he was not, during his stay in Mississippi, a good business man and was always more or less involved financially. In 1857 his friends, who were numerous and included such political stalwarts as Reuben Davis, promoted his appointment to the New Mexico position in part at least as a means whereby he could recoup his fortune. Apparently he was measureably successful in paying off his obligations until the outbreak of hostilities in 1861, when he removed to San Antonio, Texas, where he joined the Confederate army and saw some service in New Mexico. He later went to Richmond and served the Confederate government in a civil capacity. After the surrender he returned to Austin, Texas, where he first worked in the office of the Comptroller and then was made Reporter for the Supreme Court of Texas, in which position he had some trouble with the Reconstruction government. He considered returning to Santa Fe in 1867, but it is not known whether he actually did so. In all probability he remained at Austin; or if he did go to Santa Fe, he did not remain long. It is clear from Davis' statement that he finally got on his feet financially there, and that he lived to an old age.

ANDREW M. BROWN *

* Material received January 17, 1955, from Andrew Brown of Arlington, Virginia.

The Mrs. Miller to whom these letters were written was the great-grandmother of the donor, Mr. Andrew Brown, and the "Sallie" mentioned in one of the letters was the grandmother of Mr. Andrew Brown. Ed.

Santa Fe, New Mexico May 14, 1858

My Dear Mrs Miller¹

Much of the pleasure I felt at the receipt of Mary's² inestimable letter was clouded when I read of the death of dear little Etta,³ most sincerely do I sympathise with you all, but particularly poor Mag, for I can fully understand every pang she endured when she saw her tender little flower blasted by the rude hand of death, and torn from her bosom, but blessed thought, the separation is not to last forever, for these dear little ones are not lost, but only gone before, to be transplanted back to their native soil, while we must struggle on meekly submitting to our Fathers will, "Til they from Heaven shall fondly bid us come." The good one certainly knows what is best for us, and I have no doubt, that objects of love are often taken from us to wean our affections from Earth and make us fix them in Heaven, for as the bible truly sayes, "Where our treasure is there our hearts will be also." I hope Mag does not give up to useless repineing as I once did, under such circumstances, for it will not promote her peace of mind or forward her enjoyments in Religion, I hope long ere this time that fatal disease has disappeared from your town, without leaving any more sad hearts to mourn its consequences.

I think this is one of the healthiest places I ever lived in, We have deaths it is true, but it is a very small number that arise from natural causes. This is a pretty large city, but all the deaths that have ocured, within my knowledge since we have lived here except one or two, have been men that have died from excess of drink, or killed each other in street broils, and of the latter there has been a good number.

Mr Jackson is fixing to start off to attend court, I dread it very much for the courts are held so far apart, and the terms are so long, and you know I was always silly about being left, I do not suppose that I will be much lonely, or want for any thing, for we live but a short distance from Gov Renchers and a kinder or more agreeable family is not often met with any where, they have two sons, and two daughters, who are a great deal of company for me, but I know it will be a long time befor I make new friends that can fill the places of a few dear friends I left in Ripley, to whom for kindness shown me under peculiar

1. The letters were written by "C. C. Jackson" (first name not known now), wife of Capt. Alexander M. Jackson, and her son Nat (Nathaniel Price) Jackson, to Mrs. Sarah M. Miller, wife of Rev. Charles P. Miller of Ripley, Mississippi. Part of the background is that Capt. Jackson was almost constantly in financial difficulties while in Ripley, despite his recognized ability as a lawyer, and Mr. Miller, who in addition to being a Methodist preacher was also a prosperous merchant, had given him a considerable amount of assistance. This help was obviously much appreciated by Mrs. Jackson. Part at least of the many references to religion in the letters may stem from the fact that Mr. Miller was a minister.

2. *Mary* was a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Miller, she was single at the time but married Dr. John Y. Murry of Ripley in 1861.

3. *Etta* was the infant daughter of *Mag* (Margaret, another daughter of the Millers who had married Richard J. Thurmond in 1856. A grandson of the Thurmonds, Thurmond, is now a Member of Congress from North Carolina.

circumstances, my heart will never cease to feel gratitude until it ceases to beat. How glad I would be to be with you for a short time, to tell you how contentedly I have lived since I have been in Mexico, and I am sure you would laugh to see how fat I am getting. I can undergo more fatigue than I have been able to do for five years past; this however may be that I was not so fully tested as I have been lately, for I now see a great deal to be done about the house, that I know if I do not do, will have to go undone, for we keep but one servant and she is as old as the hills, and as contrary as an old setting hen, but she is a good cook and that is a great object out here.

