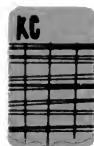
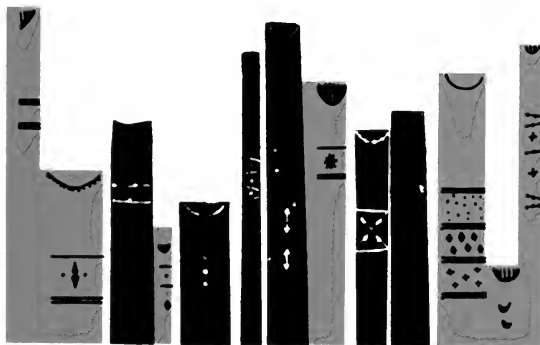


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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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AN AMERICAN SURVEYOR IN MEXICO, 1827-1860*

By DAVID S. MACMILLAN AND BRIAN PLOMLEY

IN 1956 a quantity of manuscript material in the possession of the Birkbeck family in Queensland, Australia, was brought to the notice of Australian historians. Among the more interesting items was a diary and a commonplace book in which the diary entries were continued. Together the books covered the period from 1827 to 1860 in which Samuel Bradford Birkbeck was engaged in the silver-mining industry in Mexico, as surveyor, manager and director for various British companies, and, latterly, on his own account.

Birkbeck, a young surveyor from the Illinois, set out for Vera Cruz in 1826. His father, Morris Birkbeck, a Quaker enthusiast for social and economic improvement, had settled in Illinois in 1817 after emigrating from England. Morris Birkbeck's books "Notes on a Journey in America" (1817) and "Letters from Illinois" (1818), both published in London, ran into several editions, and helped to stimulate emigration to the United States.¹ In the course of the Nineteenth Century several members of the English branch of the family played leading parts in educational and social reform. The Birkbecks were a talented and progressive family in the Quaker tradition.

Young Samuel Bradford Birkbeck and his brother, Charles, appear to have been attracted by the good prospects

* Based on the Diaries and Commonplace Book of Samuel Bradford Birkbeck. The University of Sydney, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

1. Morris Birkbeck's writings after he settled in Illinois, included his "Address to British Emigrants arriving in the Eastern ports with a reply to William Cobbett, Esq." published in New York, 1819, and "An Appeal to the People of Illinois on the question of a Convention," published in Shawneetown, 1823. Copies of these rare publications are in the Birkbeck Collection.

offered in the Mexican silver mining boom of the 1820's. Odd letters inserted into the commonplace book suggest that they were corresponding with friends in Mexico before they left the Illinois. The journey from Vera Cruz to Mexico City lasted three weeks and Samuel Birkbeck's diary for the period, penned in miniscule on forty closely-written pages, gives a fascinating account of the difficulties of the journey, and an interesting picture of Mexico in that year of internal disturbance, unrest and depression. Vera Cruz made a poor impression on Birkbeck—"The streets are narrow and dirty with rotten vegetables and dead animals in every direction and Turkey Buzzards as tame as chickens contending with the innumerable dogs over the carcasses. The fine sea breeze is not felt being excluded by the high walls that front the town. The air appears to be of a very corroding nature, the iron bannisters etc. are entirely decayed . . . the large cannons that answer for posts in the streets are wasted nearly all away."²

The poorness of the lodgings available made the brothers anxious to leave the city but there was much difficulty over the exchanging of currencies and the hiring of the necessary mules and muleteers. Yellow fever was raging in Vera Cruz, and before they could leave for the interior, they were asked to attend the funeral of "a poor American who had died of it. The procession gave rise to some ugly incidents—We were accosted by the populace with the names of Jews and heretics. The service was read and, after cutting and destroying the velvet that surrounded the coffin, that the native onlookers might not be tempted to raise it for plunder, we lowered him into the ground."³

The only attractive feature of the town was its women, with their "fine silk stockings, beautifully worked, and little tight shoes that scarcely cover the toes, a shawl thrown over the head in which is stuck a very high comb, giving a peculiar appearance, that is not unbecoming."⁴ These Mexican charms, however, failed to keep the brothers in Vera Cruz.

2. Samuel Birkbeck's Mexican Diary, p. 2.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

4. *Ibid.*

On leaving the town with a string of 40 mules, the Birkbecks were soon aware of the primitive living conditions and the poverty of Mexico. Throughout their three-weeks journey they found the people hospitable, but able to offer little but "fish floating in grease, black beans and tortillas." On the way, Birkbeck noted numerous details of the dress, buildings, and modes of travel of the people. The extremely poor quality of the livestock impressed him strongly, as did the dangerous and difficult roads and mountain traverses. Only an occasional good bridge, invariably built, as he noted, under Spanish rule, earned favourable comment. Numbers of ruinous haciendas are referred to in the Diary, with decayed establishments for the refining of sugar and broken-down mills. The general impression was of a dismal country whose prosperity had grievously declined.

At the town of Cordova their arrival caused public excitement. Apparently Americans were rare in this part of the country and Birkbeck noted that while they ate in the principal "Mezon," "half the town gazed on to see if 'Los Ingleses' eat like Christians."

As the party moved west, entries were made in the Diary on the tobacco plantations, the strict monopoly applied to the product, the Mexican sugar industry, and on the poor quality of the primitive ploughs and other agricultural implements in use. Birkbeck was a perceptive and practical-minded observer. He was surprised that coyotes should abound in areas of even extensive cultivation, and the native methods of ploughing struck him as wasteful of energy and of oxen. As they neared Central Mexico the country improved greatly. The grain crops and better stock of the great haciendas indicated a more hopeful future for the Birkbecks, and the administrators of haciendas and the major domos of out-stations made the party very welcome. With typical shrewd practicality Samuel Birkbeck questioned and noted, and the diary contains details of the stock carried, the crops produced and the profits made by several haciendas. In several of the villages through which they passed a judicious show of firearms was found necessary to keep off crowds of rough appearance "who

threw stones at us, calling us Jews and Spaniards." Soon they were journeying with arms at the ready "dreading an attack in the hollows through which we had to pass, for the neighbourhood has a bad character, and I have no doubt that the place deserves its notoriety from the great number of crosses we saw by the roadside which it is the custom to erect wherever a murder has been committed."⁵

Large mule trains, consisting of as many as 500 animals began to be encountered, obviously travelling together for safety, and the party soon came in sight of the Popocatepetl. Birkbeck noted that many of the haciendas were local industrial centres, many specialising in the production of pulque. He was disappointed when the valley of Mexico at last came into view.

"After the luxuriant description given of it by the Baron Humboldt and other travellers, nothing can be more disappointing when everything is parched by the dry season . . . an unwholesome-looking shallow pond stretches for miles, with a few miserable villages with specimens of the leperos of Mexico as they call that race of ragged blackguards which infests the metropolis, who appear to have no way of gaining their living but robbery—these free and independent Republicans are great men and look down upon these poor Indians with much contempt. They have swayed the legislature to pass laws contrary to the wishes of the more decent part of the community."⁶

Here, after only a few weeks in the country, Birkbeck was stating his dissatisfaction with the Mexican political system—a sentiment which was to become increasingly strong in him during his long residence in the country.

Birkbeck's account of Mexico City, its architecture, social life, living and working conditions, commerce, its foods and entertainments written at some length, makes entertaining reading. But of more unusual interest is his account in the *Diary of journeys to Real del Monte and Toluca in connection with silver-mining*, where he examined lands which were for sale, having been confiscated by the Government. Entertain-

5. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 19-20.

ing at first the idea of purchasing a small estate, Birkbeck changed his mind, enumerating the many difficulties and problems entailed in land-ownership in this unsettled country. The distilling of whisky was another project that Birkbeck considered and further trips are recorded in the Diary in this connection.

In the course of these journeys Birkbeck encountered several owners of haciendas who were considering leaving the country, such as the "Old Biscayan who, being frightened of the outcry against Spaniards, was returning to Europe after a residence in this country of more than twenty years."⁷ Birkbeck sympathised with such Spaniards, and stated that he considered their treatment unjust, since in many cases they had helped to effect the Revolution. Clearly, he considered that many of the allegations of disloyalty to the new regime made against them were based on personal spite and jealousy.

In the Tierra Caliente district he noted that the Spanish landowners, like his "old Biscayan," had to suffer "insults and the destruction of their property, while the rancheros insult them whenever they go abroad and the authorities deprive them of the privilege of carrying pistols, taking away their only means of defence."⁸ To a man of Birkbeck's upbringing, the injustice was patent and intolerable.

By far the most interesting and informative Mexican item in the collection is the large commonplace book in which Birkbeck assiduously recorded his important business activities, his impressions of Mexico, and in addition, a great mass of detailed information about Mexican trade, industries and agriculture. The silver-mining companies which he served in the 1830's and 1840's were prepared to undertake investments in haciendas and the commonplace book contains over fifty full accounts of haciendas in the years 1836-1840. In many cases Birkbeck noted the brand marks under the names of the haciendas. The nature of the information recorded in the book indicates that Birkbeck was reporting on the estates for the British Companies which he served. The Interest Acts of the early 1830's had encouraged British investment abroad

7. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

8. Samuel Birkbeck's *Commonplace Book*, 1836, p. 53.

and Mexico, like the United States, was a promising field. As an example of this aspect of Birkbeck's work there is his report of October, 1836, on the haciendas of the Marques de Taral.

The Marques, besides the haciendas of Avastudero etc. has those of San Matea and Juan Perez etc. forming the "Condado" and containing about 500 sitios. The marquesado of which the Cohecera is the Taral extends north as far as Sierra Hermosa. Those of the condado are under the charge of Don Antonio Garcia. The marquesado is managed by the Marquis and his sons. The quantity of sheep in all these haciendas is 900,000 and cattle 100,000 head besides a great quantity of horses. A dry year is immensely destructive to the sheep from scarcity of pasture. . . . In the year 1828 the estates lost above 100,000. I recommended to Don Antonio the introduction of white clover to avoid this disaster as it does not require cultivation for sowing and spreads faster and stands drought better than any plant I know. He has commissioned me to obtain some for him from New York. . . . The sheep are of the coarsest kind and produce rather hair than good wool and scarcely any attention has been paid to better the breed. A few good merinos were lately obtained by the State Government and thrived very well, but after the revolution of 11th May of last year, Santana and Barragar seized them as booty.⁹

On these estates, Birkbeck suggested the establishment of a "horse sawmill" and the progressive Don Antonio requested him to prepare a plan. This "Administrador" impressed the American greatly with his improvements, "carried out notwithstanding the prejudice and ignorance of his servants." Innovations included "Scotch ploughs and an imperfect and clumsy imitation of the American winnowing machine for maize." Information on the profits, situation and prospects of the Marques's lands was also recorded.

The hacienda reports are a mine of information on the Mexican country life of the period, but after 1838 Birkbeck was preoccupied with his main interest—silver mining. The Commonplace book contains several hundreds of detailed reports on silver mines. Many of these were ancient, no longer worked, and Birkbeck was commissioned to report on the

9. *Ibid.*, p. 53.

possibility of working them profitably with the new crushing machinery and extracting processes that were being evolved in Europe and in the United States. By this time he had made his home at Zacatecas in the province of Atecas, Central Mexico, and had married Damiana Valdez, a young Mexican woman of good family. Against a background of constant political unrest in the 1840's and 1850's he carried on silver mining operations, often at considerable risk to his life and property. Federalists and centralists kept Central Mexico in a ferment of plots, risings and repressions, and Birkbeck, despite his desire to remain aloof, was inevitably involved in the troubles. The *Commonplace Book* shows that he kept closely in touch with scientific developments, and new chemical methods of processing ores were tried out in the mines which he controlled, often with very good results. The walls of ancient workings were found very productive, and he prospered, but difficulties with the authorities of the Mexican Mint caused him much worry.

One of the most interesting features of the *commonplace book* is Birkbeck's lengthy description of the silver mining industry as operated in Mexico in the 1840's. It lists the thirty different strictly defined grades of workmen employed, from the "Parados a la corriga" through the "paleros" or timbermen, "polvereros" or powdermen, "arreadores" or horse drivers to the "capitanes" or examiners of the ore, giving details of their pay, duties, perquisites and position in the hierarchy.¹⁰

Other interesting accounts are written up in detail, of Mexican irrigation, gold-mining, customs duties and viculture.

By the late 1850's Birkbeck was becoming increasingly worried by the prospect of his sons, now approaching military age, being conscripted into the Mexican Army. He had now nine children and the continual political upheavals made him anxious to leave the country. Selling up his mining interests at considerable loss, he left Mexico in 1860, sailing for Australia where a branch of the family had settled. He died in 1867 while his sons were establishing a pastoral property at

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-74.

Glenmore in Queensland, which his descendants still hold. His thirty three years in Mexico had not, perhaps, justified his youthful hopes of prosperity, but in his diaries, journals and other manuscripts we have informative glimpses of an economic progress made with difficulty and danger in a time of violent unrest in the Mexican Republic.

THE NAVAHO-SPANISH PEACE: 1720's—1770's*

By FRANK D. REEVE

DURING the eighteenth century, the region of Cebolleta Mountain in west central New Mexico, topped by Mt. Taylor,¹ became an area for conflict between two peoples of markedly different cultures, the Navaho and the Spanish—the one classed as pagans by the Christian world, the other devoted followers of Jesus Christ. The former with only a simple concept of a usufructary right in land and water, the latter believing in outright ownership under legal grant from His Majesty, their political sovereign.² These concepts clashed when the two peoples met, despite a degree of good intentions to the contrary on both sides.

Writing early in the century when the Spanish and Navahos were at war, Fray Antonio de Miranda placed on record an interesting statement: "they who made use of me in order that I shall obtain peace for them were the Apaches of Navaho who brought me a holy cross which I sent to General Don Francisco Cuerdo." These Navahos said that they had seen a painted cross on the road to the Moqui Pueblos.³

* ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES: A. C.—Edward E. Ayer Collection of Spanish Colonial documents, Newberry Library, Chicago; typewritten copies. A. G. I.—Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. A. G. N.—Archivo General y Publico de la Nación (Mexico). B. L.—Bancroft Library, University of California. B. N. M.—Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico. N. M. A.—New Mexico Archives, Coronado Library, University of New Mexico. F. L. O.—Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, New Mexico (The University of New Mexico Library has a microfilm copy of these documents).

1. For further details see Frank D. Reeve, "Early Navaho Geography," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 31 :290-309 (October, 1956).

2. Cf. Gladys A. Reichard, *Social Life of the Navajo Indians: with some attention to minor ceremonies*, pp. 89-95. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928. Writing as of the present day, Miss Reichard states that, "Our property ideas are so utterly different from those of the Navajo that there seems to be hardly any principle intelligible to the natives which an official might follow no matter how fair-minded he might be," p. 93.

I assume that there has been no fundamental change in Navaho concepts of property, and that the present understanding applies to the eighteenth century. History supports the assumption.

3. Miranda to Marques de la Peñuela, Laguna, November 25, 1707. A. G. N., *Provincias Internas* 36, Expediente 2, f 84.

A quarter century later, Bishop Benito Crespo was hopeful of converting the Navahos to Christianity, "both because they plant and because of their great worship of the holy [cross], which they keep in their houses like the Jicarillas mentioned above." 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. University of New Mexico, 1954 (Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History, vol. 15). Also in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vols. 28-29 (April 1953, January 1954).

The Spanish of course since the days of Fray Alonso Bena-vides had had relations with both the Moquinos and the Navahos, and the latter had learned that the cross of the white man signified peace, although the cross in form was an Indian design also.

This incident in the days of Fray Antonio had little carry-over insofar as converting the Navahos to Christianity was concerned, but the nearness of their location to the Pueblos of Acoma, the new one officially established at Laguna in 1699, and Jemez, made it inevitable that some day Christian missionaries would be among them. During the second and third quarters of the century a period of prolonged peace reigned between the pagan and the Christian. Trade was carried on and visits of the former to Christian centers became commonplace. The missionary early took advantage of this opportunity, of which hints are found in the records of the period. For instance, in 1744 at Jemez Pueblo the *Padre* "catechized the pagans who were accustomed to enter in peace." And at the Pueblo of Zia, lower down the Jemez Valley, lived a former captive of the Navahos who had been restored to her own people by the Spanish. She, "La Galvana," had resided with her captors so many years that sentiment led them to visit her occasionally, and the resident missionary "catechized some of them."⁴

Meanwhile Benito Crespo, Bishop of Durango, made a visit to New Mexico in 1730 with an eye to asserting control of the secular church over religious affairs in place of the Franciscan missionaries. The time and circumstances were not propitious for any such change. On the contrary, stiff opposition was offered by the pioneers in this mission field against relinquishing control of their century old position. But in his leisurely journeying through the province, Bishop Crespo saw possibilities for further work among the pagans. "The said pueblos of Acoma and Laguna," he wrote, "can be

4. Declaration of Fray Juan Miguel de Menchero [Santa Barbara, May 10, 1744]. "Documentos para la Historia del Nuevo Mexico." A. G. N., *Historia* 25, f233v (pt. 3, N. M. A.). Also printed in Charles Wilson Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773*, vol. 3. Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937.

well administered by one minister, for they are only four short leagues of flat terrain from one another. I must place before the Christian and pious consideration of your Excellency the fact that with zealous workers, they will be able to obtain great increase in Christianity because the place of the pagans, called Cebolletas, is within seven leagues of the pueblo of Laguna.”⁵ He was also aware that the kinsmen of the Cebolleta Navahos, living far to the north, were a fertile field for missionary work. They were peaceful and all that was needed, so he believed, were representatives of the Christian church who would speak their language and labor with zeal among them because they were a farming people and already familiar with the Cross.⁶

Bishop Crespo's reference to the northern Navahos was not without some bearing on the future mission field at Cebolleta, but it was not solely missionary zeal that brought the northern group into this relation. The notion of rich silver mines in the mountainous country of northwestern New Mexico had been in the air for a number of years, at least as early as 1740. When the Mallet brothers returned to French Louisiana in that year, after a year's sojourn in New Mexico, they carried a letter from Santiago Roibal (or Roybal) wherein it was written that “we are not farther away than 200 leagues from a very rich mine, abounding in silver, called Chiquagua [Chiguagua], where the inhabitants of this country often go to trade. . . .”⁷

Don Santiago's interest in the matter was more than academic, so he accompanied the expedition of 1743 that set forth to find the silver in the land of the Chiguagua who lived northwest of the Province of Navaho. The expedition was guided by an Indian named Luís who professed to know the location of the treasure. But the searchers were disappointed. The only tangible results of the trip was a friendly and informative visit with the Navahos and probably the naming of

5. Crespo to Vázquez de Acuña, Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

6. The Bishop of Durango (1731), A. G. I., *Audiencia de Guadalajara*, 104-2-11 (A. C.). And Adams, *op. cit.*

7. Father Sant Iago de Rebald, vicar and ecclesiastical judge in New Mexico to Father Beaubois, in Henry Folmer, “Contraband trade between Louisiana and New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century,” *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 16 :262. Also 15 :91.

the mountain range which is still known as La Platta (the Silver Mountain).⁸

Don Santiago, Vicar and Ecclesiastical Judge in New Mexico, was the representative of the Bishop of Durango. There was a running dispute, although intermittent in occurrence, between the Bishop of Durango and the Franciscan Order concerning the question of jurisdiction in the province of New Mexico. The latter were stubbornly insisting that it was still a mission field and properly under their control.⁹ The presence of Don Santiago on this journey had no direct influence on the subsequent Franciscan missionary work among these Navahos, but the spur to action was felt from another quarter, the competition of the Jesuits who had been granted jurisdiction over the Moqui province by a royal cedula of July 19, 1741. The scarcity of missionaries in their ranks and other difficulties barred immediate action, so the province was restored to the Franciscans in 1745.¹⁰ Meanwhile the latter had not been idle in the matter, and had visited the Moqui. Then they turned their attention to the Navahos.

The Commissioner-General of the Franciscans, Fray Pedro Navarrete, ordered the mission project to be undertaken. In the inclement season of March, 1744, the sixty-seven

8. P. S. Dⁿ. Santiago Roibal, Clerigo Presbytero Domiciliario del obispado de Durango Vicario y Juez eclesiastico de este Reyno, in Sarjento Maiôr Don Joachin Códallos y Rabál Gobernador y Capitan General de la Nueva Mexico, Testimonio á la letra de los Auttos que originales se remiten al superior Governor del Ex^{mo} Señor Conde de Fuenclara . . . Sobre La Reducion de los Yndios gentiles de la Provincia de Navajo al gremio de Nuestra Santa Madre Yglecia, Febrero 26, 1745. *New Mexico Originals*, PE 24 (B. L.).

A part of this ms. has been translated with some errors and published in W. W. Hill, *Some Navaho Culture Changes During Two Centuries*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1940. Reprinted from Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections vol. 100 (whole number). Roibal's testimony of the journey is omitted.

For a short biography of Roibal see Fray Angélico Chávez, "El Vicario Don Santiago Roybal," *El Palacio*, 55:231-252 (August, 1948).

9. A detailed discussion of this jurisdictional problem can be found in the Introduction to Adams, *op. cit.* For a broader discussion see Robert Charles Padden, "The Ordenanza del Patronazgo, 1574: An Interpretative Essay." *The Americas*, 12:333-354 (April, 1956).

10. Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:394 note; 417.

The story of the Moqui mission can be read in Henry W. Kelly, "Franciscan Missions of New Mexico, 1740-1760," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 15:345-368 (October, 1940), 16:41-69 (January, 1941).

year old Fray Carlos Delgado, with Fray José Yrigoyen as companion, left Isleta for the Navaho country, traveling by way of Jemez Pueblo which was Fray José's mission. The two Padres spent six days with the Navahos on their mesa-top homes in the canyons of northwestern New Mexico, preaching the gospel, and distributing gifts to promote the good work. The Indians who assembled to hear the Padres all embraced Christianity, so it was reported. In the zealous eyes of the missionaries, they numbered five thousand,¹¹ a figure that traveled through official channels of communication and eventually reached the King himself.

Meanwhile, one tangible result came from this entry to the Province of Navaho. Some Indian Captains promised to visit Santa Fe at the time of the full moon, and they were as good as their word. Fray Carlos presented them to the Governor, Joaquín Códallos y Rabál (1743-49), who proceeded to take them "under the royal protection as vassals of a king so Catholic that he would protect and defend them from all their enemies."¹²

Both the Governor and the missionaries were eager to follow up this promising beginning toward bringing the pagans into the folds of the Church. Recommendations were sent through both civil and ecclesiastical channels that three or

11. Fray Carlos Delgado to Pedro Navarrete, Isleta, June 18, 1744. A. G. N., *Historia* 25, f216 (pt. 2, N. M. A.). And in Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:392f. Yrigoyen to Navarrete, Jemez, June 21, 1744. *Ibid.*, 3:414. *Historia* 25, *op. cit.*, f219.

Fray Carlos Delgado to Fogueras (commissary general), Isleta, June 10, 1745. B. N. M., *legajo 8* (pt. 1, doc. 19, N. M. A.).