I think I have a very pleasant residence for this country, my greatest objection to it is, a celebrated Spanish beauty lives next door to me, and as she is ever at her caged window playing on the Harp or Guitar, she attracts enough company to be annoying to me, besides she gives a fandango every week, but the convent joins me on the other side, so you see if I have noise one way, I have quiet the other, I find the sisters at the convent excellent neighbours, but it would shock you to see to what extent Popery exists in this country, as well as deism. Why dont some denomination send us a missionary? there is no such thing in all this country as a protestant preacher, but I have but little hope of seeing a religious reform during my stay here, the people nearly all seem to have set their hearts and heads against it, as if it would retard their progress in making money. This reminds me of how penurious Mr Jackson is getting out here, he can now count not only dollars but cts as well as any one, this I consider a great improvement for him, Ally⁴ wants me to tell you that he has made nine bits since he came out here, and expects to make another one before long. The children talk a great deal about you, Nat⁵ is beginning to speak the Spanish language pretty well, he says when he goes back to Ripley he knows you will think he is a Mexican. May⁶ is as plump as she can be, and though I have no one to nurse her she is no trouble at all, she talks perfectly plain.

Well, I have no doubt when you get this far with this letter you will consider it long enough, though I could write you a great deal more, but Mr. Jackson says the mail is about to close therefore I must quit writing, love to all friends especially your girls, also Mrs. Brown⁷ and Miss Harriet,⁸ tell Mrs. B I have received her kind letter and intend to write soon to her. Mr. Jackson desires his good wishes to you all and sayes he has a long letter in store for Dr Tom.⁹ Ever remember with kindness your sincerely attached friend

C. C. JACKSON

4. *Alexander M., Jr.*, born about 1852.

5. *Nathaniel Price*, born about 1850.

6. *Mary*, born about 1856.

7. *Mrs. Brown* was Mrs. Catharine Brown, wife of Andrew Brown, Sr., a merchant of Ripley who lived next door to the Millers.

8. *Miss Harriet* was Miss Harriet Dogan, sister of Mrs. Brown who lived with her.

9. *Dr. Tom* was Thomas W. Miller, a son. He was later Adjutant of the 34th Mississippi Infantry, CSA, and was killed in the fighting around Atlanta in 1864.

Many thanks to you dear Mary for writing to me, for letters from my dear friends are the gréatest pleasure I have out here, I hope you will have time and inclination to write me often, I intended to have written you several pages but havent time now

Your friend truly
C

Santa Fe. New Mexico, Oct 11th 1858

My dear Mrs Miller

I have postponed answering your more than welcome letter, much longer than I intended, but by the same mail I received the painful intelligence of the death of one of my brothers, which so much depressed my spirits that I did not feel inclined to write to any one. I felt it to be such an imperfect way of communicating our feeling to each other; yet imperfect as it is, we will cling to it as the only means of knowing any thing of how those we love, and are separated from, get along in this life, and there are a few of you in Ripley I will never cease to feel an interest in, and always be delighted to hear from, whether I am punctual in replying or not.

I have just had a letter from a friend in Ripley, from which I learn, that there has been a revival of Religion there, and I feel truly rejoiced to hear that so many of my acquaintances have become converted. How blessed you have been Mrs Miller to see all your dear girls begin to serve the Lord whilst they are young, and to feel that in unison you can walk the rugged path of life together, and have the blessed hope of spending together a happy eternity.

We live out here in this wild country without preaching of any kind except from the catholics, they have five churches in the city, besides the convent, and a number of private chapels, and you may see hundreds flocking to confession every morning by the time the sun is peeping after spending the nights in all kinds of dissipation, and it is said that some of the Mexican Priests are as bad as any of the members; but they have a number of French and American priests through the country now, who are trying to bring about some reforms in the church, and it is to be hoped they will succeed.