The eyes of Fray Carlos were not so blinded with apostolic fervor that he was not aware of the realities involved in the task of converting the Navahos. So he was of the opinion that "until more [goods are available, such as beads, ribbons, tobacco, etc.], they will be more effectively converted with arms, which, accompanied by words, produce an effect and accomplish a great deal." June 18, 1744, *op. cit.*

12. Delgado to Navarrete, Isleta, June 18. *Op. cit.*

Fray Gabriel de la Hoviela Velarde to Fray Pedro Navarrete. El Paso del Norte, July 12, 1744. B. N. M., *Legajo 8* (pt. 1, doc. 14, N. M. A.).

There is some discrepancy in the dates concerning this visit to the Navahos. Fray Carlos stated that he left Isleta on March 3 for the Province of Navaho and that the Indians promised to visit the Spanish at the full moon. This lunar phase occurred on March 28, and April 26, 1744 (Letter from H. M. Nautical Almanac Office, England, April 20, 1956). Fray Gabriel stated that he sent Fray Carlos to the Province in *May*. This implies that two trips were made. The total evidence is clear however that this could not have been. A copyist's error on the date may have occurred in one of the Padres' letters.

four missionaries should be assigned to the new field. The reasons advanced were that the Indians had clearly revealed a desire to become Christians, that they wanted missions established in their homeland, and that they had lived at peace with the Spanish for a number of years. The Viceroy responded in October with instructions to the Governor of New Mexico that further investigation be made of the project.¹³ Interest in the matter was increased by Fray Carlos' statement that the appearance of the Navaho country gave promise of mineral wealth. But the promise of such wealth played no part in the outcome of the mission work.

Governor Códallos y Rabál held extensive hearings in February and early March of 1745. New Mexicans who had entered the Province of Navaho at various times for the past four decades gave testimony in considerable detail on the nature of the country and the character of the people. While this investigation was in progress, the Franciscans were also active in keeping with the viceregal order of the previous October.

Fray Francisco Sanchez arrived at Isleta Pueblo on February 18, 1745, bearing a patent from the Father Custodian to visit the missions of New Mexico. He also brought dispatches for the Governor and one for Fray Carlos. These were to the effect that the latter should give aid promptly for another trip to Navaho to sound out the attitude of the Indians. Weather permitting, he was anxious to do so.

March 23 found Fray Carlos at Santa Ana Pueblo ready to leave on his mission when an unexpected difficulty arose. The worthy Padre apparently had not secured formal permission from Fray Francisco. The resulting dispute dragged on for nearly a month. The Governor sided with Fray Carlos and helped to break the deadlock through conferences in Santa Fe. Fray Carlos finally left Isleta on April 21, once more

13. Delgado to Navarette, June 18, 1744. *Historia* 25, f244 (pt. 3, N. M. A.); same in Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:394. Delgado Report to Conde de Fuenclara, quoted in latter's statement, October 3, 1744. *New Mexico Originals*, PE 24 (B. L.).

The Governor of New Mexico had used the figure of 4,000 for the Navajo in his report. However, the current estimate of the Navahos ranged from 2,000 to 4,000. Joaquín Códallos y Rabál, Santa Fe, June 16, 1744. A. G. I., *Audiencia de Mexico*, 89-2-17 (A. C.).

bound for the Navaho country in company with Fray José Yrigoyen and Fray Pedro Ygnacio del Pino.¹⁴

The trip to the northwest was not without hardships, which was no doubt true of many of the pioneer missionary trips. The mule bearing supplies fell in the Rio Santa Ana, causing some damage to the cargo. Furthermore, the Rio Puerco of the East was not the damp arroyo of late summer, but held sufficient water to serve as an unwelcome barrier to travelers: "We crossed it undressed and with considerable risk of our lives." Continuing their journey, the Friars arrived at a spring which they named "Nuestra Señora," which was one league distant from the first settlement of the Navahos. This could have been the San José spring of later days or, more likely, Amarillo Spring near the head of Cañon Largo. Here a Navaho chief met the party.

The Navahos had been informed that the missionaries were coming with soldiers to destroy them. The tale bearer was a native of Jemez Pueblo. To this rumor Fray Carlos replied that the informant was the devil in disguise. So he and his companions continued peacefully on their way, visiting the people in various localities and distributing gifts among them. A few rosaries, some beads, an occasional necklace and considerable ribbon were used to gain goodwill.

At a Navaho "Pueblo" named *los Collotes* (the coyotes), a large number of Indians gathered. In confirmation of their desire to become Christians, which they had expressed the year before, some of the leading men now asked for baptism. This step Fray Carlos refused to take without direct orders from his Superior, but he did feel qualified to baptize sick people, so two adults and five children were given this rite of the Church. At least this was the account given to Fray Juan Fogueras in a report prepared at Isleta on June 10. Testifying on an earlier occasion, the missionary stated that he had baptized a chief, his wife, and five sons (without mentioning

14. Fray Francisco at least went through the formality of issuing an order for the trip to the Province of Navaho. Santa Fe, April 5, 1745. A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.). Delgado to Fogueras, Isleta, June 10, 1745. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 1, doc. 19, N. M. A.). The controversy is discussed at length in this document. Fray Francisco's order named Fray Pedro Ygnacio Pino as Delgado's second companion, but he states that Fray Juan Joseph de Toledo was his companion.

the matter of illness) and that he "would have baptized many more if he had remained longer in the Province."¹⁵

Meanwhile, Fray Miguel Menchero, Solicitor General of the Missions of New Mexico, had read the reports from the north concerning the new mission field. He was sent to New Mexico as *visitador* by Fray Juan Fogueras, and soon proved to be a welcome and vigorous addition to the ranks of the pioneer missionaries in the Navaho country. At least he acquired a halo of goodwill from Fray Carlos: "He has been a rainbow of peace in the turbulent storm that occurred in regard to those whom we had converted in the year '44 in the province of Navajoo."¹⁶

The Governor was co-operative in supplying a military escort and other necessities for mission work. Sometime in June, Fray Miguel started on the trip in company with Fray Carlos, Fray José Yrigoyen, and Fray Pedro Ygnacio del Pino, all escorted by Don Bernardo Antonio de Bustamente y Tagle, *Theniente General* of New Mexico, with a detachment of twelve soldiers. Travelling the well-known route that had been blazed by Fray Carlos, they arrived in due time at their destination—the scattered *rancherías* of the Navaho nation in the southeastern tributaries of the Rio San Juan. Moving around the Province, they preached the gospel and distributed more gifts. At the *Pueblo Españoles*, eight children were baptized. The demonstrations of the Indians were so favorable toward receiving the Holy words that the Friars were overcome with emotion and not able to chant the *Te Deum Laudamus*.

15. Fray Delgado on Navaho mission project, May 12, 1745. A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.). Delgado to Fogueras, Isleta, June 10, 1745. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 1, doc. 19, N. M. A.).

There is no doubt about the baptisms having taken place. The one additional note is that they received "instruction," a procedure that became a point of concern to some Franciscans later. Fray Juan Miguel Menchero, *Statement*, Santa Barbara, September 15, 1745. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 1, doc. 18, N. M. A.).

While Fray Carlos was preparing his report, the Alcalde Mayor of Jemez arrived with a story that six Navahos had come to Jemez with the news that one of the baptized Navahos had died. This confirms the statement of Fray Carlos that he had baptized sick people. The news pleased him. He looked upon the event as the "first fruits" of his work. *Ibid.*, doc. 19.

16. Delgado, *et al.* to Fogueras, Isleta, July 11, 1746. Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , 3:421; or *Historia 25*, f250v (pt. 3, N. M. A.). Menchero, *Informe*. Santa Barbara, November 20, 1745. A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.).

The long interval between the visits of the missionaries had made the pagans a bit doubtful of their good intentions. But they were now appeased by the renewed effort of the Friars to carry out their professed intentions to bring them into the fold of the Church. They not only listened to the words of the Gospel with attention, but they also received with pleasure the more tangible evidence of what the proposed new way of life held for them. They were given rosaries and Christian relics for their spiritual life; hoes, needles and tobacco to satisfy their material desires; and a variety of items to appease their vanity, such as glass beads, necklaces, ribbon, and scarlet capes. The ribbon amounted to about one thousand Spanish yards in length.¹⁷ If the other items were in comparable quantity, the Indians had been treated generously. The capes were probably distributed only among the few.

On the return trip from the Navaho Province, Fray Juan Miguel with the military escort turned aside at the Holy Ghost Spring, near the southwest end of Nacimiento Mountain, and traveled to the Pueblo of Laguna. His goal was Cebolleta Mountain where another large group of Navahos had lived for many years. Departing from Laguna with Fray Juan Garcia and Fray Juan Joseph Padilla, the party arrived at their destination on June 30. Fray Juan Miguel went to work in great earnest. He delivered three sermons in as many hours, and recorded the conversion of all the people, or more than 500. But he did not baptize any adults; only the children, and they were volunteers. Don Bernardo Antonio, *Theniente General*, Don Gerónimo de Zevallos, Alcalde Mayor of Laguna and Acoma, and some soldiers held the children in their arms

17. *Testimony* taken at Isleta in July, 1746, from Bustamente, *et al.* B. N. M., *Legajo 8* (pt. 1, doc. 32, N. M. A.). A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.). Fray Juan José Pérez Mirabal to Commissary General Fray Juan Fogueras, Isleta, July 8, 1746. A. G. N., *Historia 25*, f249v (pt. 3, N. M. A.) or Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:420-421). Delgado *et al.* to Fogueras, Isleta, July 11, 1746, *op. cit.*

The name of *Pueblo Españoles* was derived from Doña Agustina de Peralta and Doña Juana Almazan who were taken captive at the time of the Pueblo revolt of 1680. See above *Testimony*. This implies of course that the Navahos were involved in that uprising.

Fray Juan Miguel Menchero was credited with being generous in distributing gifts among the Navahos in 1746 without cost to the royal treasury. Bernardo Antonio de Bustamente y Tagle, "Testimonial," B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 45, N. M. A.).

during the baptismal rites, thereby acting as Godfathers. Twenty-seven were so gathered into the Church. They were given presents for co-operating in the ceremony. With this heartening success, the Friars returned to the mission of St. Joseph at Laguna and sang *Te Deum Laudamus*. Then they moved to St. Stephens at Acoma and sang mass.¹⁸

While the missionaries were laboring among the pagans, the civil government was studying reports and coming to a decision about the new mission project. A year and a half after Fray Carlos first entered the Province of Navaho in 1744 and reported that 5,000 souls had been won for the Church, the King ordered that all necessary aid be furnished for the mission project and that a detailed progress report be sent to him.¹⁹ In keeping with the royal instructions, the Viceroy issued the decree of June 28, 1746, directing the Franciscans to establish four missions in the Province of Navaho.²⁰ But neither the zeal of Fray Juan Miguel nor the will of the Viceroy could bring about the successful establishment of the proposed missions.

A number of factors interfered with the project. The Utes on the northern frontier, and border tribes elsewhere, erupted and taxed the military resources of New Mexico. The Governor, therefore, was unable to provide immediately the military protection for the proposed missions. Fray Juan Miguel himself took time out to accompany a military expedition against the Gila Apaches, operating from the Presidio at El Paso in the summer of 1747.²¹ By December of this year, he was again at Isleta. Evidence of his previous missionary activities awaited him.

A Navaho had arrived from *Los Coyotes* where the Friar had baptized a few children. At that time the wife of this

18. *Testimony* taken at Isleta in July, 1746, *op. cit.* Menchero wrote of "my missionaries in the conquest of the province of Navajo and the new conversion of the nation of the Cebolletas in their rugged and uncultivated mountain. . . ." A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.).

19. Instructions to Viceroy Conde de Fuenclara, San Lorenzo, November 23, 1745. A. G. I., *Guadalajara 295* (N. M. A.). The same in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:416.

20. B. N. M., *Legajo 8* (pt. 1, doc. 33, N. M. A.)

21. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2:218ff. The Torch Press, 1914. 2 vols. H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 245. San Francisco, 1888.

Navaho was pregnant. The father now wanted the new born infant baptized. With Don Nicholas Chaves and his wife acting as God parents for the Indian child, the appropriate rites were performed. In due time the Navaho returned home, stating that he was coming back with some friends and other people. As of June 15, 1748, he had not returned.

Prior to this event, and during Fray Juan Miguel's absence from New Mexico, his associates, in some way not clearly revealed, had had contact with the people in the Province of Navaho. The Navahos in turn (at least some leaders) had led the missionaries to believe, and the Governor too, that they would come to Santa Fe to be missionized in the spring of 1748. They had not done so.

Fray Juan Miguel was tempted to visit the Navaho once more to clinch the matter, but several reasons weighed against it. New Mexico was suffering from a drought, so springs were dry. This made travel difficult for both man and beast. He also seemed a bit uncertain about what Navahos had obligated themselves which, in view of their scattered settlements, might cause him to miss them. In other words, they might be traveling to Santa Fe by way of the Piedra Lumbre while he was moving northward from Jemez. And then he had the new Pueblo of Sandia on his mind. There he was trying to settle about 350 Pueblo folk who had been brought back from the Moqui Province after a number of years of exile.²²

Conditions by the summer of 1748 led Fray Juan Miguel to change his mind about immediate plans for the Navahos. For one thing he had completed the task of settling the Moquinos at Sandia Pueblo. Then a Navaho, probably Fernando de Orcazitas, visited him with a renewed request for a mission. So sometime during the following months he did bring some Indians from the northern province to a new homesite in the Cebolleta region. Writing early in 1749 or late 1748, he stated that despite the inability of Governor Codáillos y Rabál

22. Menchero to Fray Lorenzo Antonio de Estremera, Santa Fe, April 20, 1748. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 50, N. M. A.). Menchero Petition to Governor, June 15, 1748. *Ibid.* (doc. 45). Governor to Viceroy, Santa Fe, June 15, 1748. *Ibid.*

Documents on the Sandia resettlement project are translated in Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 2:220-225.

to fulfill the commands of the Viceroy in 1746 that a military escort be provided for the proposed missions, he had acted independently: "I took the step in compliance with my obligation to seek the said Indians and to bring them to the place opposite of the point of the compass, which is the South, of the said province of Navaho. . . ." ²³

Just when the migration took place is not specified. But the fact that it was done is supported by the report of Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún who, writing in 1760, alludes to the heathen Indians at Cebolleta, among whom he worked in 1748, as being both Apaches and Navahos, thus distinguishing between the Navaho of the Province of Navaho and those who had long lived on and along the base of the Cebolleta Mountain. Fray Juan Miguel had drawn the same distinction when he first visited Cebolleta in 1746. Of course both groups were Apaches in the eyes of the Spanish (or Navaho, if you prefer), and belonged to the same linguistic group, namely Athapaskan. ²⁴

The Navahos were suffering from the effects of a drought in 1748. With inadequate crops, they had been forced to draw heavily upon their livestock for subsistence. This no doubt made some of them more amenable to the missionaries' suggestion that they move to the Cebolleta region. ^{24a}

In the fall of 1748, Fray Juan Miguel had petitioned the Governor to accompany him to select mission sites in the Cebolleta Mountain area and also to examine the people and land farther north. The Governor was physically incapacitated at the time, so he commissioned "Theniente del Alcalde Mayor" and War Captain of Laguna and Acoma, Don Pedro Romero, to do the job. Fray Juan Miguel, Fray Juan Joseph

23. In statement of Don Juan Francisco de Guemmes y Horcacas, Conde de Revilla Gígedo (Viceroy 1746-1755), Mexico, October 18, 1749. *New Mexico Originals*, PE 30 (B. L.).

The Spanish reads: tome la providencia en cumplimiento de mi obligacion de buscar á dicho Yndio, y á traer los p.^r la parte ópuesta de el rumbo que es, el sur, de la dicha Provincia por donde no los ymbaden sus enemigos tanto, y ofresen mayores comodidades su cituacion que es la Sierra de la Cebolleta. . . ."

24. Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún, *Noticias*, 1760. A. G. N., *Historia* 25, f41 (pt. 1, N. M. A.); or Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:471.

24a. Gov. Códallos y Rabál, "Statement," Santa Fe, July 20, 1748. N. M. A., doc. 494 (1748-1751).

de Padilla, Fray Juan Joseph Toledo, accompanied by Don Fernando de Orcazitas, Captain General of the Navaho people, traveled together to the proposed mission site where the Friars had already laid the seed for their work. The party was escorted by Don Juan Phelipe de Ribera, Lieutenant of the Santa Fe Presidio, with a force of ten regular soldiers, ten residents from the Albuquerque district, and twenty-five Pueblo Indians. Leaving Laguna Pueblo about November 9, they arrived at Cebolleta Canyon, a distance of six to seven leagues to the north, where they received a cordial welcome from the Navaho people.

Entering the "Jacal de su morada," or sheltered assembly place, the group seated themselves on the ground and Fray Juan Miguel proceeded to explain the purpose of his visit, speaking through interpreters. The Indians present professed to understand him. With this auspicious beginning, Fray Juan Miguel retired to his tent for a rest.

Early the next morning, the real work began. A variety of gifts were first distributed to the adults and children: ribbon, religious relics, rosaries, crosses, medals, bells, beads, necklaces, elk skin for shoes, some caps, false pearls, garnets, sugar, hoes, tobacco, and other items. With the preliminaries ended, the missionary preached to the multitude. Then the several Spaniards present advanced with a child in arm to be baptized. The ceremonies lasted until sunset, when eighty-one children had received the Holy rites. The next day nineteen more children were baptized, making a grand total of 100.

The religious service was followed by civil proceedings, since these people were of interest to both the church and state. The two prominent Navahos present were given a baton in token of their leadership. They were then advised that at a future date they should visit the Governor in Santa Fe for official confirmation of their political status. In this fashion the Spanish began the policy of trying to instill into the minds of the Navahos some understanding of political unity and responsibility of leadership as understood and practised by the white men.

All the Navaho people in the Cebolleta region were not

present on this occasion. Winter snow, the scattered nature of their way of life, and a touch of measles prevented a grand assembly.²⁵ Nor did the ceremonies mean that a permanent mission had been established, and least of all a pueblo. But a site for a mission church was selected. It was probably near the mouth of Cebolleta Canyon, the location of the present-day village of Cebolleta. The Navahos lived on top of Cebolleta Mountain and in the adjacent canyons. The distances given by contemporaries of six to seven leagues from Laguna to the Cebolleta mission is approximately the distance today from Laguna to the village. It may be that some of those present were migrants from the north.

The Franciscans were still thinking in terms of four missions in the Navaho country, but that was coming to be an impossibility. Four missionaries had been approved and their stipends provided, but the physical difficulties in the undertaking and the Indian way of life worked against success.

The Presidio at Santa Fe had been reduced from a complement of 100 men to eighty some years before. The drought and border warfare had reduced their effectiveness in protecting far-distant missions, and the Governor thought of the Province of Navaho as being ninety or so leagues distant from Santa Fe. This was an over-estimate, but at the best the protection of missions on the Rio San Juan, where they were originally planned, no doubt would have created a military problem, despite an earlier judgment to the contrary.²⁶

Further reasons advanced for abandoning the northern mission field was the normal scarcity of water and the limited acreage for irrigation. This may have been the rationalization of a faint heart, although the Franciscans had revealed very little of that attitude in general. Fray Juan Miguel and his associates had actually visited the valley of the Rio San Juan, but I suspect that it was the upper stretch where irrigation was less practicable; so in abandoning the northern field, Fray Juan was thinking in terms of the narrow canyons in

25. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 1, doc. 35, N. M. A.). Varo, *Report*, January, 1749. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 57, pp. 3, 9, N. M. A.).

26. Phelipe Romero, *Declaration*, Mexico, November 12, 1745. A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.). He was of the opinion that a detachment of fifteen men and the Navajos themselves could ward off Ute enemies.

the Province of Navaho where land and water were distinctly at a premium.^{26a}

Accepting the realities of the situation, Fray Juan Miguel recommended that the missions proposed for the Province of Navaho be abandoned and that locations for them be selected in the Cebolleta country where mission work had actually been started, and even a site selected for one church at Cebolleta. Governor Tomás Vélez Cachupín (1749-1754) approved the proposal in May, 1749, and the following October the change was approved by the Viceroy, but only for two missions²⁷ rather than the long dreamed of four.

Fray Juan Miguel had made another trip to Moqui in order to bring more of those people to the valley of the Rio Grande. The results were very disappointing. In a subsequent hearing on the matter, witnesses testified that the expedition had not touched at Cebolleta for reasons not known to them. But that is aside the point. Most of them agreed that the Navahos of Cebolleta wanted a mission, and that the location was suitable for two. This was the revised project that the Viceroy approved.²⁸

The visit to the Governor at Santa Fe that had been stipulated at the time of the conversion rites at Cebolleta was carried out by some Navaho leaders in September of 1749. They were evasive when questioned about settling down at a mission site in the Cebolleta area. The Governor finally stated that he would wait until their crop of maiz was harvested, then he would visit them with the missionaries. He was as good as his word. The Governor, Fray Juan Miguel, Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún, Fray Manuel Bermejo, and the Navaho Captain Don Fernando Orcasitas, who probably served as

26a. In the Nineteenth century the Navajos took possession of the San Juan valley below the old mountainous region where they had been more secure from Ute attacks by living on the mesa tops. "The crop was raised upon one of the bottom holes along the San Juan, cultivated without irrigation, watered only during a high stage of the river. The corn tassels were of the height of a rider's head upon horseback." Lieut. C. A. H. McCauley, *Report of the San Juan Reconnaissance of 1877*. 45 cong., 3 sess., hse. ex. doc. 1, pt. 2, p. 1768 [1846].

27. Cachupín, Order, May 4, 1749. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 61, N. M. A.). Statement of Don Juan Francisco de Guemmes y Horcasitas, October 18, 1749. Note 23 above. Fray Carlos Delgado had been confident in 1745 that missions could be established in the meadows (vegas) along the Rio San Juan. Testimony of May 12, 1745. A. G. I., *Mexico 89-2-17* (A. C.).

28. *Ibid.*

interpreter, arrived at a site named Encinal on October 20 (possibly the 21st) where some Navahos were living. These were probably migrants too. The location was a short distance north and west of Laguna. The Indians gave the visitors a friendly reception as usual but bargained over the proposition that they should adopt a settled way of life with a mission in their midst.

Two points seemed to be important to the Indians. First, they wanted protection against enemies. They no doubt had the Utes in mind. Second, they requested the Governor to act as Godfather for their children as he had done on a previous occasion for other Indian children. The Governor agreed to both proposals. With this understanding they agreed to accept Fray Juan Sanz as their resident missionary and built a brush shelter for him, finishing the job in one day. Even the Governor and the soldiers pitched in and worked on the task.