Mr Jackson and myself are still enjoying excellent health, as almost every one does who lives in this part of Mexico, indeed I know it would astonish you to see so many old wizened up men and women, together, as collect on the market ground every day and many of them say they were never sick in their lives, for or five live in or near the city who are over a hundred years old. But they say that so many bad Americans are comeing amongst them, teaching them new ways, that they dont think they will live to get as old as they use to do.

Mr Jackson tells me that the mail is about to close, so I must hasten, please give my best wishes to all your family dont forget Mag. Remember me also to Mrs Brown and Miss Harriet, tell Sallie¹⁰ when

¹⁰. *Sallie* was another daughter of the Millers, who married Andrew Brown, Jr., in 1866.

you and Mary are not inclined to write, a letter from her would be just as gladly received.

Say to Tom that Mr Jackson complains of him greatly. I hope to hear from some of you soon

Your sincerely attached friend

C. C. JACKSON

Santa Fe. New Mexico Dec 31st 1858

Dear Mrs Miller

Though we have been here for some time past, I have not had a single line from one of my Ripley friends yet, I do not believe however it is because they have not written, but owing to the irregularity of the mails through this country at this season of the year, but you can scarcely imagine how anxious I feel to hear from those of my friends, to whom I had become so much attached, Though perhaps it would be better if I could cease to think of them, for this would go far to reconcile me to this country.

We have a few very nice intelligent agreeable, fashionable American families here, and a great many gentlemen, but the latter I am sorry to say cant boast of very good morals, nor can we hope for it to be otherwise until the community changees entirely, You could not believe unless you were here what a degree of prostitution exists amongst the Mexican Women, indeed I believe they consider it an accomplishment, and one they begin to acquire at the early age of ten and twelve. It is a great pity it is so, for the most of them are beautiful, and apparently very sprightly, they dress gay, many of them have silk skirts (for they have no bodies to their dresses) which costs from one to two hundred dollars, they are very extravagant in the way of jewelry. All of these things however, interfere but little with me, I came here from a sense of duty, and feel determined that so long as my own affairs move on, as much to my notion, as they have done ever since we left Ripley, not to let surrounding circumstances disturb or affect my spirits.

I have every reason to hope that Mr Jackson will do well out here, his official duties occupy but little of his time, therefore he intends to follow his profession, which he thinks he can do more profitably than he did in Mississippi, He is associated as equal partner with Judg Watts, the best lawyer in the Territory, but he intends to write to Mr Miller the next mail, and will tell him all about his business prospects.

This is a delightful climate, and we are all now enjoying fine health. May and myself have both fattened a good deal, and I indulge the hope that I will yet recover my health entirely. We have but few persons here professing to be christians of any denomination except the Catholics, they have a large convent, as well as two other churches besides, I wish some of the active missionaries, knew what a work there is

for them out here, and send us a preacher, I do not think Sodom could have had more need of one.

Tell Mary I have persuaded myself that I have a right to claim a letter from her, and she must not dispute it, but spend her first leisure hour in giving me all the gossip she can collect, and if she or Sallie have any idea of jumping the broomstick¹¹ soon, not to leave it out, but tell me all about it. Mr Jackson and the boys join in love and good wishes to your entire family, also to Mrs Brown and Miss Harriet I suppose you still see them every day.

I remain your sincerely attached friend

C. C. JACKSON

Santa Fe Oct 16th 1859

Dear Mrs Miller

I was greatly gratified at the receipt of Marys last letter, though it was so long coming. For since it has been the will of the good being, to afflict your family, I have thought of you daily, and have felt a constant desire to have a long letter from you. How kind and good it is, of dear Mary to take such a stupid infliction upon herself; but really she does it, with such a show of good nature that it makes me forget when I am reading her letters, that the greatest pleasure is on my part.

I can write you but little that will interest you, inasmuch as you are not acquainted with any of the people or circumstances by which we are surrounded, but so far as I am individually concerned, my life glides along quietly and pleasantly. Mr Jackson still prospers in business, and we are very comfortably situated. Our children now number four, our last as good luck would have it, is another little girl, little in truth, and more like her Papa than any of the others, we call her Florence. May is a perfect little pink, her hair is as curly as a darkies. The boys are well and grow like mushrooms, Nat speaks Spanish like a native.

It grieves me to hear of so many deaths amongst my old friends in Mississippi, the two past years has brought about a good many sad changes. How is Oliver's¹² health? I trust it continues to improve.