This otherwise pleasant scene was marred by an argument that occurred between Fray Manuel and Fray Juan Miguel over jurisdiction and their respective ecclesiastical status in the baptismal rites performed for the Indian children. When Fray Juan Sanz baptized a child he used the phrase, "*cum venia Parrochi.*" Fray Juan Miguel objected to this, claiming that Fray Juan Sanz was no more *parroco* at Encinal than Fray Juan Miguel himself; in fact, the latter claimed that he was *parroco* there. Fray Manuel argued to the contrary, claiming that both he and Fray Juan Sanz had priority because they had been elected by the Legitimate Prelate. But they did not push the matter to a conclusion, nor did they engage in any outburst of temper because Indians were coming and going in the Governor's tent at the time, and they did not wish to disrupt the useful work which they were both anxious to conclude after so many months if not years of frustration.

The issue of course involved the question of whether a resident mission friar should have the privilege and responsibility of baptizing members of his flock, or whether a visiting missionary enjoyed equal right, or in the case of a new mission, prior right. Fray Juan Miguel claimed to be *parroco* for the founding of the mission, but Fray Manuel argued that

Fray Juan Sanz, selected as the resident missionary, had the status of *parroco* from the the moment of his appointment to the Encinal mission.

Despite the argument over procedure, the baptismal rites were completed for the time being. Sixteen children were inducted into the Church with the Governor acting as Godfather. Fray Manuel was a bit skeptical about the proceedings, implying that these youngsters had been baptized on a previous visit from the missionaries and that their sole interest in repeating the ceremony was the lure of gifts from the white man.²⁹

Moving northward to the site of Cebolleta, where they had previously labored, the good work was continued on the 25th. The argument about jurisdiction also continued, with a new issue being injected. In the first place, Fray Juan Miguel tried to clear the air about jurisdiction with the assistance of the Indians. He asked them whether or not he was their only *padre* and had preached to them on a previous occasion. They replied in the affirmative. Fray Manuel refused to be convinced. He was fearful that the Indians had been imposed upon. Furthermore he was of the opinion that Fray Carlos Delgado, Fray José Yrigoyen and Fray Pedro Ygnacio del Pino had come among these neophytes first. Fray Manuel's opinion implies that the Navahos at Cebolleta, among whom the missionaries were now laboring, were migrants from the north, since Fray Carlos Delgado had done his work in the Province of Navaho and not at Cebolleta Mountain. Fray Juan Miguel had been the pioneer preacher in the Cebolleta field, although he had also labored in the northern field. If these pagans acknowledged correctly that he was the first to come among them, the conclusion would be that they were the Cebolleta Mountain Navahos.

Another argument arose over the name of the new mission. Fray Juan Miguel wanted to name it La Concepción and St. Anthony. Fray Manuel favored San Pedro Regalado on the ground that the Custodia already had several missions named

29. Fray Manuel Bermejo to Joseph Jimeno, Santa Fe, November 13, 1749. B. N. M., leg. 8 (pt. 2, doc. 55, N. M. A.). Bermejo to Custodio Fray Andre Varo, Santa Fe, November 11, 1749. *Ibid.*

for the Holy Mother and for St. Anthony, and as resident missionary he claimed the right to decide. Just when this issue was settled is not clear. Meanwhile the Indians were holding out against the initial proposal of their visitors.

The Navahos claimed that if they consented to settle under the auspices of a resident missionary, they would be prevented from hunting as was customary; they also feared that they could not learn the doctrine of the Church, and that they would be punished for their shortcomings. Fray Manuel assured them that they could hunt at will, that they could have a month, or three months, or a year or more to learn the doctrine, and that he would not punish them; in fact, he would not even scold them for failure. On the contrary, he would teach them with patience and a generous measure of love and kindness.

To the pagan mind the offerings of the whiteman were not crystal clear, but they did go through the form of welcoming a new way of life. They accepted their appointed missionary, Fray Manuel, and gave him a shelter for a house until a church and friary could be built. As immediate evidence of success, sixteen children were baptized by Fray Juan Miguel. Then the resident missionaries carried on the work.

Fray Juan Sanz labored for nearly five months at the Encinal mission, catechising the Indians, and Fray Manuel did likewise at Cebolleta. They lived under primitive conditions, supporting the venture largely from their own pockets. To say or hear mass they were forced to travel the six or seven leagues to Laguna Pueblo. Their pleas for material aid finally brought a little maiz, some sheep and one-half pound of indigo, all for Fray Manuel. His colleague received nothing.

The Governor profited from the mission venture whether or not the Indians were becoming Christians. The missionaries complained that he carried on trade in skins and baskets with the Alcalde of Zia, Don Carlos de Bustamente, acting as agent. Since the business was legal, there was nothing that they could do about it.³⁰

30. Bermejo-Lezaún, *Report*, October 29, 1750. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 3, doc. 67, N. M. A.).

The Indians at Encinal were practical enough to recognize the need for water in tilling the soil. Their supply was inadequate, so they petitioned to be removed to a better site at the spring of Cubero. This meant possible encroachment on the lands of Acoma, so the Governor thought it advisable to make an investigation before any change was carried out. Fray Manuel San Juan Nepomuceno y Trigo was asked to undertake the task in company with Don Bernardo Antonio de Bustamente, Lieutenant General.

On April 16, at Laguna Pueblo, Don Bernardo presented a letter to Fray Manuel San Juan from the Governor with information that the Indians at Encinal and Cebolleta missions had driven out the resident missionaries. Fray Manuel was asked to investigate this new development. He did so with all the formality of an official investigation.³¹

The hearings were held at Acoma in April. Witnesses to the initial meetings with the Navahos, when the mission work was started with resident missionaries, were very positive in their testimony. In reply to the words of Fray Juan Miguel Menchero offering certain inducements for a settled and Christian way of life, "They [the Indians] replied that they did not want pueblos now nor did they desire to be Christians, nor had they ever asked for the fathers; and that what they had all said in the beginning to the reverend father commissary, Fray Miguel Menchero, was that they were grown up, and could not become Christians or stay in one place because they had been raised like deer. . . ." ³² They were willing to have their children baptized, and to remain at peace and friendship with the Spanish. Maybe later on the children would accept the new way of life.

Don Pedro Romero, Lieutenant of Acoma and Laguna, stated: "They themselves knew nothing and for what was given to them they handed over their children to have their

31. Cachupín to Nepomuceno y Trigo, Santa Fe, March 24, 1750. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 2, doc. 66, N. M. A.). The same letter can be found in *Historia 25*, f341v (pt. 3, N. M. A.). And in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:424. Nepomuceno y Trigo to Bustamente y Tagle, n. d., *Historia 25*, f342v (pt. 3, N. M. A.). Hackett, *op. cit.*, 3:432.

32. Testimony of Capt. Don Fernando Ruyamor, Alcalde Mayor of Acoma and Laguna. Acoma, April 18, 1750. Hackett, *op. cit.*, 3:433-34. The Spanish version is in *Historia 25*, f344 (pt. 3, N. M. A.).

heads washed with the water of baptism, and for no other reason." And he pointed out that Fray Juan Miguel had been generous with presents whereas the resident missionaries had little to give them. This materialistic view of the Navahos was supported by the interpreter. "I know all these people well [he said], for they are my people and my relatives, and I say that neither now nor ever will they be Christians. They may say yes in order to get what is offered them, but afterwards they say no."³³

Another factor at work in causing failure in this mission field, according to some of the Franciscans, was the bad example set before the Navahos in the Spanish-Pueblo Indian relations. In an effort to get the Navaho mission on a firm foundation in short order, the Governor had drawn upon Laguna Pueblo Indians to build a church at Cebolleta, and those of Acoma to work at Encinal. This first-hand glimpse of forced labor did not please the Navahos. They saw in it the reflection of their own future. And in other ways they came to realize that all was not perfect in the Pueblo-Spanish relations. As Fray Juan Sanz recorded: "The heathen Navahos are continually coming into and going out of the pueblos, and they see iniquities and hear the clamors of the Christian Indians. There had been hopes for the conversion of the Navahos, but after having observed all this oppression, no matter how much they are preached to they will be unwilling to be reduced. . . ."³⁴

A deeper reason, and one not clear to the eighteenth century missionary, was the wide gulf that lay between Christian concepts and the ingrained beliefs of the Navaho people. To the latter, as a contemporary student has phrased it, "Fear of the dead, the 'ghost,' amounts to a tribal phobia; it is the most universal of all reactions. Christianity gives the Navaho

33. *Ibid.* This rational for Indian behavior was not peculiar to civil officials. The Father Provincial, writing in March of 1750, attributed the delay in establishment of these missions to the fickleness of the Indians "who promised to be congregated and have not complied, and the cause may have been the total lack of supplies." B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 3, doc. 70, N. M. A.).

34. Lezaún, *Report*, November 4, 1760. Hackett, *Historical Documents*, 3:474; *Historia* 25, f41 (pt. 1, N. M. A.). See also the Bermejo-Lezaún *Report* of October 29, 1750. B. N. M., *leg. 8* (pt. 3, doc. 67, N. M. A.).

as its divine hero a man become god because he is risen from the dead."³⁵

The rejection of the missionaries did not mean the end of Navaho-Spanish relations. But the hope of settling them in a pueblo with a resident religious slowly faded from the Spanish mind. The church ornaments for the proposed missions were stored in care of the "Syndic of the missions." In the course of time some were given to the missions at Sandia Pueblo and the settlement at Abiquíú. Finally, in 1783, the remainder were distributed.³⁶

Meanwhile, the basic relation between the two people shifted from a religious to a territorial problem. Spanish settlers slowly penetrated the valley of the Rio Puerco of the East and the Cebolleta area in mid-eighteenth century. In short, the immediate furor over the expulsion of the Franciscans had scarcely died down when the first Spanish land grant was made in the valley of the Rio Puerco.

The population of New Mexico increased very slowly in the eighteenth century, but sufficient pressure developed within the narrow confines of the Rio Grande Valley to force frontier expansion. The first movement into the valley of the Rio Puerco occurred in the 1750's. The five sons of José Montaña, unable to make a living from their few acres in the Albuquerque district, were "obliged to go out, among the nearest Indian Pueblos, to work for them, sometimes weeding their fields, sometimes bringing firewood from the

35. Gladys A. Reichard, "The Navajo and Christianity," *American Anthropologist*, n. s., 51:67 (January-March, 1949).

The Ghost Dance movement of 1890 among Western Indians was rejected by the Navaho: "For the Navaho with his almost psychotic fear of death, the dead and all connected with them, no greater cataclysm than the return of the departed or ghosts could be envisaged. In short, the Navaho were frightened out of their wits for fear the tenets of the movement were true." W. W. Hill, "The Navaho Indians and the Ghost Dance of 1890," *Ibid.*, 46:525. See also Morris Edward Opler, "The Lipan Apache Death Complex and its Extensions," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 1:122-141 (1945), and "Reaction to Death among the Mescalero Apache," *Ibid.*, 2:454-467 (1946).

The story of Franciscan mission work among the Navahos in recent times can be read in Robert L. Wilken, *Anselm Weber, O. F. M.: Missionary to the Navaho 1898-1921*. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1954.

36. The Father Provincial's reply of March, 1750, to Don Ant^o Ornedal's *Informe*. B. N. M., leg. 8 (pt. 3, doc. 70, N. M. A.). A. Cav^o. De Croise to Ansa, Arispe, January 24, 1783. N. M. A., doc. 853 (1782-1784).

The care of these ornaments is discussed by Fray Francisco Atanasio Dominguez in Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angélico Chávez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, p. 274f. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1956.

mountains, for the small compensation of the few ears of corn, with which they pay, for this and other very laborious work." Their petition for a land grant was acted upon favorably by Governor Cachupín under date of November 25, 1753.

The Montañó boys were not alone in this first venture to the West. A total of twelve families, or about eighty persons, were involved including a few servants. Their settlement was officially named Nuestra Señora de la Luz, San Fernando y San Blaz. The land lay along the Rio Puerco from a point slightly south of west of Albuquerque to a boundary line approximately due west of the Pueblo of Santa Ana. The northern line enclosed a strategic water hole in the Cañon del Gueyo. Under the terms of the grant, specific lots were assigned to the families with the houses arranged in a compact form to enclose a public square with only one gate for entry, wide enough for a wagon. The arrangement was intentionally for defense since the region was known to be a route of entry for hostile enemies (the Southwestern Apaches) invading the settlements to the east.

The settlers were officially placed in possession of their land at the site of the village on December 11, 1753. Antonio Baca, Chief Alcalde, officiated at the ceremony. The grant was bounded on the north by the Zia-Laguna road, on the south by the Cerrito Colorado, on the east by the Rio Puerco Mountain (the brow) and on the west by the Mesa Prieta. Due to their failure to meet the specific terms of the grant, these settlers nearly lost possession. They petitioned for a copy of the grant papers in 1759, not having received them. Governor Don Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle (1754-1760) stipulated that the grant would be reconfirmed provided they built a settlement according to the royal regulations. They agreed, and a copy of the papers was issued by the Governor under date of January 19, 1759.³⁷

Antonio Baca next located a site for a home and stock ranch in 1759. He did not acquire legal possession and petitioned three years later for a formal grant because he lacked

37. F. L. O., R49 (File 93).

A figure of seventy-four persons for this settlement is given by R. E. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 1:91f (Doc. 277).

sufficient land "to enable me to raise, pasture and maintain my herds and horses so necessary for the continual war which, in the service of both God and the King, and without pay, we maintain in this province with the savages overrunning the country, supplying ourselves at our own expense with arms, horses, ammunition and provisions, and in order to enable me to do this with greater facility and promptness." His willingness to locate in the place described was a tribute to the peacefulness, at that time, of the Navahos of Cebolleta.³⁸

The Baca grant lay west of the northern part of the Montaña grant. It was bounded on the north by the Mesa Blanca Canyon, on the east by the Mesa Prieta, the south by a point on the Rio Salada, and on the west by "the high mountain, where the Navajo Apaches cultivate." The Rio Salada enters the Rio Puerco from the west at about the same point as Cañon del Gueyo from the east. The "high mountain" of the Navaho, of course, was Cebolleta Mountain. This grant was named Nuestra Señora de la Luz de las Lagunitas del Rio Puerco.

The roughness of the land made impossible a careful survey of the area, but since metes and bounds was the common method of defining boundaries, and since the settlers of the time knew what the geographical terminology meant, there was no conflict over boundaries, although there might be and actually were some disputes as to priority of possession. The normal way to prevent conflict was to have witnesses present when land was formally tendered to the owner. If there were no objections at that time, the boundaries were considered official.

The Baca grant was significant in regard to the Navahos. Under Spanish rule they were recognized as having a usufructary right to land when actually used. If there was any possibility of Navaho rights being invaded, the Alcalde Mayor also summoned them to be present as witnesses in order to

38. The Navahos had an opportunity to complain about this frontier expansion other than being present at the time and place of placing a settler in possession of a Grant. They had access to the Governor at Santa Fe who followed a policy of treating them in a friendly way and of presenting visitors with food and a few gifts. Francisco Antonio Marin de el Valle to Manl. de el Portillo y Urrizola, Santa Fe, May 10, 1761. A. G. N., *Prov. Inter.* 102, f141 (pt. 2, N. M. A.).

raise any valid objections at that time. On this occasion, Navaho representatives were not actually present, but it was reported by Bernardo de Miera y Pacheco when Baca was placed in possession on August 3, 1762, that the adjoining settlers said they would not be injured by the proposed boundaries, "nor would the peaceful Navajo Indians. . . ." ³⁹

Antonio Baca failed to secure proper title to his land grant when first located in 1759, so other settlers moved into the area. Baca made a fight for his ranch and won a formal grant from the Governor in 1762. Joaquin Mestas was the dispossessed settler and now applied for a grant in the upper watershed of the Rio Puerco, northward from Baca's grant. The specific boundaries are of no interest at the moment, but the grantees received the land "with the condition that they shall not give or occasion any injury to the Apaches of the Navajo country, but shall rather treat them with love, fidelity and kindness, endeavoring earnestly to bring them to the pale of our Mother the Church and under the vassalage of our sovereign. . . ." Bartolomé Fernández, Alcalde Mayor, placed Mestas in possession on February 8, 1768. There were no Navahos living there to object, and the nearest Spanish settlers, the Montoyas to the south, had no complaint to register. ⁴⁰

Westward from the Mestas location, a land grant was made to Ignacio Chaves et al. on January 20, 1768. It lay along the Arroyo Chico which encircles Cebolleta Mountain on the north. Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendieta (1767-1778) stipulated that the grant was made "saving the rights of third parties having a better title, and especially the rights of the Apaches of the Navaho country, (should there be any on the land applied for by these parties) and under the condition that they shall not dispossess those Indians, nor drive them away from the land they may have in occupation. . . ." Navahos were to be summoned for the ceremony of possession, but there were none present when the act was carried

39. F. L. O., R101 (File 176). Published in 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, pp. 72ff. Twitchell lists the grant in *Spanish Archives* . . . , 1:41 (doc. 105).

40. F. L. O., R97 (File 171). Published in 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, p. 20; and Twitchell, *Spanish Archives* . . . , 1:159.

out on February 17.⁴¹ This was rather surprising because the land was certainly close to the old haunts of the Indians. The inference is that the Navahos had never cultivated the bottom land of the Arroyo Chico, although they had a stronghold nearby on top of the Mountain.

Two residents of Atrisco, Diego Antonio Chaves and Pedro Chaves, seeking land for their stock, pushed over to the northwest side of Mt. Taylor in the Canyon of San Miguel, a southerly extension of Arroyo Chico. There they found a spring of water. The Governor was a bit scornful of their petition for a land grant in 1766. It appeared to him that they could have located nearer existing settlements, such as San Fernando on the Puerco, but that they preferred to have land in "the peaceful region of the Navajo country."⁴² But the important question was whether the Navahos would be affected adversely. Bartolomé Fernández, who was well acquainted with the region, advised the Governor that "I have never observed that they the said Apaches have lived upon the land permanently, and much less would it be prejudicial to the people of this province" (that is, the Navaho). Furthermore, "In regard to whether the Navajo Apaches have planted or now plant upon the land applied for I state, that I have seen in a branch of the little valleys scattered here and there a few corn stalks, but I have never observed that the Apaches lived near these small patches of corn, but they mostly make their huts, owing to their dread of the Utahs, distant and on the highest and roughest parts of the mesas."

The Alcalde Mayor made a correct observation of Navaho farming practice. His failure and that of the Governor was not to realize that the patches of corn that appeared abandoned were symbolic of Indian use of the land. It was possible of course that Spanish stockmen could run their cattle or sheep in the country without harming the crops. When the act of possession was carried out on July 4, 1767, "with summons to the Navajo Apaches, who adjoin the said tract of

41. F. L. O., R96 (File 170). 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, p. 13.

42. The Rio Puerco region, due west of Albuquerque, or southeast from Mt. Taylor, had long been regarded by Spanish authorities as a route of attack by Southwestern Apaches against the Rio Abajo, so the northwestern side of Mt. Taylor would be a safer location.

Nuestra Señora del Pilar on the West, and who are outside of these limits, they interposing no objection whatever," the grantees felt no sense of intrusion into forbidden territory.⁴³

Continuing the encirclement of Mt. Taylor with land grants, Bartolomé Fernández de la Pedrera petitioned for a tract of land farther up the Canyon of San Miguel, or south of the grant made to Felipe Tafoya and associates. The spring of San Miguel provided the necessary water. "Although some small parties of Apaches of province [of Navaho] are accustomed to live at said spring this will not prevent them from so doing—but will rather serve to conciliate and gratify them, and contribute to their quietude whilst in our lawful friendship and good relations . . .," so the petitioner claimed.

Governor Mendinueta approved the petition provided that there was no injury to the interests of a third party (the usual reservation) "and especially to the unchristianized Indians, of the province of Navajo, not only those accustomed to live at San Miguel spring but all the others who should be treated with kindness and Christian policy, so as to incline them to civilization, and draw them to our holy faith, and the subjection of our sovereign." With this understanding, on September 11, 1767, the grantees were placed in possession of the land by Carlos José Perez de Mirabál at Santa Cruz de Guadalupe in the "Navajo province." In regard to the rights of the third party, he reported: "the citation I made to the adjoining parties, the same being to all the contiguous residents, except to the Navajo Apaches, there being none at that place, but having ascertained, whether any of them lived there all answered me as well the residents as other Navajoes, that usually when out hunting a few came to reside a short time at said spring" of San Miguel.⁴⁴

To the southwest of the Bartolomé Fernández grant, or northwest of Mt. Taylor, Santiago Duran y Chaves petitioned

43. F. L. O., R99 (File 173). 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, p. 41ff. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:140 (doc. 456).

It was even recorded that the lack of Navaho opposition was marked by the fact that "two families having voluntarily joined them, and who are supported by kind treatment, and the said land so applied for being known to be unfit for cultivation, and fit only for pasture land, on which account the said Apaches have not made, nor will not make, any complaint whatever, as is shown by the past."

44. F. L. O., R78 (File 154). Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:110f (doc. 358).

for a square league of land in 1768 that enclosed on its eastern side the spring of San Mateo. This was "in the neighborhood of Navajo. Although in the vicinity of the spring some Apaches farm they cannot be injured because there is sufficient land where I may establish my farm without injury to them," and the site lies outside the Fernández grant. As in so many cases of requests for land, Duran y Chaves needed more pasturage, his stock numbering 800 mares, 40 mules, 1,000 sheep, and some cattle belonging to his mother.

The petition was acted upon favorably by Governor Mendinueta "without prejudice to any third party . . . and very especially to the Apaches who plant at the mentioned spring of San Mateo." If necessary to avoid disturbing the natives, the boundaries should be adjusted accordingly. When Don Bartolomé Fernández measured the area on February 12, there were "seven ranchos of Apache Navajo" within the southeast boundary of the small valley where the grant was located, but they did not object to the intrusion of the Spanish settler because they were friends and would assist them against their enemy the Ute Indians.⁴⁵

Two years before the Mestas land grant, Governor Cachupín had granted a tract one league square to Miguel and Santiago Montoya, residents of Albuquerque, in the upper Puerco valley. It was bounded on the north by the Mestas land, on the south by a tract belonging to José Garcia, and extended westward from the Rio Puerco to a hill called Angostura. It lay north of the junction of the Arroyo Chico and Rio Puerco. The Governor granted the petition of the Montoyas on October 23, 1766. The following year, on January 29, Bartolomé Fernández placed them in possession: "proceeding to measure off one league, on each course, I measured from East to West, three thousand four hundred varas, the distance from the Puerco river, which is the boundary on the East, to a small hill called the Angostura, which is the boundary on the west, and in order not to impinge upon fields that are generally planted by the Navajo Apaches, and which are situated towards the west, I completed the remainder of the five thousand varas on the northern side, the boundary being the

45. F. L. O., R134 (File 190).

point of a mesa called the Bosque Grande. . . ." Witnesses from Zia Pueblo gave their assent to the grant, but there were no Navahos present.⁴⁶

Luis Jaramillo, a discharged corporal of the Santa Fe garrison with thirty-six years of service to his credit, petitioned for land "on the slope of the Navajo country" for the maintenance of about 1,000 head of small stock and a few cows. The desired spot was west of the villages along the Rio Puerco where settlers received a grant in 1753. They protested the proposed grant to Jaramillo, but lost their case. He was given possession on August 14, 1769. To the west of Luis' land, a tract was held by Salvador Jaramillo who sold part of it for the sum of \$5,600 worth of cows and sheep in 1772 to Don Clemente Gutierrez, a resident of Albuquerque. The sales contract had an interesting stipulation from the point of view of Navaho possessory rights: "the said vendor also says that if at any time the Apaches who live in the center of the *sitio* should ask for the said land in order to establish a town, the vendor shall not lose it, the purchaser shall lose it. . . ."⁴⁷ Salvador Jaramillo's homesite was at Santa Cruz de Navajo.⁴⁸

In the winter of 1768 Bernardo de Miera and Pedro Padilla were granted a tract of land one league square that bordered the south side of the holdings of Antonio Baca and Salvador Jaramillo and lay west of the settlements of the Rio Puerco. The land that they wanted was "commonly called the Cañada de los Alamos. . . ." The boundary of the proposed grant was conditioned by the "understanding that if on the course towards Cebolleta where the Pueblo of the Navajo Apaches was commenced to be built the survey of the league should approach so as prejudicially to affect the planting or pastoral lands belonging to the site of the said Pueblo so commenced, it will be reduced in so far as not to occasion injury. . . ." This was in keeping with the usual practice of safeguarding the interest of a third party, "and especially the Apaches of the Navajo country, and under the condition that

46. F. L. O., R100 (File 175). 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:162 (doc. 571).

47. F. L. O., R103 (File 177). 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, p. 100.

48. F. L. O., R98 (F172).

they do not ill treat them or drive them away from their settlements [estancias] but rather endeavor, to bring them under the influence of our holy faith and under the control [vassalage] of our Sovereign, by treating them with good faith and Christian Charity, under the penalty of Defeasance in the grant. . . .”

Pacheco and Padilla were residents of the Albuquerque jurisdiction and had experienced the pinch of inadequate pasturage for their stock. The former owned some cows and Padilla had 700 sheep and a small herd of mares. The care revealed in safeguarding the interests of the Navahos implies that the Indians were not stockmen in this locality, otherwise there should have been a clash of interests at the moment. This assumption is strengthened by the fact that the western boundary of the land grant was Cebolleta Mountain and to the south “a cañon where there are usually some Apaches living.” The northern boundary was the Arroyo Salada in part.

Francisco Trebol Navarro, Alcalde Mayor of the Albuquerque jurisdiction, placed the grantees in possession on March 3, 1768. For witnesses of the ceremony to safeguard third-party interests, there “appeared the settlers of San Fernando, on the Puerco river, Salvador Jaramillo settler at the place Santa Cruz de Navajo, and the Indians of Sebolleta, and each of them exhibited to me the grants they have respectively to the lands they hold . . .,” and stated that they would not be injured by the new grant.⁴⁹

In 1768, Don Carlos José Perea de Mirabál petitioned for a grant of land that he had been using about eight years. It lay to the west of Jaramillo's holdings. The area was known as the Cañada de los Alamos, sometimes called *Sitio de Navajo* or place occupied by the Indians. Don Carlos claimed that he

49. F. L. O., R98 (File 172). 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62.

Some Navahos apparently had become aware of the Spanish procedure for securing land ownership. This inference is strengthened by the statement that the Navahos of Cebolleta had engaged in campaigns against hostile Indians in company with the Pueblo folk of Laguna, Acoma and Zuñi, “and they have come as the other Pueblos to confirm their varas.”

Governor Don Francisco Antonio Marín del Valle (1754-1760) to Governor Don Manuel del Portillo y Urrisola (*ad interim* 1760), May 10, 1761. A. G. N., *Provincias Internas* 102, pt. 2, f143.

had located there before the Navahos and had lived amicably with them: "That within these said villages of Navajo Apaches, that most of these have come to settle here since I have been in possession without having had any trouble. . . ." His petition was granted by Governor Mendinueta on May 21, 1768, "without prejudice to any third party who may have a better right, and particularly with regard to the Navajo Apaches, notwithstanding that the greater part of those who live within the limits of the boundaries may have gone there after the said grantee Mirabal had settled there." On June 18, at Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe of Santa Rosa, Bartolomé Fernández placed him in possession of the grant. Neither neighbor Jaramillo nor the "Apaches" objected.⁵⁰

The country along the south side of Mt. Taylor was also penetrated by eighteenth century Spanish settlers. Baltazar Baca, a resident of (Our Lady of) Belen, feeling the pinch for pasturage, petitioned for a tract of land about three leagues slightly west of north from Laguna Pueblo. The eastern boundary joined the land where the Franciscans had attempted to establish the mission of Encinal. The petition was approved on December 16, 1768, with the condition that Baca and his sons, who were partners in the grant, should not forsake their homes in Belen and should use the land only for stock raising. Third party interests of course were not to be injured, least of all "the pagan Apaches of the Province of Navaho." Neither the Pueblo folk nor any Navahos objected when Antonio Sedillo placed the grantees in possession on January 19 of the following year, naming the tract "San José del Encinál."⁵¹

The amicable intrusion of the Spanish into the territory of the Navahos came to an abrupt end early in the decade of the 1770's. The half century of peace between the two people was followed by another era of conflict. As a result, the settlers in the Valley of the Rio Puerco abandoned their holdings, and the settlements became ghost villages. The Navahos reasserted mastery of their territorial homeland just as earlier

50. F. L. O. (File 195).

51. F. L. O., R104 (F 178). 43 cong., 2 sess., hse. ex. doc. 62, p. 109f. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:44 (doc. 114).

they had rejected the Spanish mission and the notion of village life for themselves. Missionary work among them was not resumed until the closing years of the nineteenth century. The contest for land in the Cebolleta area ended in their defeat much earlier.

The failure of the Navaho mission was due to the gulf that existed between the two cultures, and additional sources can be cited to illustrate that situation. But the reopening of the struggle for land can only be surmised in the lack of specific reasons advanced by contemporary recorders of events. It is reasonable to assume that Spanish stock ranging on unfenced acreage might wander into Navaho corn fields and enjoy the rich diet but irritate the rightful owners in the process. To protect the fields was not practicable because the Navahos did not have a year-round fixed habitation, nor did they pay much attention to careful cultivation of a corn crop, leaving it more to the tender ministrations of Mother Nature. On the other hand, the roaming Spanish-owned stock could readily be a temptation to the younger have-nots among the Navahos. The theft of a horse, or a few sheep would readily arouse the owners to punitive action. This in turn could stir up other Navahos who, perhaps guiltless in starting the trouble, might be punished for the wrong-doings of their kinsmen. With retaliation following retaliation on a petty scale, the time would come when the government would be obligated to take a hand in the matter. This in turn meant outright warfare or skillful diplomacy. In the eighteenth century, the Spanish tried both methods, especially the latter in the decade of the 1780's after a few years of warfare.

The assumption that the cause of the trouble between the two peoples was simply economic in nature is an over-simplification of the story, although it is difficult to analyze the problem with ease because of the one-sided nature of the sources of information and the nature of those sources. But there was a time of general economic distress during the drought of the late 1740's that could have incited the Navahos to seek relief by raiding their neighbors. But this drought occurred during the era of peace. It did not lead to the reopening of Navaho-Spanish hostilities. They were delayed for

another quarter century, and at that time there is no clear evidence that the Navahos were in dire straits. There must have been some other specific factor. It can only be concluded for the time being that too close contact through territorial proximity provoked frictions that brought an end to the longest era of peace between the white people and these Indians until their military subjection in the 1860's, about two and a half centuries after the first recording of conflict between the two, Navahos and the Europeans.⁵²

52. Writing in 1781, Croix stated that "The fear of losing their possessions obliges them [the Navahos] to keep peace in New Mexico, but when they observe afflictions within the province, they are induced by their relatives, the Gila, to declare war upon us." Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783*, p. 113. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941.

To risk their own possessions for the sake of their distant kinsmen is too altruistic. To believe that the Navahos would fish in troubled waters, except for a few have-nots, is hard to believe.

NEW MEXICAN WOMEN IN EARLY AMERICAN WRITINGS

By JAMES M. LACY*

THE Americans who came into New Mexico during the first half of the nineteenth century found a society very different from the one they had left in the United States. The language, the religion, and the customs were unlike anything they had known. The people dressed differently, ate different foods, and governed their actions by a set of values which the newcomers found difficult to understand. There was more gayety, less social restraint, and an attitude almost of indifference to material gain. The visitors saw much that interested them, and many of them recorded their reactions for posterity in letters, diaries, and journals.

Few aspects of the society received more attention from the early visitors to New Mexico than the women. They were the one subject upon which most newcomers voiced approval. The Mexican men were usually disliked by the Americans, but almost every male visitor whose opinions have been encountered has had something complimentary to say about the women. The two sexes were endowed with entirely different character traits in the writings of the Americans. The consistency of these differences in the reports of the Americans removes any doubt as to the sincerity with which these opinions were formed. George Kendall wondered at the contrast between "the almost universal brutality and cold-heartedness of the men of New Mexico," and "the kind dispositions and tender sympathies exhibited by all classes of the women."¹ Francis Parkman, perhaps unconsciously, made a distinction between the men and women by referring to the men as "Mexicans," and the women as "Spanish." He spoke of seeing "a few squaws and Spanish women" and "a few Mexicans, as mean and miserable as the place itself." He

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1. George W. Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan-Santa Fe Expedition* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelly and Sons Company, 1929), pp. 393-394.

also saw "three or four Spanish girls, one of them very pretty."²

Two explanations are possible concerning the distinctions made between the men and the women: the latter either had many finer qualities, or the American visitors were prejudiced. The latter explanation seems possible when it is remembered that these visitors were usually men who had been long away from the society of civilized women. Most of them were either trappers or traders, men to whom home-ties were not strong. The former group would spend months away from civilization during the trapping season, and on their infrequent visits to Taos or Santa Fe it is not likely that they would be too critical of any female companionship they encountered. The traders had been weeks away from white settlements when they reached New Mexico, and could understandably react in the same way as the trappers. It is significant that the only American woman to visit New Mexico at this time and give her opinions of the New Mexican women she saw, did not have much that was complimentary to say about them. Susan Magoffin told of passing a stream where women were washing clothes.

It is truly shocking to my modesty to pass such places with gentlemen. The women slap about with their arms and necks bare, perhaps their bosoms exposed (and they are none of the prettiest or whitest); if they are about to cross the little creek that is near all the villages, regardless of all about them, they pull their dresses, which in the first place but little more than covered their calves, up above their knees and paddle through the water like ducks.³

When it is remembered that Mrs. Magoffin was traveling in the company of her husband and that she had just come from a society which was already under the influence of Victorian decorum, it may not seem wise to accept her as the most creditable judge of women.

All of the men who visited New Mexico were struck by the beauty of the New Mexican women, and they were fairly

2. Francis Parkman, *The Oregon Trail* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1925), pp. 288-291.

3. Susan (Shelby) Magoffin, *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico*, a diary, 1846-1847, ed. Stella M. Drumm (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1926), pp. 90-91.

unanimous in attributing this beauty to certain characteristics of their appearance. Zebulon Pike was more conservative in his description than most writers, possibly because his writing was an official report to his government. He was content to say that the "women have black eyes and hair, fine teeth and are generally brunettes."⁴ Josiah Gregg showed a little less restraint in saying that "the females . . . not infrequently possess striking traits of beauty. They are remarkable for small feet and handsome figures."⁵ It was George Kendall who gave the most elaborate portrayal of the attractions of the New Mexican women.

The more striking beauties of the women of Northern Mexico are their small feet, finely turned ankles, well-developed busts, small and classically formed hands, dark and lustrous eyes, teeth of beautiful shape and dazzling whiteness, and hair of that rich and jetty blackness peculiar to the Creole girls of Louisiana and some of the West India islands. Generally their complexions are far from good, the mixture of Spanish and Indian blood giving a sallow, clayish hue to their skin; neither are their features comely, although frequently a face may be met with which might serve as a perfect model of beauty. But then they are joyous, sociable, kind-hearted creatures almost universally, liberal to a fault, easy and naturally graceful in their manners, and really appear to have more understanding than the men.⁶

Kendall later described such a "perfect model of beauty" whom he saw while being marched as a captive to Mexico.

It was at Albuquerque that I saw a perfect specimen of female loveliness. The girl was poor, being dressed only in a chemise and coarse wollen petticoat; yet there was an air of grace, a charm about her, that neither birth nor fortune can bestow. . . . Her dark, full, lustrous eyes, overarched with brows of penciled regularity, and fringed with lashes of long and silken texture, beamed upon us full of tenderness and pity, while an unbidden tear of sorrow at our misfortunes was coursing down a cheek of the purest and richest olive. Her beautifully curved

4. Zebulon Pike, *Exploratory Travels Through the Western Territory of North America* (Denver: W. H. Lawrence and Company, 1889), p. 335.

5. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies, in Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, vol. XXIX, ed. Reuben G. Thwaites (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), pp. 344-345.

6. Kendall, *op. cit.*, pp. 432-433.

lips, half open as if in pity and astonishment at a scene so uncommon, disclosed teeth of pearl, dazzling white. . . . She could not be more than fifteen, yet her loose and flowing dress, but half concealing a bust of surpassing beauty and loveliness, plainly disclosed that she was just entering womanhood. . . . The prettiest girl I ever saw was standing on a mudwall in Albuquerque with a pumpkin on her head.⁷

The beauty of the women was enhanced in the eyes of their American admirers by their mode of dress. The women of the United States were at the time wearing clothing designed to hide as much of their feminine beauty as possible. The dresses were long enough to allow only an occasional glimpse of an ankle and were bound high around the neck. With several layers of petticoats under the dresses, there was little means of identifying the feminine form. The first glimpse of the New Mexican women in their scanty and revealing attire must have been quite a shock to the visitors. George Kendall was "a little astonished at the Eve-like and scanty garments of the females" he met and thought them only half dressed. He wondered how they could have "the indelicacy or . . . brazen impudence to appear in dishabille so immodest." Later he decided the mode of dress of the New Mexican women was more practical than that of the women of the United States.⁸ Kendall described the dress of the women in detail.

Among the Mexican women, young and old, corsets are unknown. . . . All the females were dressed in the same style, with the same abandon. . . . the forms of the gentler sex obtain a roundness, a fullness, which the divinity of tight lacing never allows her votaries; their personal appearance and attractions are materially enhanced by the negligee style.⁹

Susan Magoffin added to the description of the women's dress. "The women were clad in chemises and petticoats only; oh, yes, and their far-famed *rabosas*."¹⁰ The *reboza* was a long narrow scarf made of cotton with sewed-in pockets, which served as parasol, bonnet, shawl, veil and carry-all.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 522-523.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 428.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 429.

10. Magoffin, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

So archly and coquettishly does the fair Mexican draw the rebosa around her face, that the inquisitive beholder is frequently repaid with no other than the sight of a dark and lustrous eye peering out amid its folds.¹¹

The *mantilla* resembled the rebosa in many respects, but was made of finer material and was worn by the more fashionable ladies in the larger cities, "with that peculiar grace which no other than the lady of Spanish origin can affect."¹²

Stanley Vestal, in one of his books about this period, described the effect the women's clothing must have had on the Americans.

The way they dressed was, in itself exciting to men from the states. They never heard of underwear. Petticoats, bustles, bodices, long sleeves, high necks, hats were all unknown to Santa Fe. The women wore a skimpy *camiso*, loose abbreviated sleeves, short red skirts, gay shawls, and slippers. They made what then seemed a prodigal display of their charms.¹³

Vestal also told of how Kit Carson must have reacted to the women :

Kit was a little abashed by the exotic black-eyed girls in their short skirts, skimpy white chemises, their bare shoulders half hidden beneath gay *rebosas* or sober black mantillas.¹⁴

The New Mexican women were as vain about their appearance as women elsewhere, and did everything possible to add to their attractiveness. The gay, revealing clothing worn has been described, and in addition they wore much jewelry, of which they were very fond.¹⁵ A fair skin was considered to be an outstanding feature of beauty, possibly the result of a desire to maintain and accentuate their Spanish ancestry. Some of the women and girls habitually wore a covering of paste made of the red juice of the *algeria* plant on their faces to keep their complexions as light as possible. When a *fandango* or *baile* was to be held, off would come the

11. Kendall, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 432.

13. Stanley Vestal, *The Old Santa Fe Trail* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939), p. 264.

14. Stanley Vestal, *Kit Carson* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), p. 30.

15. Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

red stain and white chalk would be applied freely.¹⁶ When George Kendall first saw the women with the red stain on their faces, he thought it had been caused by illness. "Two-thirds, at least, of the women we had seen were more or less disfigured by these deep-red marks." He later learned the cause for the marks.¹⁷ David Lavender described the preparation of the women for a fandango as he pictured it from his research on the period.

Off the women's cheek came the startling daubs of flour and the scarlet stains of *algeria* juice with which they protected their complexions during the workaday week. Their lustrous hair was plaited into long braids; their vanity sparkled with earrings, necklaces, heavy bracelets, massive crosses of gold and silver—jewelry for which more than one *senorita* or *senora's* husband had willingly accepted years of slavery.¹⁸

Some of the American visitors to New Mexico had reason to be thankful for the kindness and generosity of the women they found there. The kindness often came at unexpected times, when the men were suffering at the hands of the Mexican men. The Texans, on their long march to Mexico, received almost their only acts of pity and generosity from the New Mexican women. ". . . during a short halt," Kendall wrote, "women gave us each a watermelon, besides apples, cakes, and, in fact, everything they could spare." The captured Texans marching under guard, were pitied by the women, who cried "Pobrecitos" as they passed.¹⁹ Another prisoner in Santa Fe, John Peyton, owed his life and escape to the daughter of his jailer. She slipped him nourishing food during his illness and later helped him to escape.²⁰

The uninhibited nature of the women was as much a contrast to what the American men had been accustomed to in the United States as was their way of dress. The Puritan influence was still strong in the frontier settlements from

16. Dewitt C. Peters, *Kit Carson's Life and Adventures*, from the facts narrated by himself (Hartford, Connecticut: Dustin, Gilman and Company, 1874), p. 240.

17. Kendall, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

18. David Lavender, *Bent's Fort* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1954), p. 63.

19. Kendall, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

20. Maurice G. Fulton and Paul Horgan, *New Mexico's Own Chronicle* (Dallas: Banks Upshaw and Company, 1937), p. 74.

which most of these men had come, and the social contact between the sexes was always on a decorous and restrained basis. The lesser amount of restraint in the relationship between men and women in the new land must have been a pleasant surprise for the newcomers. It is true the unmarried girls were subject to chaperonage by their elders, but it was easily apparent that this situation was imposed upon the young ladies, and was not of their choosing. The evidence indicates that when a girl married, usually in her early teens, she enjoyed a freedom unknown to American women.

Zebulon Pike was one of the few visitors who did not always show approval of the New Mexican women in his writings, and he placed the blame for their conduct on the men of New Mexico.

The general subject of the conversation of men are women, money and horses. . . . Having united the female sex with their money and their beasts, and treated them too much after the manner of the latter, they have eradicated from their breasts every sentiment of virtue, or of ambition. . . . Their whole souls, with a few exceptions . . . are taken up in music, dress, and the little blandishments of voluptuous dissipation. Finding that the men only require them as objects of gratification to the sensual passions, they have lost any idea of the feast of reason and the flow of soul which arise from the intercourse of two refined and virtuous minds. . . .²¹

Josiah Gregg blamed the immoral conduct of the women on the forced marriages which were common in New Mexico. The young girl seldom had anything to say about the choice of her husband, her parents making all the arrangements for the marriage. Girls were considered ready for marriage by the time they were fifteen, and any romance in their lives usually came after they were married. The society in which they lived permitted, or at least did not prohibit, such a romance.

In New Mexico marriage . . . is usually looked upon as a convenient cloak for irregularities, which society less willingly tolerates in the lives of unmarried women.²²

21. Pike, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

22. Josiah Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

The women of New Mexico were attracted to the men from the east. The traders and trappers were usually bigger and stronger than the Mexican men, and much more aggressive and demanding. Also they had money to spend, and usually did so freely.²³ From all indications, this interest was returned by the foreigners. These girls were quite different from the ones the men had known at home. Harvey Fergusson explained this difference in one of his books about the early New Mexicans.

. . . the Mexican girls knew that complete submission to the male will which was a part both of their Indian heritage and of their European tradition, and they shared something of the primitive aptitudes and hardihood of Indian women.²⁴

Stanley Vestal has tried to picture the wives employed by the women in their relations with the Americans.

They seemed to have an almost continental attitude. They could be haughty and coy, but they knew how to be engaging and flirtatious, too. Coquetry with them was an instinct, not just a trick.²⁵

An example of the reception given the early visitors by the women of New Mexico is found in James O. Pattie's narrative of his own adventures.

. . . it is a strong proof of their politeness, that we were civilly treated by the ladies, and had the pleasure of dancing with the handsomest and richest of them. When the ball broke up, it seemed expected of us, that we should escort a lady home, in whose company we spent the night and we none of us brought charges of severity against our fair companions.²⁶

The women in Texas observed the same license in their conduct as those in New Mexico. The society in which they

23. Harvey Fergusson, *Wolf Song*, in *Followers of the Sun* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936), p. 14.

24. Harvey Fergusson, *Rio Grande* (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1945), p. 136.

25. Vestal, *The Old Santa Fe Trail*, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

26. James O. Pattie, *Pattie's Personal Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and in Mexico, 1824-1830* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1905), p. 190.

lived was the same, with the same conventions and the same attitudes. A Texas colonist reported in his journal on the lack of discretion among the Mexican women.

Delicacy forms but a small part of female character in San Antonio. . . . Unmarried girls are very vigilantly kept from all intercourse whatever with the other sex unless one of the parents be present—soon as married they are scarcely the same creatures, giving the freest indulgence to their naturally gay and enthusiastic dispositions, as if liberated from all moral restraint.²⁷

This same opinion of the moral laxity of the women in Texas was expressed by a Mexican official visiting there.

The women, who are, as a general rule, good-looking, are ardently fond of luxury and leisure; they have rather loose ideas of morality, which cause the greater part of them to have shameful relations openly, especially with the officers.²⁸

One woman was mentioned more than any other by the visitors to New Mexico. This was Doña Gertrudes de Barceló, sometimes known as "La Tules." She was a familiar figure to Americans in Santa Fe in the years before the American occupation. She had amassed a great fortune as proprietor of one of the gambling houses in Santa Fe, and this wealth gave her much prestige and power in the city. She is an enigmatic figure in New Mexican history because the people who wrote about her gave such different versions of her character and activities. It was said by some that she was a friend to the Americans at a time when many Mexicans were turning away from them. It was rumored that she was the one who warned the United States occupation forces about an uprising planned by the Mexicans to retake Santa Fe and all of New Mexico from the Americans.²⁹

The character of Doña Tules shows great dissimilarity as

27. Edward M. Clopper, *An American Family* (Huntington, West Virginia: Standard Printing and Publishing Company, 1950), p. 191.