Tell Dr Tom Mr Jackson thinks hard of him for never writing, often very often speaks of it.

Mrs Miller I have a request to make of you, Will you when you go to the Grave yard, notice the wall around dear little Lillies grave, and if it has fallen, please let Louis put a pen around it, As soon as Mr Jackson gets through, paying up his debts, I will send some money to have it fixed as it should be.

Love to *all my friends*, particularly Mag Mr Brown and Miss Harriet, Mr Jackson and the boys join me in this.

11. The expression "jumping the broomstick," is an almost forgotten expression for getting married.

12. *Oliver* was Oliver R. Miller, eldest son of the Millers and associated with his father in business. Always in poor health, he died of tuberculosis in 1863.

Ever remember kindly, and you or Mary write often to your sincerely attached friend

C. JACKSON

My dear Grand Ma

Ma think I will spoil her letter I have grown so much since I left you I dont expect you would know me and Ma Says I am as ugly as a rock fence A man that lives in this city gave me a Mexican pony not long go and I am learning to ride dont forget me grand Ma. my ma says you are no kin to me, but I know I love you like you was and want to see you the *worst kind*

NAT JACKSON

grand ma pleast write to me

Mountain City Hays Co. Texas
Novr 11, 1864

My, dear "Grand Ma:"

I received a letter from Ma the other day telling me of the receipt of Mrs Murray's letter also of the invitation you gave me through her to write, I assure Grand Ma it will be a very pleasant task to me although I have been suffering for two weeks past with a bone felon, which accounts for this scribbling.

To me it would be pleasant to go into a detail of our many adventures since leaving Ripley but this I leave for Ma to do as my capability for doing so is more limited than her's—when the war broke out in /61, we left Santa Fe and came to San Antonio where Pa joined the army leaving me at school, when he came from New Mexico (where he served) he put me in business & went to Richmond, and received a civil appointment and served in that capacity till the break up which *broke* him *up* too, he then went to work in the Comptroller's office in Austin, he is still there and is doing very well—Allie and I were left out here to school and we often hear from home.

The Cholera has been raging throughout Texas for the last three months with great violence. San Antonio is a place of about fifteen thousand inhabitants and the deaths there for ten days averaged eighty or a hundred a day. The general average was thirty and forty a day. We were very fortunate and got away from there two weeks before it made it's appearance.

I can imagine the dilapidated condition of Ripley, Pa hears from Miss. occasionally principally through Mr Braugher¹³ at Jackson his old partner; Pa has not practised law since he left Santa Fe.

Since we left Ripley I have had three sisters one¹⁴ died in Sixty two there are thre living May—Florence,¹⁵ and Stella¹⁶—Mary the

13. *Mr. Brougher, Pa's old partner*, was C. A. Brougher. He was Capt. Jackson's last law partner at Ripley. In 1861 he was elected Secretary of State for Mississippi and moved to Jackson, Miss.

14. *Bessie*.

15. Born in 1859.

16. Born about 1864. Lillie died in infancy in Ripley, Miss. "The Jacksons had at least seven children."

oldest is ten Florence seven—and Stella two—Allie my brother is fourteen, myself sixteen—I am a very poor hand for giving local news—and will leave that as another share for Ma's letter.

In regard to the photograph you ask for I will have the artist to work on my ungainly features expressly for you.

Well as I have given you all the news I have I will have to bring my uninteresting epistle to a close.

Present my regards to all who may remember. Your attached
"adopted" Grandson
NAT P. JACKSON

P. S.

I will endeavor next time to justify my my composition and penmanship as I am laboring under great disadvantages now.

I wait impatiently for an answer "enclosing your photograph,"
NAT

My address is

Mountain City
Hay's County
Texas

(Continued)

Book Reviews

Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain. By Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble. Santa Fe: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1955.

The primary sources of history are, through prolixity or physical inaccessibility or linguistic problems, kept from the eyes of all but professional historians in a sadly overwhelming majority of cases. It is an event, therefore, when in the form of truly gripping reading the primary documentation from both sides of one of history's greatest dramas becomes available to the unspecialized public.