28. Jose Maria Sanchez, "Trip to Texas in 1828", *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, p. 251.

29. Fergusson, *Rio Grande*, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

portrayed by different writers. Josiah Gregg, who knew her in Santa Fe, called her "a former prostitute who made a fortune in gambling," and added as a note on the society of that time that she was "now received among the highest social circles."³⁰ A modern writer on New Mexico pictured Doña Tules as the mistress of Governor Armijo, and the real power in the province.³¹ In the historical novel *The Golden Quicksand* she became a heroine and was endowed with many virtues. She was shown as a friend to Americans, although she got a big share of their money in her gambling house. She was pictured as a deeply religious person who gave much of her wealth to the Church and the poor. In the novel Doña Tules was not the mistress of Armijo, but only his business associate.³² A recent writer, who bases his belief on early church records of the marriage of Doña Tules and the baptism of her children, states that she was "a respectable woman and faithful wife."³³ Whatever the true character of Doña Gertrudes de Barceló might have been, she has achieved immortality in the writings of Americans.

Other women of Spanish descent have been mentioned often in American writings. Two of these were sisters, the wives of Kit Carson and Charles Bent. Members of the aristocratic Jaramillo family, they married two of the most outstanding and influential Americans in the Territory. Lewis Garrard, a young man on an outing with a group of trappers, described the two ladies as he saw them at the trial of the insurgents following the Taos rebellion in 1847.

Senora Bent was quite handsome; a few years since, she must have been a beautiful woman—good figure for her age; luxuriant raven hair; exceptional teeth, and brilliant, dark dark eyes, the effect of which was heightened by a clear, brunette complexion.³⁴

30. Josiah Gregg, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

31. Ruth (Laughlin) Barker, *Caballeros* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1931), p. 60.

32. Anna Burr, *The Golden Quicksand* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1936), p. 167.

33. Fray Angélico Chávez, "Doña Tules, Her Fame and Her Funeral," *El Palacio*, Vol. 57, No. 8 (August, 1950), p. 234.

34. Lewis H. Garrard, *Wah-to-Yah and the Taos Trail* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1938), p. 186.

Of Josefa Carson, Garrard wrote:

The wife of the renowned mountaineer, Kit Carson, also was in attendance. Her style of beauty was of the haughty, heart-breaking kind—such as would lead a man with the glance of the eye to risk his life for one smile.³⁵

Although the early American writers had little good to say about the men they encountered in the Southwest, the women received almost universal approval. They possessed many qualities which attracted the newcomers. They were kind and friendly, where the men were often suspicious and surly. The beauty of the women of New Mexico was a common subject in many of the journals and diaries of the Americans. Although their moral laxity was commented on by many, this weakness was usually blamed on native customs or upon the men, whose treatment of the women was said to have made them what they were. The great number of Americans who married New Mexican women is a good indication of the regard in which they were held.

35. *Ibid.*

SONORAN MISSIONARIES IN 1790

By HENRY F. DOBYNS AND PAUL H. EZELL *

IN THE first days of the year 1791, a Spanish royal official sat down in the winter chill of Arizpe, capital of the Frontier Provinces of New Spain, to write out a list of the missionaries serving in the Province of Sonora. This was an annual duty. His list dated January 3, 1791, located in the National Archives of Mexico,¹ throws some light on the history of these frontier missions that does not appear in any published history.

First, Henrique de Grimarest—the officer who drew up the list—named fifteen clergymen among a total of twenty-six who do not appear in the roll of sixty-two Franciscan priests known to have served in Sonora from 1768 to 1800 as published by H. H. Bancroft.² These additions raise the known total of Franciscan priests in Sonora during this period to seventy-seven, and indicate that additional names may come to light as more documents are found in the archives.

Second, Grimarest's list provides one proof of the true responsibility for the erection of the architectural gem of Franciscan mission churches, San Francisco Xavier del Bac near Tucson, Arizona. Historians of this monument of faith from Bishop J. B. Salpointe³ on have credited Fray Baltasar Carrillo with building the edifice during a tour of duty during the construction years.⁴ The Grimarest list throws this theory into discard, for it has Carrillo at Tumacacori and Fray Juan Baptista Llorens at Bac in 1790. From another unpublished document, it is known that Father Juan re-

* Cornell University, Ithaca, New York; and San Diego State College, San Diego 15, California, respectively.

1. By Ezell.

2. H. H. Bancroft, *History of the North Mexican States*. San Francisco: Bancroft Co., 1885, I:691.

3. J. B. Salpointe, "The Church of San Xavier del Bac," *Arizona Star*, April 20, 21, 1880.

4. Marion A. Habig, O. F. M., "The Builders of San Xavier del Bac," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LXI:2 (October, 1937) 154-166.

mained at Bac until at least 1814.⁵ Not all his time was taken up by the problems of mission construction and administration, for he traveled with Fray Diego Bringas de Manzaneda to the Pima Indians on the Gila River in 1795.⁶ From this journey resulted one of the most accurate maps of the area drawn prior to explorations by the United States Army fifty years later.⁷

Third, Grimarest's list includes another priest who played a significant role in that part of northern Sonora which later became part of Arizona. In 1820 Fray Pedro Arriquibar compiled a register of parishioners at the presidio of Tucson which has been taken to be the earliest census of that city.⁸ Inasmuch as Arriquibar appears on the Grimarest list as missionary at San Ignacio in 1790, he had evidently seen thirty or more years' service on the Sonoran mission frontier by the time he was at Tucson in 1820.

With this brief introduction, we present Grimarest's list:⁹

Report on All the Missions which there are in the Province of Sonora, Jurisdictions in which they are found situated, Names of the Clergymen who Administer them, Monastery to which the latter belong, and Stipends with which they are assisted annually by the paymaster of Arispe.

| MISSION | | Juris- diction | Monastery of Guada- lajara, Province of Xalisco | Monastery of the Holy Cross of Queretaro | Annual Sti- pend |
|--------------|------------------------------------|-------------------|---|---|------------------------|
| Acomchi | Fr. Francisco Antonio Barbastro | Sonora | | Ditto | 309.6.6 |
| Onavas | *Fr. Juan Ruis Tamajon | Hostimuri | | Ditto | 350.0.0 |
| Arivechi | *Fr. Domingo Narena | Ditto | Ditto | | 309.6.6 |
| Saguaripa | *Fr. Pedro de la Cueva | Ditto | Ditto | | 309.6.6 |
| Bacadehuachi | *Fr. Francisco Cavallero | Sonora | | Ditto | 309.6.6 |
| Baserac | *Fr. George Loreto | Ditto | Ditto | | 309.6.6 |

5. Fray Juan Baptista Cevallos, *Auto de Visita de 1814*, Manuscript dated July 7, 1814, in *Archivo General de la Nacion*, Mexico, Misiones 11.

6. Lucas Alaman, "Memorial on the Gila Pimas and Maricopas," Manuscript dated 1825, in *Archivo Militar*, Mexico, D. F.

7. Paul H. Ezell, "Fray Diego Bringas, a Forgotten Cartographer of Sonora," *Imago Mundi*, XIII (1956) 156.

8. Bernice Cosulich, "Copies of Tucson's Earliest Census, Dated 1820, Received," *Arizona Daily Star*, October 18, 1942.

9. Found in *Archivo General de la Nacion*, *Ramo de Misiones*, XIII:230.

| | | | | | |
|---|----------------------------|------------|-------|--------------------------------|----------|
| Guasavas | *Fr. Diego Vidal | Ditto | | Ditto | 309.6.6 |
| Bacuache | Fr. Lorenzo Simo | Ditto | | Ditto | 400.0.0 |
| Banamichi | Fr. Fernando Madueno | Ditto | | Ditto | 309.6.6 |
| Matape | *Fr. Diego Pozo | Ditto | Ditto | | 309.6.6 |
| Ures | *Fray Martin Perez | Ditto | | Ditto | 309.6.6 |
| S. Joseph de Pimas | *Fray Ygnacio Davalos | Ditto | | Ditto | 350.0.0 |
| Comuripa | *Fr. Salvador del Castillo | Hostimuri | Ditto | | 350.0.0 |
| Tecoripa | *Fr. Juan Labado | Sonora | Ditto | | 350.0.0 |
| Opodepe | *Fr. Antonio Oliva | Ditto | Ditto | | 350.0.0 |
| Cucurpe | Fr. Roque Monares | Ditto | | Ditto | 309.6.6 |
| Tubutama | Fr. Francisco Yturralde | Ditto | | Ditto | 350.0.0 |
| El Ati | Fr. Francisco Moyano | Ditto | | Ditto | 350.0.0 |
| Cavorca | Fr. Antonio Ramos | Ditto | | Ditto | 350.0.0 |
| S. Ygnacio | Fr. Pedro Arriquibar | Ditto | | Ditto | 350.0.0 |
| El Bac | Fr. Juan Baptista Llorens | Ditto | | Ditto | 350.0.0 |
| Cocospera | *Fr. Juan Santistevan | Ditto | | Ditto | 350.0.0 |
| Tumacacori | Fr. Baltasar Carrillo | Ditto | | Ditto | 350.0.0 |
| Saric | Fr. Florencio Ybanez | Cienegilla | | Ditto | 350.0.0 |
| Taraichi | *Fr. Domingo Funcosa | Hostimuri | Ditto | | 309.6.6 |
| Seris | Fr. Juan Felipe Martines | de Sonora | | Ditto | 309.6.6 |
| To the Curate of this Capital, Don Miguel | Elias Gonzales | | | | 200.0.0 |
| TOTAL | | | | | 8,867.60 |
| Arispe, January 3, 1791 | | | | Henrique de Grimarest (rubric) | |

* Priests not listed by Bancroft: 10 in Sonora and 5 in Hostimuri.

Notes and Documents

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES (Continued)

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|----------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Artesia | Eddy | 16 Apr 03 | Stegman | Thomas Beckett | | | |
| Atarque | Val | 21 July 10 | | Candelaria C. de Garcia | (1914) | | |
| Atencio | Union | 2 Mar 10 | | Dominick Casson | | | M. to Old Albuquerque |
| Atrisco | Bern | 6 Apr 92 | | Manuel A. Jaramillo | 20 Apr 93 | | Mail to Albuquerque |
| | | 31 Jan 07 | | F. S. de Gingora (?) | 29 Feb 08 | | |
| Aurora | Colf | 15 Apr 02 | Martinez | Jesuita M. de Barela | (1921) | | |
| Avis | Otero | 6 Nov 03 | | Caleb J. Chronister | | | |
| Azotea | R. A. | 11 June 87 | | Alexander T. Sullenberger | 25 July 93 | | Mail to Monero |
| Aztec | Taos | 30 Apr 79 | | Thomas B. Hart | | | |
| | R. A. | | | | | | |
| | S. J. | | | | | | |
| Azure | Grant | 7 Jan 95 | | Horace C. Hazlewood | 27 Apr 95 | | Mail to Silver City |
| Baca | Mora | 29 Oct 84 | | Louis A. C. de Baca | | | |
| Bacaville | Union | | | | | | |
| Baldy | Val | 23 Apr 09 | | Juan Rey Baca | 24 Aug 98 | | Mail to Bueyeros |
| | Colf | 25 May 88 | | John Poublian | (1915) | | |
| | | 20 June 10 | | William F. Stone | June-Dec 09 | | Mail to Ute Park |
| Ballejos | Val | 24 Dec 10 | | Donaciano Pino | | | |
| Banks | Roos | 30 Mar 09 | | Sara C. Smith | (1913) | | |
| Barancos | S. M. | 25 Aug 06 | | Mary J. Nelson | (1912) | | |
| Barclay's Fort | S. M. | 19 Dec 51 | | Joseph B. Doyle | 7 Apr 54 | | |
| Bard | Quay | 30 Jan 08 | | Robert M. Horne | 8 Oct 09 | Bard City | |
| Bard City | Quay | 8 Oct 09 | Bard | Robert M. Horne | (1913) | Bard | |
| Barney | Union | 14 Feb 96 | | Daniel N. Hartley | | | |
| Barranca | Taos | 20 June 81 | | Roderick H. Weiny | 2 Aug 90 | | Mail to Ojo Caliente |
| Barton | Bern | 7 Jan 08 | | Mary S. Klock | | | |
| Bayard | Grant | 17 May 02 | | Samuel H. Laird | June-Dec 11 | | Mail to Hurley |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|------------|---------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Beaver | Soc | 19 July 80 | | Patrick H. Kelly | 80 Aug 82 | | |
| Beenham | Mora Union | 29 Apr 90 | | Charles J. H. Bushnell | | | |
| Belcher | Roos | 3 June 10 | | Everett E. Belcher | 14 Oct 11 | | Mail to Inez |
| Belen | Val | 19 June 65 | | Julius Freudenthal | 28 Sept 68 | | |
| | | 22 Sept 73 | | John Becker | | | |
| Bell | Colf | 18 June 91 | | Alonzo S. Bell | | | |
| Bell Ranch | S. M. | 31 July 88 | | Michael Slattery | | | |
| Benson | Roos | 16 Aug 11 | Pearson | John O. Benson | (1918) | | |
| Bent | Otero | 16 Feb 06 | | James W. Prude | | | |
| Berino | D. A. | 3 Sept 02 | | Aurilla Tadlock | | | |
| Bernal | S. M. | 14 Feb 81 | | Geo. K. Smith | 13 Apr 81 | | |
| | | 26 Jan 82 | | Franklin P. Butte | 10 Dec 85 | | Mail to Las Vegas |
| | | 23 June 87 | | Roscoe H. Kline | 18 Aug 94 | | Mail to Tecolote |
| | | 1 Nov 94 | | Albino Salazar | 20 Dec 95 | Chapelle | |
| Bernalillo | Bern | 6 Nov 55 | | Francisco Perea | 5 Mar 59 | | Probably no operation |
| | S. A. | 11 July 65 | | Eugenio Perea | | | |
| | Bern | | | | | | |
| | Sand | | | | | | |
| Bernardo | Soc | 31 May 02 | | Oscar Liffzing | (1919) | | |
| Bethel | Chav | 13 June 02 | | John M. Pinkerton | | | |
| | Roos | | | | | | |
| Beulah | R. A. | 19 Apr 94 | | Richard M. Humphrey | 29 June 07 | | Mail to Portales |
| Beulah | S. M. | 26 Mar 96 | | Priscilla J. Barker | 25 Nov 95 | | Mail to Abiquiu |
| Bibo | Val | 4 Feb 05 | | Benjamin Bibo | (1920) | | |
| Black Hawk | Grant | 30 July 84 | | Frank A. Wellington | 6 Apr 87 | | Mail to Fleming |
| Black Lake | Colf | 19 Feb 03 | Osha | Guillermo Martinez | (1927) | | |
| Blackrock | McK | 24 May 04 | | Mark F. Bennett | | | |
| Blacktower | Roos | 31 July 05 | | William G. Bruce | (1912) | | |
| | Curry | | | | | | |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------------|--------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| Blanco | S. J. | 6 Mar 01 | Flora Dougherty | | |
| Bland | Bern | 26 May 94 | Clifton W. Arnold | | |
| | Sand | | | | |
| Bloomfield | Taos | 1 May 79 | William B. Haines | 7 Dec 81 | Porter |
| Bloomfield | R. A. | 17 May 82 | William B. Haines | | |
| | S. J. | | | | |
| Blossburg | Colf | 7 Nov 81 | Daniel B. Griffin | 15 Feb 05 | Mail to Gardiner |
| Blue Water | Val | 21 June 89 | William H. Hulvey | 27 June 92 | Mail to Grant |
| Bluewater | Val | 26 Sept 95 | Thomas L. Henderson | | |
| Blummer | R. A. | 17 Aug 05 | Jesus M. Martinez | 80 Sept 07 | Mail to Vallecitos |
| Boaz | Chav | 17 May 07 | William H. Robesen | | |
| Bonanza | S. F. | 2 Aug 80 | Samuel Hull | 17 Apr 83 | Mail to Turquesa |
| Bonito | Linc | 24 Aug 82 | Charles Metcalfe | 31 Jan 11 | Mail to Parsons |
| Brackett | Colf | 30 Aug 10 | Porfria Bernal | | |
| Brakes | Quay | 31 Aug 07 | James P. Boggs | 31 Jan 09 | Mail to Norton |
| Bramlett | Grant | 18 Feb 11 | Nathan N. Bramlett | (1912) | |
| Brazos | R. A. | 8 Mar 98 | Matthew S. Groves | 15 Nov 00 | Mail to Chama |
| Brice | Otero | 3 May 04 | Franklyne B. Schemerhorn | 31 May 09 | Mail to Orogrande |
| Brilliant | Colf | 13 Dec 06 | Mrs. Maud Wagner | | |
| Brighthurst's | R. A. | 21 Aug 55 | William Brighthurst | 22 Sept 60 | Never in Operation |
| Brown | Quay | 9 May 10 | George M. Brown | Jan-May 11 | |
| Brownhorn | Roos | 16 Oct 05 | Miss Alice Montgomery | 8 Aug 06 | Melrose |
| Bryantine | Union | 29 July 07 | Sarah P. Bryant | (1920) | |
| Buchanan | Guad | 29 July 03 | Frank N. Page | | |
| Buckman | S. F. | 22 June 99 | Harry S. Buckman | 15 Jan 03 | Mail to Ildefonso |
| Bueyeros | Union | 31 May 98 | Miguel G. Tixier | | |
| Burley | Soc | 29 Apr 01 | Nelson A. Field | | |
| Bursum | Soc | 23 Mar 04 | Edwardo Tafoya | 30 Sept 05 | Mail to Chloride |
| Buxton | S. M. | 23 Feb 09 | Gerald H. Buxton | (1914) | |
| Bynam | Chav | 24 Oct 07 | John F. Bynam | 15 July 10 | Mail to Olive |
| Byried | Chav | 12 June 09 | Elvira R. Martin | | |
| | | | | | |
| Cabezan Station | Bern | 6 May 79 | Rudolph Haberland | 21 Sept 81 | |
| Cabazon | Bern | 16 Jan 91 | Gavino Garcia | 25 Mar 96 | Mail to Casa Salazar |
| | | 25 May 96 | Marcus T. Sawtelle | | |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | from Name chg'd | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|----------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| | Sand | | | | | | |
| Cabra | S. M. | 7 Apr 00 | | Alfred H. Long | 31 Mar 04 | | Mail to Gallinas Spring |
| Cabra Spring | S. M. | 15 Jan 78 | | George W. Stonerod | 19 Mar 91 | | Mail to Gallinas Spring |
| Cambray | D. A. | 9 Apr 93 | | Jesse C. McConnell | | | |
| | Luna | | | | | | |
| Cameron | Quay | 6 Feb 08 | | Arthur W. Cameron | | | |
| | Curry | | | | | | |
| Camp | Otero | 14 Jan 08 | | Leo L. Beeman | 15 June 10 | Shamrock | |
| Camp Monarch | Grant | 11 June 07 | | Wallace Perry | 15 May 08 | | Mail to Lake Valley |
| Canjilon | R. A. | 13 June 92 | | Fidel Martinez | | | |
| Canode | Quay | 14 Aug 08 | | Lulu B. Haight | (1914) | | |
| Canon | S. J. | 26 May 02 | | Jose Gorgonio Jaquez | 30 June 03 | | Mail to La Boca |
| Canoncito | S. F. | 30 Sept 79 | | Nestor Robal | 12 Aug 80 | | |
| Cantara | Roos | 1 May 08 | | John P. Beam | (1912) | | |
| | Curry | | | | | | |
| Canton | Roos | 9 June 10 | | Frank M. Lasater | | | |
| Canyon | Sand | 11 Feb 10 | | Charles H. Stanton | (1913) | | |
| Capitan | Linc | 11 Oct 00 | Gray | Bert Rowland | | | |
| Capulien | Colf | 12 Apr 83 | | Fairchild B. Drew | 20 July 88 | Folsom | |
| Capulin | Colf | 22 Dec 79 | | John R. Stuyvesant | 23 Aug 80 | | |
| Caracas | R. A. | 23 Dec 81 | | Frank E. Parish | 19 Jan 82 | | |
| Carbonateville | S. F. | 10 July 79 | | Oliva V. Aoy | 19 Feb 80 | | |
| Carisbrook | Colf | 22 Aug 07 | | David L. Hutchinson | 31 Jan 08 | | Mail to Raton |
| Carlisle | Grant | 12 Aug 84 | | James O. Rountree Jr. | 16 Nov 96 | Steeplerock | |
| Carisbad | Eddy | 15 June 99 | Eddy | Louis O. Fullen | | | |
| Carne | Luna | 12 July 09 | | Frank M. Hickman | | | |
| Carpenter | Bern | 29 Aug 03 | | Jose R. Carpenter | 31 Jan 07 | | Mail to Albuquerque |
| Carr | Val | 29 Dec 93 | | William T. Larned | 23 Jan 95 | | Mail to Ramah |
| Carrizozo | Linc | 31 May 02 | | Frederick M. F. Hunt | | | |
| Carter | Roos | 27 June 06 | | Samuel F. Anderson | (1917) | | |

| Carthage | Soc | 20 Sept 83 | John James | 12 Aug 93 | Mail to San Antonio |
|--------------|-------|------------|----------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| Casa Blanca | D. A. | 18 Sept 06 | John James | | |
| Casa Blanca | Val | 12 Jan 60 | Allen White | 9 Oct 61 | |
| Casa Grande | S. M. | 22 Sept 05 | William Paisano | (1912) | |
| Casa Salazar | Bern | 23 July 07 | Dionisio Uilbarri | 18 Oct 95 | Casasalazar |
| Casasalazar | Bern | 21 July 88 | Mariano Gonzales | | |
| | Sand | 18 Oct 95 | Juan Lusero | | |
| Casaus | Guad | 21 July 94 | Juan Casaus | | |
| | L. W. | | | | |
| | Guad | | | | |
| Cass | Linc | 15 Feb 88 | Charles H. Slaughter | 21 Nov 11 | Dilia |
| Castleberry | Quay | 2 Aug 10 | Ritta Castleberry | 13 Aug 90 | Mail to Lookout |
| Catalpa | Colf | 5 Dec 82 | George P. Gaylord | (1913) | Lesbia |
| Catskill | Colf | 18 Sept 90 | John M. Waldron | 24 Dec 84 | Mail to Madison |
| | | 3 Apr 03 | John E. Lane | 31 Dec 02 | Mail to Sopris, Colo. |
| Causey | Roos | 9 Feb 07 | Joseph M. Manes | 30 Nov 05 | Mail to Sopris, Colo. |
| Cavarista | Taos | 2 July 95 | Kossuth R. Casper | | |
| Cebolla | R. A. | 6 Jan 10 | Climaco Valdez | 16 Oct 95 | Mail to Labelle |
| Cedar Hill | S. J. | 13 June 92 | Rolando H. Wright | | |
| Cedarvale | Torr | 28 Sept 08 | Olive P. DeWolf | | |
| Centerville | Union | 6 Dec 07 | Webster Lamb | | |
| Central | Grant | 8 Jan 87 | Hiram J. Hutchinson | | |
| Central City | Grant | 2 Mar 70 | George C. Strong | 11 Jan 71 | Fort Bayard |
| Cerrillos | S. F. | 29 June 80 | George A. Waller | | |
| Cerro | Taos | 11 Feb 80 | John H. Young | | |
| Chacon | Mora | 10 Sept 94 | Diego A. Chacon | | |
| Chama | R. A. | 22 Dec 80 | Peter McKay | | |
| Chamberino | D. A. | 8 Nov 80 | Marcus Estabrook | 13 July 82 | Mail to Mesilla |
| | | 18 Apr 93 | Martha L. D. Keiser | | |
| Chamisal | Taos | 30 Apr 04 | Santiago Abreu | 28 Feb 05 | Mail to Llano |
| | | 7 June 07 | Benito Lovato | (1913) | Mail to Llano |
| Chamita | R. A. | 27 Jan 81 | Marcus Eldott | | |
| Chance City | Grant | 14 Dec 85 | Solomon Davidson | 10 Sept 86 | Mail to Gage |
| Chapelle | S. M. | 20 Dec 95 | Albino Salazar | | |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

| Town | Co. | or re-estab. Date estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|---------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Chaperito | S. M. | 6 Jan 75 | | Frederick De Fruville | 10 Nov 75 | | |
| | | 27 Dec 75 | | Gregorio Florez | 8 Oct 77 | | |
| | | 30 Jan 80 | | Adolph Straus | 16 Nov 91 | | Mail to Gallinas Spring |
| Chapman | S. M. | 6 May 92 | | Carlos Martinez | | | |
| Charco | S. M. | 15 Apr 79 | Hatch's Ranch | John L. Chapman | 16 June 80 | | |
| Charlotte | S. M. | 11 July 93 | | Eliza C. Robertson | 1 Aug 94 | | Mail to Liberty |
| Chaves | S. M. | 3 June 07 | | J. Louis Smith | | | |
| Chaves | Val | 14 Jan 01 | | Francisco S. Chavez | 14 May 06 | | Mail to Trementina |
| | Bern | 19 June 86 | | L. L. Cotten | | | |
| Cherry Vale | S. M. | 8 Feb 10 | | Harry Morrison | 24 May 92 | Mitchell | |
| Cherryville | Soc | 9 Mar 81 | | Andrew Kelley | 30 July 86 | | Mail to Montecillo |
| Chico | Colf | 3 Apr 95 | Chico Springs | Flora M. George | | | |
| Chicoso | Colf | 8 Dec 76 | | Orson K. Crittenden | 14 Sept 77 | | |
| Chico Springs | Colf | 14 May 77 | | James L. Woodward | 3 Apr 95 | Chico | |
| Chilili | Val | 23 Oct 82 | | Milton Dow | | | |
| | Bern | | | | | | |
| | S. F. | | | | | | |
| Chimayo | S. F. | 25 Apr 94 | | Jacinto Ortiz | | | |
| | R. A. | | | | | | |
| Chisum | S. F. | 14 Aug 84 | | Angie I. Chisum | 8 Dec 85 | | Mail to Roswell |
| Chloride | Linc | 28 Mar 81 | | John I. Dalglish | | | |
| | Soc | | | | | | |
| | S'ta | | | | | | |
| Cienega | Soc | 24 Apr 94 | | Herman A. Brachvogel | 31 Dec 02 | | Mail to Salt Lake |
| Cieneguilla | Taos | 6 June 03 | | Amado Hernandez | 14 Apr 04 | | Mail to Rinconada |
| Cimarron | Taos | 8 Sept 61 | | Lucien B. Maxwell | | | |
| | Mora | | | | | | |
| | Colf | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|------------|---------|--------------------|------------|----------------------|
| Cimilorio | Colf | 28 Feb 83 | Vermejo | Antonio Valdez | 29 Oct 98 | Mail to Maxwell City |
| Clairmont | Soc | 15 Aug 81 | | M. C. Logan | 25 May 83 | Mail to Alma |
| Clancy | Guad | 4 May 08 | | Victoriano Sanchez | 31 Dec 09 | Mail to Salado |
| Clapham | Mora | 25 Sept 88 | | James H. Davis | | |
| | Union | | | | | |
| Clarkville | Bern | 29 June 98 | | John E. Rule | 15 Apr 08 | Mail to Gallup |
| | McK | | | | (1920) | Mail to Clovis |
| Claud | Curry | 23 Jan 09 | | Claud V. Kelly | | |
| Claudell | Roos | 23 Jan 08 | | Claude D. Wells | | |
| Clayton | Colf | 23 Mar 88 | Perico | Homer E. Byler | | |
| | Union | | | | | |
| Clear Creek | Soc | 21 Oct 04 | Graham | Edwin G. McDonald | 11 Sept 06 | Glenwood |
| Cleveland | Mora | 11 Aug 92 | | Simon Vorenburg | | |
| Cliff | Grant | 4 Aug 94 | | John A. Moses | | |
| Clifton | Colf | 9 Aug 69 | | William A. Vance | 14 July 75 | |
| | | 30 July 75 | | William J. Lynds | 4 Feb 79 | |
| Clouderoft | Otero | 17 Feb 00 | | Allen Blacker | | |
| Clovis | Roos | 11 Apr 07 | Riley | William H. Palmer | | |
| | Curry | | | | | |
| Clyde | Soc | 8 Jan 97 | | Geronimo E. Baca | | |
| Coalora | Linc | 15 June 08 | | George F. Graves | 31 July 05 | Mail to Capitan |
| Coca | S. M. | 9 Mar 99 | | Sanford O. Stewart | 17 Nov 99 | Mail to Sanchez |
| Cochiti | Sand | 24 Oct 07 | | Jose A. Ribera | 30 Sept 08 | Mail to Thornton |
| Cold Springs | Val | 11 Jan 11 | | Frank N. Unger | (1912) | Mail to Sawyer |
| Colfax | Colf | 23 Apr 08 | | Elijah A. Littrell | (1921) | |
| Collinsville | Quay | 26 Mar 08 | | Absalom G. Collins | (1912) | Mail to Ima |
| Colmor | Colf | 26 Sept 87 | | Charles N. Fawcett | | |
| Colonias | Guad | 2 June 00 | | Fidel Gallegos | | |
| | L. W. | | | | | |
| | Guad | | | | | |
| Colorado | D. A. | 29 Sept 79 | | Thomas B. Lynch | 6 May 86 | Mail to Rincon |
| Colorado City | D. A. | 2 Dec 57 | | John B. Dow | 17 Mar 58 | Arizona |
| Columbus | Grant | 18 June 91 | | Lester F. Bailey | 14 July 93 | Mail to Deming |
| | | 14 Feb 96 | | Birdina B. Bailey | | |
| | Luna | | | | | |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | discont. Date | Name changed to | Remarks |
|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| Conant | Guad L. W. | 19 Mar 02 | | Annita Rusby | 12 May 10 | Newkirk | |
| Cone | Guad | 6 May 08 | | Mystice Cone | (1916) | | Mail to Nutt |
| Cook's | Union | 10 Jan 89 | | Upton E. McDaniel | 12 Nov 95 | | Mail to Mitchell |
| | Grant | | | | (1915) | | |
| | Luna | | | | 10 Dec 90 | | Mail to Cuba |
| Coolidge | Bern | 12 Dec 88 | Cranes | William B. Drackett | 15 Aug 11 | | Mail to Grant |
| Cooney | Soc | 11 Nov 84 | | Patrick H. Kelly | 15 June 09 | | Mail to Chaperito |
| Copper | Bern | 3 Apr 83 | | Arthur H. Roy | | | |
| Copperton | Val | 8 Aug 01 | | Flora B. Skeed | | | |
| Corazon | S. M. | 4 Dec 03 | | Lorenzo Gonzales | | | |
| Cordova | R. A. | 26 Mar 00 | | Matias Cordova | | | |
| Corona | Linc | 20 Feb 02 | | Frank A. DuBois | | | |
| Corrales | Bern | 13 Jan 85 | | Jesus M. Sandoval | 22 June 99 | Sandoval | |
| Corrumpa | Union | 21 Dec 05 | | Charles I. Collins | (1919) | | |
| Costilla | Taos | 21 Oct 72 | | Ferdinand Meier (Meyer) | | | Late in Costilla Co., Colo. |
| Council Rock | Soc | 15 Aug 81 | | M. C. Logan | 25 May 83 | | Mail to Alma |
| Cowan | Quay | 1 Aug 08 | | Claud I. Frost | (1912) | | |
| Cowles | S. M. | 24 Feb 05 | | Oliver W. Alexander | June-Dec 09 | | Mail to Pecos |
| | | 1 Feb 10 | | Henry D. Winsor | | | |
| Cowspring | S. F. | 6 Apr 99 | | Julio M. y Ortiz | 29 Sept 06 | | Mail to Lamy |
| Coyote | R. A. | 21 July 85 | | Elias Garcia | 28 July 88 | | Mail to Abiquiu |
| | | 27 Feb 90 | | Justa Sandoval | (1913) | Youngsville | |
| Craig | Soc | 2 July 80 | | William J. Worden | 14 Dec 85 | | Mail to San Marcial |
| Cranes | Val | 16 May 81 | | Norval Kirkpatrick | 31 Oct 81 | | |
| | | 28 Nov 81 | | | | | |
| Cranes | Bern | 27 May 96 | | William Crane | 12 Dec 88 | Coolidge | Mail to Fort Wingate |
| Cribbensville | R. A. | 17 Oct 84 | | John C. Pearce | 23 Feb 98 | | |
| Cribbensville | R. A. | 27 Jan 85 | | John C. Pearce | 27 Jan 85 | Cribbensville | |
| | | | | | 2 June 96 | | Mail to Vallecitos |

| | | | | | |
|------------|-------|------------|-----------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| Cromer | Roos | 17 May 07 | Richard A. Cromer | | |
| Crowflat | Linc | 16 June 98 | John Rathgeber | 31 May 00 | Mail to Van Horn, Texas |
| Crownpoint | Otero | 31 Mar 11 | Ben E. Harvey | (1919) | |
| Crozier | S. J. | 6 June 08 | Robert B. Wright | | |
| Crystal | S. J. | 25 Nov 03 | Marion A. Moore | | |
| Cuates | Union | 15 Apr 03 | Florencio Rodriguez | | |
| Cuba | Bern | 9 Mar 87 | James Price | | |
| | Sand | | | | |
| Cubero | Val | 24 Feb 79 | Alexander DeArmond | | |
| Cuchillo | Soc | 25 May 83 | Pedro Vallejos | 31 July 02 | Mail to Engle |
| | S'ra | 8 Oct 06 | Frank Peet | | |
| Cuervo | Guad | 26 Apr 02 | Samuel P. Morison | | |
| | L. W. | | | | |
| | Guad | | | | |
| Cumberland | Chav | 14 Aug 07 | Charles A. Petty | | |
| Cumbres | Taos | 6 Jan 82 | A. G. C. Matter | 8 June 82 | Mail to Antonito, Colo. |
| Curry | Quay | 24 Oct 07 | Elbert S. Candler | (1921) | Mail to Lucille |
| Cuttler | S'ra | 10 July 07 | William T. Harris | | |
| Cybar | D. A. | 6 July 00 | Jonas J. Morrison | 13 Feb 04 | Mail to Deming |
| | Luna | | | | |
| Dale | Union | 26 May 08 | G. Wells Baker | (1915) | Mail to Ione |
| Daly | D. A. | 1 Nov 81 | William B. Jones | 23 Aug 82 | Lake Valley |
| Datil | Soc | 27 May 86 | Levi Baldwin | | |
| Dawson | Colf | 19 Apr 00 | Lavinia J. Dawson | | |
| Dayton | Eddy | 5 Nov 03 | Joseph M. Chase | (1922) | Capulin |
| Deaman | Union | 12 May 09 | Homer J. Farr | | |
| Defiance | Val | 19 Sept 81 | Edgar D. Stone | | |
| | Bern | | | 11 Nov 87 | Mail to Gallup |
| Dehaven | Union | 28 June 89 | Charles F. Weidemeyer | 26 July 90 | Mail to Gallup |
| | | 15 Apr 95 | George W. Dehaven | 15 Aug 00 | Mail to Bueyeros |
| | | 31 Aug 01 | Daniel C. Traister | | |
| Delphos | Roos | 2 Mar 05 | Eli C. Cummings | | |
| Deming | Grant | 11 Apr 81 | Charles H. Dane | | |

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| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| | Luna | | | | | | |
| Dereo | Roos | 17 June 07 | | John H. Jemison | | | |
| Derry | S'ra | 9 June 93 | | Carl D. Lundstrom | 10 Oct 94 | | Mail to Rincon |
| | | 11 Aug 11 | | Mary B. Luchini | | | |
| Des Moines | Union | 17 Apr 06 | | Daniel Romero | | | |
| Detroit | D. A. | 15 July 89 | | Adam Telfer | 23 Feb 92 | | Mail to Rincon |
| Dewey | Bern | 17 June 99 | | Murray B. Johnson | | | |
| | McK | | | | 3 June 02 | Guam | |
| Dexter | Chav | 26 Aug 02 | | Milton H. Elford | | | |
| Diamante | R. A. | 6 Feb 09 | | Nieanon Duran | (1912) | Ojo Sarco | |
| Dilla | Guad | 21 Nov 11 | Casaus | Eugenia Sandoval | | | |
| Dixon | R. A. | 24 Oct 00 | | Leonardita Salazar | | | |
| Dodson | Guad | 28 Mar 01 | | Eliza C. Robertson | | | |
| Dolores | Quay | | | | | | |
| | S. F. | 17 Mar 87 | | Alfred J. Wolf | 19 Nov 90 | | Mail to Cerrillos |
| | | 12 Mar 94 | | Hiram S. Haines | 30 Nov 01 | | Mail to Santa Fe |
| Domingo | Sand | 2 Oct 09 | Thornton | John A. McAuliffe | | | |
| Dona Ana | D. A. | 5 Jan 54 | | Philatus M. Thompson | 2 Sept 55 7 | | |
| | | 27 Mar 66 | | Pablo Melendre | 12 Aug 67 | | |
| | | 15 May 68 | | John D. Barncastle | 19 Feb 83 | | |
| | | 27 May 86 | | Herman Wertheim | 22 Sept 88 | | Mail to Las Cruces |
| | | 22 Dec 92 | | Thomas M. Harwood | | | |
| Dora | Roos | 29 Aug 06 | | Frederick Humphrey | | | |
| Doris | Quay | 15 Jan 08 | | P. P. Parsons | (1913) | | |
| Dorsey | Colf | 10 Sept 79 | Maxwell | A. E. Lindsay | 29 Sept 79 | Springer | |
| Dorsey | Colf | 25 Nov 79 | | John M. Peck | 15 Sept 86 | Ladd | |
| Dorsey | Colf | 30 Aug 89 | | Walter S. McCloud | 16 Jan 91 | | Mail to Raton |
| | | 18 June 91 | | Benjamin F. Spaulding | 31 Mar 06 | | Mail to Hebron |
| | | 5 May 06 | | Clifford P. Campbell | (1912) | | |
| Douglas | Guad | 10 May 01 | | John Quincy Adams | 27 Jan 02 | Tucumcari | |

| | | 25 Apr 92 | James B. Adams | 17 Apr 93 | Mail to Lava |
|----------------------|-------|------------|------------------------------|------------|----------------------------------|
| Dripping Springs Soc | R. A. | 6 Feb 92 | Edwin C. Davis | | |
| Dulce | Chav | 25 Nov 08 | Oscar J. Dumken | | |
| Dunken | Chav | 8 Dec 07 | James T. Barton | | |
| Dunlap | Val | 5 May 02 | Allen J. Owen | | |
| Duran | Torr | | | | |
| Durazno | R. A. | 7 Sept 87 | Thomas McQuiston | 9 Jan 89 | Rinconada |
| Dwyer | Grant | 5 Feb 95 | Jose Dwyer | 1917 | Mail to Swarts |
| | D. A. | 31 July 88 | Chauncey West | 15 June 11 | Mail to La Mesa |
| Earlham | | | | | |
| East Las Vegas | S. M. | 15 Oct 85 | D. I. McDonald | 31 Mar 08 | Las Vegas |
| East Las Vegas | S. M. | 29 May 06 | Fred O. Blood | (1928) | |
| East Vaughn | Guad | 25 Nov 11 | Peter L. Harrington | | |
| Eastview | Val | 28 Apr 90 | Rose M. Dildine | | |
| Eddy | Torr | | | | |
| | Linc | 1 Dec 88 | Charles W. Greene | | |
| Eddy | Eddy | | | | |
| Eden | S. M. | 31 Dec 85 | Placido Baca y Baca | 15 June 99 | Carlsbad |
| | Guad | 29 Dec 97 | Ana B. Baca | 5 Oct 94 | |
| Edith | R. A. | 2 July 04 | Late in Archuleta Co., Colo. | 30 Oct 99 | Santa Rosa |
| | | | | ? | 09 |
| Eichel | Linc | 7 June 06 | Roy McCurdy | (1918) | Put back in Archuleta Co., Colo. |
| Eiland | Roos | 4 Dec 09 | Barney Ballard | (1918) | Mail to Ancho |
| El Cerrito | S. M. | 2 Aug 10 | George Vigil | (1916) | Mail to Portales |
| El Cuervo | S. M. | 24 Apr 88 | Samuel F. Reuther | 6 Mar 92 | Mail to Villanueva |
| Elephant Butte | S'ra | 15 Oct 10 | Grace E. Wells | (1920) | Mail to Bell Ranch |
| ElHds | Chav | 29 Dec 02 | John Lum | | Mail to Engle |
| | Roos | | | | |
| Elizabethtown | Taos | 6 Apr 68 | Morris Bloomfield | | |
| | Mora | | | | |
| | Colf | | | | |
| Elk | Linc | 10 Aug 94 | Bernard Cleve | | |
| | Otero | | | | |
| | Chav | | | | |
| Elkins | Chav | 20 Apr 07 | George C. Cooper | | |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|-----------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Elkins | Colf | 19 Sept 76 | | Andrew R. Cameron | 10 Jan 00 | | Mail to Catskill |
| Elmendorf | Soc | 14 July 06 | | Charles H. Elmendorf | (1918) | | Mail to San Antonio |
| El Pueblo | S. M. | 8 Mar 76 | | Jose Lino Rivera | 3 Nov 98 | | Mail to San Miguel |
| El Rito | R. A. | 12 Dec 70 | | Thomas A. Trujillo | (1916) | | |
| Elva | Chav | 23 June 10 | | Edwin M. Uishoeffer | | | Mail to Acme |
| El Vado | R. A. | 21 May 04 | | Ella Schafranka | 31 Aug 08 | | Mail to Tierra Amarilla |
| Elvira | Guad | 13 Nov 08 | | Carlos Casaus | | | |
| Emberson | Union | 12 May 08 | | Gilbert O. Towns | 31 Dec 09 | | Mail to Centerville |
| Embudo | R. A. | 23 May 81 | | David Martinez | 31 Dec 02 | | Mail to Velarde |
| | | 18 Jan 05 | | Edward A. Ruhn | 30 June 09 | | Mail to Lyden |
| Emery | Bern | 5 Mar 91 | | Martha A. Hayes | 12 Feb 92 | | Mail to Bernalillo |
| Emery Gap | Union | 18 May 06 | | Therese H. Mellon | 4 May 08 | | Mail to Watervale, Colo. |
| | | 11 Feb 09 | | Alcett S. McNaughton | (1925) | | Mail to Branson, Colo. |
| Encierre | Mora | 3 Sept 87 | | Jose Dolores McGrath | 21 July 90 | | Mail to Wagon Mound |
| Encino | Val | 16 June 04 | | Julian Salas | | | |
| | Torr | | | | | | |
| Endee | S. M. | 4 June 86 | | George M. Day | | | |
| | Guad | | | | 28 Sept 92 | | Mail to Liberty |
| | | 2 Dec 92 | | Rettie Hatcher | | | |
| England | Quay | | | | | | |
| Engle | Colf | 4 Apr 81 | | E. H. Bergmann | 21 Dec 81 | | |
| | Soc | 7 Dec 81 | Angle | Alexander Rogers | | | |
| | S'ra | | | | | | |
| Ensenada | R. A. | 28 Apr 06 | | Frederico Vigil | | | |
| Epris | Guad | 10 Oct 05 | | William H. Erickson | 15 Jan 07 | | Mail to Duran |
| Escobosa | Bern | 17 Jan 00 | | Filomeno Mora | 13 Feb 04 | | Mail to Chihli |
| Esmeralda | Val | 14 May 94 | | William H. Frantz | 15 Feb 96 | | Mail to Belen |
| Espanola | R. A. | 10 Mar 81 | | John J. L. Remuzon | | | |
| | S. F. | | | | | | |
| Estancia | Val | 13 Aug 03 | | Henry B. Hawkins | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|--|----------------------------|
| Estey | Torr Soc | 28 June 01 5 Jan 04 | John M. Bryson | 15 May 03 | Mail to Oscuro |
| Eunice Exter | Linc Eddy Colf Union | 9 June 09 12 June 90 | Edgar O. Carson Peter B. Swatzel | 15 Mar 10 | Mail to Oscuro |
| Fairpoint Fair View | S. J. Soc S'ra Taos | 9 May 94 15 Aug 81 | Maida E. Deichsel Jacob M. Blun | 29 Oct 03 1 Oct 98 | Valley Mail to Largo |
| Farmington | R. A. S. J. S'ra Grant Chav Chav | 17 Apr 79 3 Mar 93 28 Jan 01 12 Feb 03 4 May 94 | Allison F. Miller Richard Edgecombe Thomas C. McDermott John A. Lafferty A. B. Phillips | 1980 26 May 98 1918 27 Feb 95 | Winston Hagerman |
| Faulkner Faywood Felix Feliz Fernandez De Taos Ferry Field | Taos Val Quay Curry | 4 Feb 52 9 Aug 81 23 July 07 | Charles Beaubien Galen Eastman Emma J. Callaway | 9 Mar 85 8 Oct 81 | Taos Mail to Mcrose |
| Fierro Fleming Floravista Flora Vista | Grant Grant Taos R. A. S. J. | 16 Nov 99 20 June 83 6 Aug 78 13 Nov 84 | William H. McLain Francis M. Bryant Hannibal H. Halford Nathaniel M. Hayden | 1924 13 Aug 87 26 July 80 | Mail to Silver City |
| Florence Flourine Floyd | Eddy Soc Chav Roos | 6 Sept 94 19 Mar 10 24 June 03 | Benjamin Fisher Alfonzo M. Skinner Simon F. Lane | 1 June 08 1918 | Loving Mail to Chloride |
| Folsom Ford | Colf Union Quay | 20 July 88 29 Nov 07 | Mrs. Angelina C. Bayley John O. Sharp | 30 Nov 10 | Mail to House |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|---------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Forrest | Quay | 4 May 08 | | Mary Farr | 1919 | | |
| Fort Bascom | S. M. | 7 July 74 | | Arthur A. Fletcher | 8 Nov 80 | | Mail to Melrose |
| | | 20 Dec 80 | | William J. Waddingham | 23 Jan 92 | Johnson | |
| Fort Bayard | D. A. | 4 Oct 67 | | William H. Willis | 2 Mar 70 | Central City | |
| | Grant | | | | | | |
| Fort Bayard | Grant | 11 Jan 71 | Central City | John A. Miller | | | |
| Fort Buchanan | D. A. | 5 June 57 | Tucson | Elias Prevcoort | 21 Oct 63 | | |
| Fort Craig | Soc | 22 Mar 55 | | Ignacy Sumowski | 26 May 79 | | |
| Fort Cummings | D. A. | 10 Dec 66 | | Robert V. Newsham | 16 Nov 75 | | |
| | Grant | | | | | | |
| | | 27 Dec 75 | | Samuel J. Lyons | 21 July 87 | | Mail to Deming |
| | | 25 June 90 | | Mrs. O. C. Carpenter | 17 July 91 | | Mail to Hadley |
| Fort Defiance | Bern | 9 Apr 56 | | John E. Weber | 21 Oct 63 | | |
| Fort Fillmore | D. A. | 6 Aug 52 | | George A. Hayward | 30 Mar 55 | | |
| | | 18 July 55 | | George A. Hayward | 11 May 60 | | |
| | | 26 June 60 | | Horace S. Bishop | 14 July 63 | | |
| Fort Selden | D. A. | 9 Nov 66 | | George E. Blake | 24 Apr 77 | | Mail to Dona Ana |
| Fort Seldon | D. A. | 16 May 81 | | Elon G. Smith | 2 May 91 | Leasburg | |
| Fort Stanton | D. A. | 5 May 57 | | David S. Garland | 18 Aug 57 | | |
| | | 15 Sept 57 | | George S. Beall | 21 Oct 63 | | |
| | Val | 9 Apr 68 | | Lawrence G. Murphy | | | Actually in Socorro Co. |
| | Linc | | | | | | |
| Fort Sumner | S. M. | 5 Dec 66 | | Rufus C. Vose | 27 Jan 70 | | |
| | | 17 Jan 73 | | Lucien B. Maxwell | 11 Nov 78 | | |
| | | 29 Jan 79 | | Albert H. Smith | | | |
| | Guad | | | | | | |
| | L. W. | | | | | | |
| Fort Sumner | Guad | 7 Feb 10 | Sunnyside | William H. Baker | 6 Mar 07 | | Mail to Sunnyside |
| Fort Thorn | D. A. | 17 June 55 | | Alexander Duvall | 14 Mar 59 | | |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------------|------------------------|------------|---------------------|
| Fort Union | Taos | 26 Sept 51 | J. W. Folger | 19 Mar 91 | Mail to Tiptonville |
| Fort Wingate | Mora | 15 July 74 | Henry Reed | | |
| | Val | | | | |
| | Bern | | | | |
| | McK | | | | |
| Fraley | Soc | 20 Sept 93 | William R. Mitchell | 15 June 11 | Mail to Rehoboth |
| Frampton | Colf | 11 Mar 92 | Mrs. Ellen Logan | 21 Apr 96 | Mail to San Antonio |
| Franklin | Colf | 8 Dec 76 | Benjamin F. Houx | 11 Nov 92 | Mail to Clapham |
| French | Colf | 8 July 08 | John B. Fiege | 5 Aug 79 | |
| Fresnal | D. A. | 21 July 94 | Dr. Franklin Baze | 31 Aug 01 | Highrolls |
| | Otero | | | | |
| Frisaco | Soc | 21 Dec 85 | William R. Milligan | (1914) | |
| Frontero | Soc | 17 Apr 51 | Thomas F. White | 12 Mar 52 | |
| Frost | Quay | 5 Mar 09 | William A. Sanders | 31 Aug 10 | Mail to Porter |
| Fruitland | S. J. | 18 June 91 | Thomas C. Bryan | | |
| Fullerton | Grant | 27 Apr 82 | Peter Tonsend | 23 Nov 83 | Mail to Gage |
| Fulton | S. M. | 2 Aug 88 | William C. Wright | 29 Sept 94 | Mail to Ribera |
| | | 6 Mar 95 | Frederick H. Shuckhart | 15 Aug 11 | Mail to Ribera |
| Gage | Grant | 27 Apr 82 | Jesse B. Gunnels | 7 Aug 89 | Mail to Deming |
| | | 29 May 94 | Jesse B. Gunnels | | |
| Galena | Luna | 9 Nov 80 | George S. Williford | | |
| Galisteo | Linc | 11 July 93 | Justiniano Leyba | 9 May 82 | Nogal |
| Gallegos | S. F. | 6 June 84 | Francisco Gallegos | 23 June 87 | Mail to Genova |
| | S. M. | 22 Apr 92 | Leandro M. Gallegos | | |
| | Union | | | | |
| | | 24 Nov 96 | Albino Gallegos | 21 Nov 94 | Mail to Genova |
| Gallina | R. A. | 5 May 90 | Julian D. V. Chavez | 26 Jan 93 | Mail to Coyote |
| | | 10 Feb 93 | Librado Martines | | |
| Gallinas Spring | S. M. | 26 Oct 74 | James E. Whitmore | 14 Aug 06 | Mail to Chaperito |
| Gallisteo | S. F. | 19 Dec 76 | Ambrosio Pino | 18 Oct 80 | |
| | | 12 Mar 83 | Henry B. Weitz | 19 Sept 83 | |
| | | 12 Aug 84 | Josephine Beckwith | 4 June 85 | Mail to Cerrillos |