With the publication of Book 12 of the Florentine Codex, we now have at hand in English the Aztec version of the conquest of Mexico, which was already ours in the conquerors' version from two sources — Cortés himself (the Five Letters) and one of his captains (Bernal Díaz del Castillo). There is much in all these accounts which does not deal directly with the struggle for control of Mexico from 1519 to 1521; but in all three, the reader is swept onward in the rush of great events described at first hand, and the sections dealing with other matters are likely to be found intriguing for their exoticism if for nothing else.

Since the twelve books of the Florentine Codex are not being published in numerical order, the issuance of Book 12 brings us only to the half-way point in the series. Anderson and Dibble, the translators and annotators, will publish a thirteenth volume at the end of the series, summing up their contribution and including an introduction to the work. Since research is still going forward and has now been under way for some years, one may expect the last volume to be a major contribution to American studies.

As has been noted in reviews of the volumes previously issued (Books 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, and 11), the Florentine Codex as presented by Anderson and Dibble is an English version of the original Náhuatl text by Sahagún (and, as is clear in

Book 12, his Indian collaborators). Sahagún, after many years of missionary work in 16th century Mexico, prepared a Náhuatl version of a *General History of the Things of New Spain*. He added a parallel but not always identical Spanish version, and the latter has been through the years the greatest source of information on ancient Mexican life, especially among the Aztecs. Only Seler's German version had been available to those who could not read the Náhuatl.

Again and again in the Book 12 account of the conquest we are confronted not only with the Aztec point of view on that great tragedy, but also with Aztec (that is, Indian) ways of stating that viewpoint. For instance, when the Spanish discovered that an Indian who had presented himself to them as Moctezuma was not the Aztec emperor, they are quoted as saying: "Thou canst not fool us; thou canst not mock us. Thou canst not make us stupid, nor flatter us, nor become our eyes, nor trick us, nor misdirect our gaze, nor turn us back, nor destroy us, nor dazzle us, nor cast mud into our eyes, nor place a muddy hand over our faces."

In his many years of living with the Indians (he became very fluent in Náhuatl), Sahagún may indeed have acquired deep understanding of the native mind; but it seems unlikely that he should have adopted this typically ceremonious, repetitious, and flowery form of Indian speech. It is still less likely that Cortés, fresh from Spain, should have learned it. What we have here, then, is an Indian paraphrase of a Spanish speech. Again and again we see the rhythm familiar to us from Indian legends, North American as well as Meso-american.

There is another interesting example on the same page (page 31). Moctezuma sent some noblemen with gifts for Cortés, and the Indians report what happened: "Like monkeys they seized upon the gold. It was as if they were satisfied, sated, and gladdened. For in truth they thirsted mightily for gold; they stuffed themselves with it, and starved and lusted for it like pigs." The Spanish lust for gold is clear enough in the accounts of Cortés and Bernal Díaz, but not stated in terms of monkey and pig analogies!

We get a fascinating insight into the Aztec mentality (one of many, of course) when the Aztecs learned how powerful the Spanish were, and when their priests foretold the conquest by the newcomers. In the ninth chapter, we read that "Moctezuma became very fearful; he felt foreboding, and was frightened and terrified, and foresaw evil for the city. And everyone was sore afraid. There were fear, terror, dread, and apprehension." It seems clear that the Aztecs, from the emperor on down, were suffering severely from a case of bad conscience. Probably they were imagining what all the nations they had been oppressing would do to them when liberated.

One of the omens which had terrified the Aztecs was the apparently spontaneous fire which broke out in the temple of their patron, Huitzilopochtli the war god. Architectural details, especially of the more perishable parts of ancient constructions, are difficult to come by in archaeology, but in the account of the temple fire, we read that ". . . the squared, wooden pillars were flaring; from within them emerged the flames, the tongues of fire, the blaze which speedily ate all the house beams." It behooves the archaeologist, then, to give much attention (nearly all already do) to Sahagún. The passage just cited (page 2) continues: "Thereupon there was an outcry; the priests said: 'O Mexicans, hasten here to put out the fire! Bring your earthen water jars!'" Where else could we get information on a detail such as the procedure in case of fire?