(To be continued)

Book Reviews

Pathfinders in the North Pacific. By Marius Barbeau. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd. and The Ryerson Press, 1958. Pp. viii, 235. Bibliography and index. \$5.00.

The "Pathfinders" alluded to in the title of this book are, for the most part, the early-day fur traders—the Russians, English, Spanish, and Americans. The first 100 pages discuss, principally, the beginnings and the character of the sea otter trade. The pages are interesting but undistinguished from many other published accounts, at least so far as sources are concerned. This record of pathfinding activities in Pacific Northwest waters is, and necessarily so, pieced together from the published accounts on the voyages of Bering, Coxe, Cook, Marchand, La Perouse, Meares, and others. These chapters add little that is new except that excerpts quoted from the original narratives are more numerous and longer than those found in most comparable accounts.

The new and fresh portion of this book begins with Chapter V, "Sea Otter Chase," and an examination of the notes at the end of the book explains the reason for this sudden shift from something old to something new and delightfully fresh. In place of bibliographical notes appears this sentence: "Traditional recollections of the North Pacific Coast Indians, collected at first hand by the author." Mr. Barbeau points out that stories and recollections of the fur trade still persist among Indian elders, and these have been gleaned for the purpose of describing incidents in the sea otter trade never before revealed. Chapter VI, "All Hands Scrimshawing," is, as the author points out, a reduced version of an article published in *The American Neptune*, also by Mr. Barbeau. Even though the transition from the sea otter chase to scrimshawing is abrupt, this account of whalers' sentimental carvings—a unique form of folk art—is enlightening.

In the final chapters of his book Mr. Barbeau returns to the fur trade, especially the land trade in what is today Brit-

ish Columbia and Alaska. While not based exclusively upon anthropological sources, there is throughout the last half of the book a refreshing mixture of Indian lore and narrative history based on the more prosaic records of such Hudson's Bay men as Dr. John McLoughlin and Sir George Simpson.

Indiana University

OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

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, 1957. Books 4 and 5, in one volume.

In recent months there has been a notable sharpening of our picture of the Aztecs, along with indications that the near future will bring further significant improvements.¹ Unfortunately, the image we have of the Mesoamerican civilized tradition as a whole is not very much clarified by new work on the Aztecs, for they were sharply atypical in important ways. But this same powerful individuality makes them worthy of study for their own sake, no matter how little they may be representative of the larger tradition which came to an end with them.

No other source equals the great History of Fray Bernardino de Sahagún as a firsthand account of a functioning Mesoamerican society. In quantity and in quality, its data far surpass those of the other chronicles. It is our great misfortune that all the Mesoamerican peoples did not have chroniclers like Sahagún: our pictures of them will have to be

1. Caso, Alfonso. "Los barrios antiguos de Tenochtitlan y Tlatelolco." *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia*, Tomo XV, No. 1. México, 1956.

———. *El pueblo del sol*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1953.

Garibay K., Angel María. *Historia de la literatura náhuatl*. 2 vols. México: Editorial Porrúa, 1953-1954.

León-Portilla, Miguel. *La filosofía náhuatl estudiada en sus fuentes*. México: Instituto Indigenista Interamericano, 1956.

Paddock, John. "Notes on Vaillant's *Aztecs of Mexico*." *Antología MCC 1956*. México: Mexico City College, 1956.

Soustelle, Jacques. *La vie quotidienne des aztèques*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1955.

———. *La vida cotidiana de los aztecas*. Traducción de Carlos Villegas. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1956.

assembled laboriously from the prehispanic documents, from the relatively scanty Spanish chronicles, from the as yet almost untouched archives, and from archaeology.

There is a certain pleasing element of gentle competition between two important series of publications now becoming available in installments. Anderson and Dibble point out, with complete justification, that the Florentine Codex is the final and complete version of Sahagún's work; the members of the Mexican Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl, who have begun publication of Sahagún's earlier versions, claim with equal reason that their material is closer to the source. Fortunately we do not have to choose between the two series, for there is considerable material which appears in only one version or the other.

Sahagún gathered groups of elder Indian informants and guided his Indian secretaries in writing down what the elders had to say about many aspects of pre-Conquest life, especially in Aztec Tenochtitlan-Tlatelolco and in the nearby and closely related area of Tetzcoco. The scribes, who were younger Indians trained in church schools to write in Spanish and Latin as well as in Náhuatl, wrote this material down as it was given, in Náhuatl. Sahagún reworked it over a period of many years. In his final text, finished when he was a very old man, he added a parallel Spanish version which is usually slightly more concise than the Náhuatl, but which occasionally includes additional materials. This Spanish version has been published several times, the most important edition being the latest one;² but the original notes in Náhuatl and the reworkings of them in the same language have been published only in fragments, translated into various European languages.

The School of American Research has now issued eight of the twelve Books into which Sahagún divided the final text of his History. These handsome volumes have the Náhuatl version in parallel columns with a scrupulous English translation of it. And in Mexico, the Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl has published two of a promised long series

2. Sahagún, Fray Bernardino de. *Historia general de las cosas de la Nueva España*. Garibay K., Angel María, editor. México: Editorial Porrúa, 1956. 4 vols.

of works of quite similar kind.³ In these, the earlier versions of Sahagún's materials are appearing with the original Náhuatl and an authoritative Spanish translation of it on opposing pages. The first in the new Mexican series, by Miguel León-Portilla, includes a comment on

“. . . the most recent enterprise of publishing the Náhuatl text of the Florentine Codex, with a translation into English by Arthur J. O. Anderson and Charles E. Dibble, who work under the sponsorship of the School of American Research, of Santa Fe, New Mexico, and the University of Utah. Dedicated ardently to this task since nearly ten years ago, they have published now the Náhuatl text of Books 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 12. The correct reading of the Náhuatl text, together with the care taken to offer the reader the most faithful English version which is possible, makes of this still incomplete edition a valuable instrument. . . .”*

The most recent issue in the Florentine Codex series places Books 4 and 5 together in a single volume. Book 4 is titled *The Soothsayers*, and Book Five deals with *The Omens*. In Book 4, Sahagún records the destiny which the soothsayers predicted for those born on each of the 260 days of the ritual calendar.

There are revealing sketches of what the character of a successful Aztec man was, and of an admirable woman; the unlucky days produce for us terrible portraits of those who were never socialized, and lived only to serve as horrible examples. The day of the god who ruled over the merchants brings us a speech that the older members of the family make to a young man about to face the imposing rigors of his first trading expedition. There is a striking note of masochism and somatonia in their advice to “Give thyself completely to the torment; enter into it; deliver thyself to it with all thy force. . . .” (Probably travel was less difficult for people on friendlier missions than those of the Aztec merchants.)

The day of the god Two Rabbit, who reigned over alco-

3. León-Portilla, Miguel. *Ritos, sacerdotes y atavíos de los dioses*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Instituto de Historia: Seminario de Cultura Náhuatl, 1958.

Garibay K., Angel María. *Veinte himnos sacros nahuas*. *Ibid.*, 1958.

* Reviewer's translation.

holic drink, was of course one which brought a drunkard's destiny to those born on it. All sorts of drunkards are described for us, and their behavior is notably modern.

Between the lines, we can read of the gulf between Aztec ideal culture and the real thing. To be sacrificed was to become a god; it was a great honor granted through a very holy rite. But we find that those born on certain unlucky days would be captured, or sold into slavery, and then sacrificed. One of a number of ghastly ends would be theirs. (A rich man might send out to the market and buy a slave to be sacrificed just as he would buy a quail for the same purpose.) Execution was a prescribed punishment for several crimes, and it is clear that the distinction between sacrifice and execution was getting very blurred for the Aztecs, in spite of all their prating about the honor of dying on the altar.

As always and everywhere, there was hope for those born on the many unlucky days. First of all, their baptism was customarily delayed until the next good day (according to the seer's advice). Moreover, the faithful carrying out of many penances and a good life often prevented the fulfillment of the baleful forecasts. The soothsayers themselves, of course, were the beneficiaries of the system, since they had to be consulted at every turn for the determination of calendrical causes of ill fortune and the prescription of remedial measures—the measures recommended, strangely enough, usually involved still another service for which the seer would have to be paid.

So emphatic are the predictions of the character of those born on most days that one wonders if the predictions themselves may not have been a significant factor in forming that character in many cases. There are quotations such as one referring to "the fearful ones . . . who were not of rugged day signs . . ." in which this unpleasant possibility is quite apparent.

Like the previous issues, Books 4 and 5 are a rich source of the most unexpected nuggets for all sorts of students of man and society.

The Texas-Santa Fé Pioneers. By Noel M. Loomis. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, [c. 1958]. Pp. xviii, 329. \$5.

This volume, number twenty-five in the American Exploration and Travel Series, is the first attempt by Mr. Loomis, who specializes in Western fiction, to try his hand at fact. Dealing with the Texas-Santa Fé Expedition of 1841, the author poses two rhetorical questions: Was the expedition a "wild-goose affair" or an attempt to solve Texan financial problems, and, was a military conquest of Mexican territory intended?

After seven unexplained weeks of preparation, the expedition of about 320 men got under way, with William G. Cooke as chief civilian commissioner to the New Mexicans, and General Hugh McLeod as military commander. Some eight or twelve merchants, together with their employees and fourteen wagons of merchandise, constituted the trading element.

The "Pioneers," as they styled themselves, marched northward and westward through buffalo country toward the Llano Estacado. Feasting royally on beef (brought along on the hoof), the party threw away the coarser portions of their meat, ignored the buffalo, and sent an officer back for more cattle. They would soon wish for something as edible as a prairie dog. In a march punctuated by stampedes and prairie fires, false trails and famine, the group, now divided into two parties, one led by Cooke and John S. Sutton, the other by McLeod, crossed the Llano. Weak with hunger and the rigors of their march, Cooke sent Captain William P. Lewis ahead to negotiate with the Mexican officials for food and supplies. Arriving at Anton Chico, New Mexico, the Sutton-Cooke Party was surrounded and forced to surrender. The Texans did this willingly, on the word of Captain Lewis that they would be allowed to trade with the Santa Féans if they would give up their arms. Instead, the Texans were imprisoned and hustled off in the direction of Mexico City.

Meanwhile, General McLeod, advancing across the Llano by a slightly different route, received word through several

guides that Cooke was sending provisions. McLeod ordered his men to destroy all baggage and wagons not necessary to their existence, and follow their guides to Santa Fe. Believing they would be allowed to keep their property and be treated as prisoners of war, the Texans were taken into custody by the Mexican authorities, who forced them to sign a capitulation. They, too, were marched southward without ever seeing Santa Fe.

The balance of the work is taken up with an examination of Loomis' thesis: that the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition was really not bent on conquest, but was primarily interested in trade. Early in the book (p. 7), Loomis gravely states that around 1840 foreign goods were flowing into the Santa Fe and Chihuahua areas at the rate of \$3-5 millions per year, part from Independence, Missouri, and the rest from the Mexican west coast [*sic*] ports, notably Guaymas. From the latter point British traders supposedly shipped mountains of goods over seven hundred miles of rocky trails to Chihuahua. (In citing Josiah Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies* later [p. 167], Loomis indicates that \$5 millions covered imports into all of northern Mexico.) The author seemingly ignores the disparity of Gregg's estimate that in 1843, the year in which the Santa Fe Trade reached its greatest volume, only \$450,000 worth of goods moved from Independence, Missouri, to Santa Fe. Of that, \$300,000 worth was shipped south to Chihuahua.

There was little northward movement of foreign goods before the opening of the Santa Fe Trail in 1822, and certainly less after the introduction of cheaper United States goods. There is evidence furthermore, that the Missouri merchants had saturated the New Mexican market by the 1830's (according to a 1958 University of Oklahoma imprint, Max Moorhead's *New Mexico's Royal Road*). Nevertheless, in 1839 Lamar had advocated the opening of a trail across Texas to Santa Fe in order to provide a trade route for merchandise from Havana, Cuba. The goods presumably would move from there to northern Mexico. The author notes elsewhere, however, that a route was opened from Austin diagonally south-

westward to Chihuahua, and cites a traveler's opinion that "the North Americans have begun to prefer the much shorter journey by Texas [to Chihuahua] to the Missouri route." Yet he uses this to substantiate his own statement, "The evidence seems to support the idea, then, that the attempt to establish a trade route across Texas [to Santa Fe] was a good, hard-headed business venture that might have meant a great deal to Texas" (p. 168). Even allowing a wide margin of gullibility among the merchants, this is believable only if the author intended the word "hard-headed" in its literal sense.

With reference to the implied secondary purpose of the expedition, political control of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande, Loomis calls attention to the Texan claim based on the Treaty of Velasco, in which Mexican General Santa Anna acknowledged the existence of Texas, "not to extend beyond the Río Bravo del Norte." While the author admits that "at no time was the Rio Grande actually agreed upon as the boundary," Santa Anna did not protest the Texan claim for five years, [hence] Texas might well feel a legitimate claim. Loomis, following this argument *ad silencio*, points out that General Stephen W. Kearny claimed the Rio Grande as the boundary of American occupation in New Mexico in 1846 on the basis of the United States' annexation of Texas the prior year; further, that the U. S. subsequently paid ten million dollars to Texas to quiet its title to New Mexico. The author ignores the fact that Texas was annexed subject to adjudication of all boundary questions. The fact that Texas received money ignores the political background of this transaction, and is no evidence the U. S. believed the Texan claim "reasonably justified."

The author cites several sources to indicate that New Mexico was in a state of unrest at the time of the Expedition, and perhaps ripe for a change of sovereignty. Therefore, he feels, Texan President Lamar had no reason to expect opposition [although the Santa Feans had not responded to his invitation the year before!]. He reiterates that "the expedition's intent was not military conquest," yet cites Lamar's order, "Upon entering the city of Santa fé [*sic*], your first

object will be, to endeavor to get into your hands all the public property . . . you will try all gentle means before resorting to force . . ." (p. 169).

Perhaps anticipating questions on this point, the author indicates that Lamar was directing this order against Governor Armijo and his followers, rather than the people of New Mexico [who were the ostensible owners of that "public property"?], and implies that Lamar was altruistically seeking to rescue the New Mexicans from their oppressors. Loomis portrays Armijo as an "avid propagandist" who incited his people against the Texans, but uses as evidence only the words of W. W. H. Davis, whose *El Gringo*, published in 1857, is by no means the definitive work on early nineteenth century New Mexico. Further, of the two examples he uses, neither deals with the Texans. One piece of Armijo's propaganda (of questionable authenticity) was used in his internal *coup* against Governor Perez; and the other, legitimately calling the people to arms against the invader, had reference to General Kearny's occupation of the Province.

Loomis cannot understand why New Mexicans had any animosity toward Texas in the first place (if there was any, he blames it on propaganda), and why it persisted for another hundred years. He does not mention the marauding bands of Warfield, McDaniel, and Snively, who were commissioned by Texas in 1842-43 to harry the Santa Fe Trade; he ignores the attempts of Spruce Baird in 1848 and Robert Neighbors in 1850 to organize New Mexico as part of Texas (years after the American occupation), and he avoids completely any hint of Texan attitudes toward Mexicans, whether citizens of their native land or of the United States.

He defends the size and character of the Santa Fe Expedition (8-12 merchants, 14 wagons, about 240 soldiers, and 70 other employees and hangers-on) by saying that it was "customary" for the Santa Fe Trail caravans to be large and have many fighting men to defend them against the Indians. As evidence, he cites four convoys—in 1829, 1834, and two in 1843—when escorts of U. S. dragoons were provided. Had he looked further into the reports (contained in Fred S. Perrine, "Military Escorts on the Santa Fe Trail," *NMHR*, II, 175-

193, 269-304; III, 265-300) he would have discovered that these were the *only* instances in the history of the Santa Fe Trade, and only the last one actually entered Mexican territory.

Ultimately, there is the question of whether the captured men should or should not have been treated as prisoners-of-war. There is, of course, no satisfactory answer to this, for Mexico had not recognized the independence of Texas, despite the fact that other nations, including the United States, had. Whatever their status, Loomis is on safer ground in describing the unnecessary cruelty which the men suffered. Yet he undoubtedly saw, but does not quote from the letter of Waddy Thompson, the U. S. Minister to Mexico, to Secretary of State Daniel Webster, dated April 29, 1842, in which Thompson reported that with very few exceptions the prisoners were treated kindly. Loomis does quote Webster's prior letter to Thompson (April 5, 1842), asking to have Mexico treat all the men as prisoners of war, but seems to pass over those passages which indicate that Webster also saw sufficient justification in the entire affair to demand only the release of non-combatants who were American citizens.

The book takes up many lesser but interesting questions, such as, was Captain Lewis a traitor? Was the guide, Juan Carlos, really a spy and informer for Armijo? Did George Wilkins Kendall (upon whose *Narrative* Loomis depends for most of his story) really have a passport?