In translating, Anderson and Dibble have suffered occasional perceptible difficulties. At the risk of seeming ungrateful for the essential and beautiful job they are doing, an attempt was made to suggest something in one or two such instances. The conclusion was arrived at after considerable struggle with the same difficulties that they had done the best that could be done, and therefore the places thus worked over will not be cited. The truth is that because of some important structural similarities, Náhuatl translates into English rather well, on the whole, and the version offered us here takes full advantage of the fact.

Bernal Díaz del Castillo. *The Discovery and Conquest of Mexico, 1517-1521*. (translated and with an introduction and notes by A. P. Maudslay). México: The Mexico Press, 1928. Also London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1928.

Cortés, Hernán. *Five Letters, 1519-1526* (translated and with an introduction by J. Bayard Morris). London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1928.

Mexico City College

JOHN PADDOCK

The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525-1604). By John Leddy Phelan. University of California Press, 1956. Pp. 159, bibliography, index.

As both title and subtitle point out, this is not primarily a resurrection of Fray Gerónimo de Mendieta, pioneer Franciscan historian of the New World, as a person and a historian, but an exposition of his writings which Phelan frames neatly within the Joachimite apocalyptic theories of the Middle Ages. The author succeeds, but too well, in what seems to me a more than clever *tour de force*. His thorough command of Joachimite lore and sources, as well as of the early history of Spanish missionary activities in the Indies, produces a convincing picture of Mendieta and his contemporary mystic-minded Franciscans (in contrast with other more "realistic" ecclesiastics) as dyed-in-the-wool Joachimites. As such, these early sons of St. Francis in America appear as anti-clerical heretics, which most certainly they were not. The fallacy of this extremely logical composition rests on a false premise, namely, that the Franciscans of New Spain (the Observants) were identical with the 13th-century *Spiritual* friars who, by their stubborn adherence to Joachimite doctrine, spelled themselves out of the Order and the Church.

Joachim of Flora, Cistercian abbot and mystic (c. 1132-1202), wrote a prophetic-millennial work that was highly susceptible to anti-papal and other unorthodox interpreta-

tions. His theories were developed by sundry medieval groups, known in general as Joachimites, who produced other writings falsely attributed to Abbot Joachim. Among these was a considerable number of charter Franciscans who, shortly after the death of St. Francis in 1226, vigorously opposed the "Conventual" body of Franciscans under Brother Elias, the latter having ceded to the necessary expedient of dwelling in "convents." The dissidents called themselves "Spirituals," claiming themselves to be the only faithful adherents to the spirit of Francis' rule of Holy Poverty; their strict views on an apotheosized poverty, also a feature of Joachimite theory, led them to embrace other Joachimite heresies. In short, many Spirituals were expelled, and some executed, as formal heretics; while the rest, through obedience to the Roman Pontiff which St. Francis had so much emphasized, renounced Joachimism, but still insisted upon a stricter *observance* of the Franciscan Rule. The heretical Spirituals ended around the year 1318; the faithful orthodox ones, deliberately rejecting the Spiritual designation, developed into the "Observants," soon the preponderant and most famous section of the Order, and who are commonly known as the Franciscans. (The Conventuals, accepting further Papal dispensations from Franciscan poverty, quickly dwindled down to the little-known branch still designated as Conventuals.)

To the Observants belonged all the famous Franciscans of the New World, not to mention those of the Orient and Near East, as well as the teachers and scholars of Western Europe. They certainly were not the centuries-defunct Joachimite Spirituals, much less were they Joachimite in doctrinal persuasion. True, a Joachimite mythical flavor hovered over Spanish and Franciscan ways of thinking — let us say a medieval myth stripped of definite Joachimite heresy. It was something like the classical literary fad in English and other European literature when Grecian gods and their antics crowded almost every line. To say that Mendieta and his confreres actually believed in the imminent extinction of the Papacy and the millennial reign of a purely human monarchi-

cal Messiah other than Christ Himself, is like attributing the worship of Zeus and Apollo to Milton and Shakespeare.

Had the author been fully cognizant of these facts, he would not have mesmerized himself into forcing all his facts into his specious synthetic framework, and his vast historical material and its exposition would have proved of great value. Aside from this major objection, it still does. It clearly shows how the Franciscan missionary approach, with regard to the natives of the New World, was radically different from other views and methods. This was sparked, however, not by Joachimite myth, but by the true Catholic mystique of St. Francis of Assisi.

Jemez, New Mexico

FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ

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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.

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