On the credit side, Mr. Loomis evidently spent many hours collating various rosters of the Expedition, and choosing pertinent data from previously translated and selected Mexican archival transcriptions. The book is provided with an excellent set of maps, numerous appendices, and a comprehensive index. Much work still needs to be done, however, in resolving the acknowledged duplications in his composite roster (as well as such unacknowledged ones as "Beall, H." [p. 204] and "Horace, Bealle" [p. 225]). There are a number of "typos": among them, "Castle Coloran" (pp. 259-260) should be "Casa Colorada," and so appears on p. 278. "Limiter" (p. 263) should be "Lemitar," and "Juan Antonio Martin," the "second judge of the second department of Taos,"

(p. 267) was really Juan Antonio Martínez, the *alcalde* of that pueblo. "Juan Raphael Ortíz" (p. 268) should have his middle name spelled with an "f" instead of a "ph" to conform to Spanish usage, and the French ship *Atalantique* was really the *Atlantique*. "Placquemine" (p. 260) should be "Plaque-mines." Note 1 on page 54 probably belongs on page 51, following Note 24.

This is an entertaining book, as most of Mr. Loomis' novels are, but his theses are unconvincing and his methods are Procrustean. The author falls into the "devil" theory of history when he opines that the prisoners "had no way of knowing that the expedition, ignominious as its end then seemed, would in a few years bring on the Mexican War . . ." (p. x), and apparently considers Mexican debts, California, and the rest of the Southwest of no consequence in the Mexican War. According to Loomis, "the final outcome of the Texas-Mexican trouble added to the United States almost one million square miles . . . Who is to say that the juvenile, blundering efforts of the Texan-Santa Fé Pioneers were wasted?" (p. 189). We would.

The University of New Mexico

FREDERICK G. BOHME

Ref

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Charfreau, Mexico

NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA MACANA

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NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA MACANA*

FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ

A MOST colorful and intriguing tidbit of New Mexican history is the image of *Nuestra Señora de la Macana* (originally called *Nuestra Señora del Sagrario de Toledo*) with its own peculiar story. For this story is a most curious mixture of legend and history. Although both the statue and the story are intimately connected with seventeenth-century New Mexico, particularly with the great Indian Rebellion of 1680, neither was remembered by New Mexicans since those eventful times. But in Mexico City and its environs, the fame of the Macana Virgin grew from its arrival there in 1683 until the Mexican revolutionary upheavals of 1861; and even after that, until our own day, La Macana has not been entirely forgotten.

But, first, let us get acquainted with the statue itself, as it now exists in the ancient friary church of San Francisco del Convento Grande in Mexico City. It is a very old miniature copy of the famed *Nuestra Señora del Sagrario*, the age-

* Literal translation: "Our Lady of the Aztec War Club." This Aztec weapon was a very large wooden sword, or mace, armed with big flint teeth inserted on its point and along either edge. Spanish dictionaries derive *macana* from the Nahuatl *macuahuitl*; yet, while conceding some connection here, one cannot help wondering if it might not descend from the Old French *mace*, derived from the Latin *maceola*, whence also our English "mace." The mace was a common European weapon before the wide use of firearms and the discovery of America. The sixteenth-century Spanish of New Mexico still uses *macanazo* for a swinging blow dealt with the clenched fist, or as with a mace. And still, the roots of the Aztec word seem to appear in the Delaware *tamoihecan*, the Algonquin *tomehagen*, and the Mohican *tumnahegan*, whence the English "tomahawk."—The pioneer Spaniards of New Mexico applied the term *macana* to the war club of the Pueblo Indians, but this was a small and light stone mallet, simply a roughly oval stone tied to a stick with strips of rawhide.

long patronal Madonna of Toledo in Spain. This little copy came to New Mexico with the Oñate colony in 1598; after playing a fantastic rôle in the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, it went down to the valley of Mexico to acquire a new name and its own peculiar fame. The Chanfreau photograph here reproduced was taken in 1957. It shows a small statue dressed in real clothing in old Spanish fashion. The relatively modern bronze pedestal, and the rayed metal aureole surrounding the head and figure, make it appear larger than it actually is. Between the statue and the pedestal is a horn-like wooden frame supporting the little torso which, as we shall soon learn, is a plain flat cone of wood covered with cloth, and not a carved statue in the round. On this wooden horn is nailed a silver crescent, the symbol of the Immaculate Conception, but which Spanish people used to attach to images of the Virgin without regard to their specific titles. Next to the scepter in the tiny hands is a stylized miniature replica, in wrought copper, of an Aztec *macana*. We also have, fortunately, a recent verbal description by an expert to complement the photograph: "The image measures 65 centimetres in height (about 25 inches), a little less than a metre with aureole and pedestal (about 39 inches). It is fashioned in what used to be called '*media talla*,' that is, only the head and hands are carved completely in the round; the rest consists of a wooden frame covered over with cloth."¹

As was mentioned at the start, New Mexico forgot this historic and religious treasure of hers almost three centuries ago. Unless some New Mexican of the last century had a copy of Barreiro's *Ojeada*,² the first one to apprise modern New Mexico of La Macana was Davis, her pioneer American historian. In his account of the Indian Rebellion of 1680, we find this comment in a footnote: "Among those who escaped was a Franciscan friar, who went to Mexico and carried with him an image of our Lady of Macana, which was preserved for a long time in the convent of that city."³ Davis claims that he found this item in the archives of the secretary's office in Santa Fe; but this is so much like a footnote in Barreiro's work that we wonder whether it was a manuscript copy or a

printed copy of the *Ojeada* which Davis came across in the Palace of the Governors.

Barreiro's own and very first footnote runs as follows: "Another missionary escaped to Mexico and carried with him an image of the Virgin, called N. S. de la Macana, which is venerated in the Convento Grande of San Francisco in Mexico."⁴ This Barreiro was a Mexican barrister sent up by the infant Mexican Republic to make a report on its distant and little known Department of New Mexico. It is evident from the tenor of the whole report that the author did not get this information from the people and country he was describing; it was an item which he already knew as a citizen of Mexico City, addressed as an aside to officials there who also were familiar with it.

The able historian Bancroft, in criticizing Davis' garbled account of early New Mexican history quotes his comment on La Macana. Then Bancroft himself contributes new information: "On this image of Nra Sra de la Macana we have a MS. in *Papeles de Jesuitas*, no. 10, written in 1754, which tells us that in the great N. Mex. Revolt of '83 ('80) a chief raised a macana and cut off the head of an image of Our Lady. Blood flowed from the wound; the devil (?) hanged the impious wretch to a tree; but the image was venerated in Mex. for many years."⁵

These enticing but meager bits of information were the only ones we had until the recent acquisition of a brief but detailed history of La Macana,⁶ which was edited at the same time, and in the same place, as the Bancroft MS. Evidently a preacher of parts,⁷ Fray Felipe Montalvo put his whole heart and soul into his Novena and History. After the first two pages of titles there is a short introduction (3-7) in which the author regrets the dearth of documents on the subject, and his having to depend on the oral traditions of his brethren and of people in general. Here he also discourses on the veneration paid to Marian images in Spanish lands under various titles; he makes his bow to the religious superiors who ordered him to undertake the literary task, and ends by quoting two *octavas* of rhymed quatrains to the Virgin Mary by a

bygone Cistercian poet, Bernardo de Alvarez.⁸ Then comes the brief history of La Macana (7-13), followed by the Novena devotional prayers and meditations (14-24), which are a set of cleverly wrought pieces to be said on each of the nine days of the novena, each orison a poetic play on several Marian titles in their connection with salient events in this particular image's history.

It is this brief history that interests us here, and which is herewith translated in full. Its detailed points are a mixture of erroneous history and utterly fantastic legend, since Montalvo gathered his items from the faulty histories of his times, from popular tradition, and (as he himself tells us) from certain inscriptions upon a painting which depicted the Indian Rebellion of 1680 in New Mexico. However, with our modern trove of detailed documents on early New Mexican times, discovered in the past few decades and ably edited by various historians of note in our day, we can easily correct Montalvo and, in doing so, separate fact from legend. In this process, moreover, we begin to suspect that even the most outlandish legendary parts have a basis in factual history; in fact, we find the legend filling out historical gaps and throwing new light on the events of the Rebellion of 1680. Because of it, we might have to revise our picture of that Rebellion considerably.

To save time and space, but also to present the whole matter more concisely and in more graphic form, I have decided to place these corrections and gap-filling theories as editorial footnotes to Montalvo's own text, which is as follows:

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE MOST HOLY IMAGE OF LA MACANA

In the very illustrious and Imperial City of Toledo, there its Cathedral Church, the Primate of the Spanish realms, has a Chapel in which Christendom venerates the Mother of God and most pure Virgin Mary with an especial devotion through a miraculous Image of hers, which they invoke under the title of *Nuestra Señora del Sagrario*.⁹ The Reverend Father Fray Agustín de Carrión, in his sermon preached in that Holy Church as an Act of thanksgiving for a happy rainfall, relates

concerning it that, when they carried it because of a drought from its Chapel to the main part of the august Temple, the Mother of God and Our Lady embraced it, for being a living portrait of hers.¹⁰

The Franciscan Friars brought from Europe to this New Spain, as a copy of that most holy Image, and with its same title of *Nuestra Señora del Sagrario*, this sacred Image which we today call LA MACANA. And as their Protectress for their better safeguard on their journey, they took it to the still active Missions of the Evangelical Custody of New Mexico.¹¹ This divine Image belongs by tradition to the Friars of that Custody and the inhabitants of that Kingdom.¹² The Reverend Father Fray Agustín de Vetancurt wrote of the wonder concerning it, which he relates in his Chronicle of this Province of the Holy Gospel: *Theatro Mexicano, 4th part, treatise 3, number 64*, where he says:¹³

“Six years before (he speaks of the Indian Rebellion), a girl of ten, the daughter of the High Sheriff, and who was suffering great pains, commended herself in her paralysis to an Image of *N. S. del Sagrario* which she had before her.¹⁴ Instantly she found herself cured. And in describing the miracle with wonder, she said that the Virgin had told her: ‘Child, arise and announce that this Custody will soon see itself destroyed because of the poor regard that it has for my Priests, and that this miracle shall be witness to this truth: let them make amends for the fault if they do not wish to undergo the punishment.’ ”

This conspiracy of the Indians came to pass in the year 1680, when the Christian ones, joined in confederation with the barbarians, rebelled against the Friars and Spaniards of that Kingdom, burning down the temples, violating the sacred vessels, and tearing up the vestments.¹⁵ For they had been incited to it by the common enemy of souls who, as they said after being returned to the Faith, had appeared to them in the form of a giant, exhorting them to shake off the yoke of the Gospel and to serve him as their former master.¹⁶ In one and the same day, and in distantly separated missions, they took the lives of twenty-one Friars and then turned on the Spaniards, who proceeded to defend themselves.¹⁷

Many of the incidents of this Rebellion can be seen on a large and beautiful painting which formerly adorned the Chapel of *N. S. de la Macana* in the Convent of Tlalnepantla, and today contributes to the decoration of the Chapel in this Convent where it now hangs.¹⁸ Across that painting may be seen the bloody fury of the Indians killing various Friars. As the most vivid and ardent feature of the battle against the Spaniards there can be seen toward its center a most beautiful reproduction of this most Holy Image, and an Indian delivering the blow with a *macana* on its head.¹⁹ It also shows this Indian hanging from a tree, and at the bottom of the canvas there is an inscription relating the uprising of the Indians, their apostasy from the Catholic Faith, their attack on the Friars. And it goes on to relate, for a better grasp and understanding of the painting, what is transcribed word for word in the following paragraph.

The Devil, who visibly helped them in the war against the Spaniards, inspired an Indian Chieftain to enter a house where this Holy Image of Holy Mary was,²⁰ and which the Christians had hidden out of fear. Removing the Crown with an unspeakable lack of reverence, and vested with hellish fury, he struck the Holy Image on the head with a sharp *macana*, a weapon which they use. However, lest this execrable misdeed go unpunished, the Devil himself became his executioner by hanging him on a tree of that miserable battlefield.²¹ After the Spaniards triumphed, and the Faith was planted once more by influence of this Divine Aurora,²² this Holy Image was brought by Fray Buenaventura of the Wagons, a laybrother of this Province²³ to this Convent of Tlalnepantla, where it is venerated under the Title of *Nuestra Señora de la MACANA*.²⁴

On each side of this inscription which gives the foregoing information, there may be seen among others, the two following

DECIMAS

*Barbara accion inhumana
De quien fee no ha recibido;
Sin dispensar lo atrevido*

De una violencia tan vana:
Al golpe de una macana
Hirió tan Sagrado bulto,
Sin reparar que su insulto
Mayores lustres abona,
Pues de un golpe otra Corona
Dió a MARIA de mayor culto.
Pagó el Barbaro fatal
Audacia tan desmedida
Pues un Demonio la vida
Quitó con furia infernal:
Al punto el Cielo en señal
Una palma hizo nacer,
Que quiso Virgen vencer
MARIA, si assi se eslabona
La Palma con la Corona,
Por seña de su poder.

This second *decima* alludes, in the palm it mentions, to a luminous Palm that may be seen on the painting as though in the upper atmosphere; for a tradition holds that a bright and resplendent Palm appeared in the Heavens following the tremendous punishment of the sacrilegious Attacker of this most Holy Image.

The blow of the *macana*, for having been dealt less with blind anger and impetuosity than by a deliberate villainy impelled by mad fury, should have been enough to destroy the harmonious beauty of its Face.²⁵ Without in any way damaging its beauty, it only left a mark like that of a wound, though not deep, on the upper part of the forehead. And although at some time every effort was made to erase that mark for the completeness and beauty of the Image by filling in the cut and painting it over, its obliteration has never succeeded. For the red undersizing does not come together, and it is cast off by the more ancient, so that the mark remains patently visible; and this, in order to show in every way that this Holy Image is to be set apart for an especial veneration.²⁶

Toward the end of the past century of 1600, various copies and portraits of this Holy Image having remained in the

Kingdom of New Mexico, it was brought from the Custody to this Province with the pious motive, we may presume, of not being left exposed to similar impieties, and so that it may enjoy greater veneration.²⁷ Recently it was transferred from the Convent of Tlalnepantla, where the Friars had kept it,²⁸ to this Convent of Mexico, through the liberal and gratuitous donation to the Friars of this Treasure by the Most Illustrious Lord Doctor, Don Manuel Rubio y Salinas, Archbishop of this Holy Metropolitan Church—by his Decree given on November 27, 1754, upon the humble petition of the Province, after her Friars were deprived of the administration and doctrine of Tlalnepantla. The Holy Image was received in this Convent with the especial joy, consolation, and happiness of the Friars, and the singular appreciation of the Province, which so desired it. *Omnia desiderabilia ejus*, thus was the Ark of the Testament called among the People of God, the presence of which overwhelmed with happiness the family of Abinadab, and filled with blessings that of Obededon, the whole City itself partaking also of its benefits and graces: and what I might call the total desire of this Province is this Sacred Ark, this Image of most pure Mary, in which we promise ourselves the grace of her mercies; and so to implore it, it was placed for nine days in the principal Church of this Convent, exposed to public veneration. Nine Masses were sung in its honor with all the solemnity possible to the weak resources of a poor family. A Novena was prayed to her Patronage, her Litany of Loreto was sung every day, and on the ninth, which was January 26, 1755,²⁹ it was installed, following a solemn Procession, in the Chapel of the Holy Novitiate.³⁰

One must not pass in silence an incident which took place during the above-mentioned Procession. The tongue of a bell which was being rung by complete somersaults, and which faced the courtyard where the Procession was gathered, fell among a numerous concourse of people without hurting a single Person. The incident was considered so profound that the multitudes gave tongue³¹ to the praises and glories of Our Lady, to whom all the ones due her be rendered throughout the world. Amen.

Thus far the brief history of La Macana by Fray Felipe Montalvo. To me, its quaint fantasy loses none of its charm after its elements of strange wonder have been pinned down onto historical facts. On the contrary, this dovetailing of lore and fact enhances the value of the legend as it adds to our store of historical knowledge. It also illustrates an old contention of mine, that folklore and history need not be inimical or contradictory, that genuine folklore is the poetry of history. And, as stated in the beginning, we might have to revise our picture of the great Rebellion of 1680 considerably, particularly with regard to the mind behind it all.

History itself hints that Popé, the San Juan leader, who is credited with the success of the uprising, was a rather weak character and none too popular with his people, to have united the various pueblos which were divided not only by language but by age-old enmities. Such a planner and instigator had to be a real genius, both as to his personality and his background of knowledge. Factual historical hints overlooked by Otermín and his captains in those crucial times, and now the subconscious recollections of the common people as preserved for us in a legend, point to that genius in the person of the black *teniente* of Po-he-yemu with his big yellow eyes; and he appears to be none other than the mulatto, Diego Naranjo, who himself had planned the Popé hoax to fool Otermín and his men and, consequently, all succeeding historians who depended on the *autos* of Otermín. (This solution is only a theory, of course, and offered here tentatively; students of history are free to weigh its supporting facts and their conclusions for what they are worth.)

As for the Macana statue itself, it likewise merits attention, for having survived and preserved its identity "so far away from home," and for such a long time, when similar objects have disappeared or else become anonymous in the turmoil of social and political change—and especially those violent upheavals which have marked the Republic of Mexico since its birth. The very fact that the Montalvo work was reprinted several times, and as late as 1788, attests to the statue's enduring popularity in colonial New Spain.³² We

read in the life of the Venerable Fray Antonio Margil, that indefatigable missionary whose sandals ranged from Panama all the way to Texas and Louisiana, and who died in the Convento Grande in 1726, that his body was disinterred in 1788 as part of the process looking toward his canonization; his remains lay in state prior to re-burial in the Chapel of Our Lady of La Macana, which at that time opened on the landing of the principal staircase of the Convento Grande.³³

But even after the birth of the Mexican Republic in 1821, by no means anti-religious in its early decades, the Macana shrine was still well known. In his *Ojeada* of 1832 Barreiro mentions it as still appreciated in Mexico City. It was not until 1856-1861, when the Mexican republican government had been taken over completely by a European-type freemasonry, when churches and convents were "exclaustrated" (as Mexican officialdom calls confiscation), that the Macana shrine came to an inglorious end. The great sprawling buildings and courtyards of the Convento Grande were cut up into blocks and intersecting streets, when the chapel of the novitiate disappeared. This marked the disappearance also of that interesting mural described by Montalvo, which archaeologist Obregón tells me he has not been able to trace. The famed little statue, however, appears later in the church of San Francisco, the main church of the Convento Grande. García Cubas in 1904, from childhood recollections of the ancient monuments of his beloved city, describes the high altar of San Francisco as it looked sometime before or after 1861: "In the lower part of the Tabernacle was a niche with the image of Our Lady of La Macana, dressed in silk and her head adorned with a golden crown; she had in her arms the Divine Infant, and a little macana of silver, shaped like the swords of the ancient warriors."³⁴

The ancient friary church of San Francisco, the mother church of all parish churches on both American continents, was converted to other uses by the Mexican government,³⁵ but it would take further study to ascertain when the Macana statue was removed to the church of Corpus Christi, where García Cubas said it reposed in 1904.³⁶ This church also ceased to be a house of worship in more recent times, presumably

during the violently anti-Catholic regime of Calles (1926-1927), and it is now the Museo Nacional de Artes Industriales y Populares. Don Gonzalo Obregón informs me that the image passed on to the old friary church of San Diego, but he cannot ascertain when it happened or how long the statue remained there. Then it disappeared from San Diego, to be found later on in a house of (clandestine) Franciscan sisters in Coyoacán, near the southern limits of Mexico City. From here it was restored to San Francisco del Convento Grande by order of Fr. Fidel Chauvet, the father provincial of the Holy Gospel province; it was located for the time being (1956) in the sacristy of the Valvanera chapel of the venerable church.³⁷

As these contemporary bits of information and the 1957 Chanfreau photograph attest, the little Lady of La Macana, formerly of Toledo, while heretofore but barely known by name to a few in her native land of New Mexico, still refuses to be forgotten in the Metropolis of the Aztecs and the Viceroy and the revolutionary Presidents. On the other hand, her reconstructed story provides New Mexico with a fresh reappraisal of one of the most crucial episodes in her long and colorful history. Incidentally, I have finished writing the Macana story at greater length in fictional form, as seen through the eyes of the High Sheriff's Daughter and the Black God of Po-he-yemu, in the hope that it will make interesting reading for a wider audience, if the book happens to find a willing publisher one of these days.

NOTES

1. Gonzalo Obregón, *Letter*, Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City, Nov. 10, 1956. Señor Obregón, an expert on Mexican iconography, took these measurements for me. But he believes that the image represents the Immaculate Conception because of the hands folded before the breast, and that it cannot then be an exact copy of *Nuestra Señora del Sagrario de Toledo* as García Cubas claimed; see the latter's description of 1904 *infra*. The Virgin of Toledo, Don Gonzalo goes on to say, is an ancient romanic statue showing the Virgin in a seated posture and carrying the Infant on one arm.—But here I beg to differ with Don Gonzalo on all points. I myself saw the original Toledo Madonna in the cathedral shrine of that city; this famed Virgin appeared to be standing because of the dress and mantle with which it always is clothed, and there was no Infant in her arms; and the empty hands were folded in front of the breast. José Augusto Sánchez Pérez, *El Culto Mariano en España* (Madrid, 1943), illustrates his history of the Toledo Virgin with pictures of the unclothed romanic figure, which is seated, and also as it appears

clothed in the shrine; some pictures show it holding the detachable figure of the Infant, others show it without the Christ Child; see note 9 *infra*. Therefore, a replica or copy in *media talla*, and then dressed, could legitimately represent the Toledo figure as it is seen by the public; and it could hold an Infant, or simply the bare hands folded before the breast, see note 34 *infra*.

2. Antonio Barreiro, *Ojeada Sobre el Nuevo Mexico* (Puebla, 1832), translated and edited by L. B. Bloom in NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, III, 75-96, 145-178. The translation in the Carroll and Haggard edition of *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, made from Escudero's edition of Barreiro, does not carry the Macana item, as noted *ibid.*, 159.

3. W. W. H. Davis, *The Spanish Conquest of New Mexico* (Doylestown, Pa., 1869), 336n.

4. NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, III, 76n.

5. H. H. Bancroft, *History of New Mexico and Arizona* (San Francisco 1889), 195n. This one-page manuscript, title by a different hand "*Sobre la Imagen de la Macana*," was numbered as Number 10 in a group entitled "*Papeles de Jesuitas*." It is by no means a Jesuit paper since it was written by a Franciscan residing in the Convento Grande of San Francisco in Mexico City, and at the very time Fray Felipe Montalvo was having his history of La Macana printed. At first it appears like a draft by Montalvo, but the spelling of "*Maquana*" and other radical variations point to a different author; these differences are pointed out as we go along.

6. Fray Felipe Montalvo, *NOVENA/ A LA PURISSIMA MADRE DE DIOS,/ Y VIRGEN IMMACULADA/ MARIA/ EN SU SANTISSIMA IMAGEN/ QUE CON TITULO DE NTRA. SEÑORA/ DE LA MACANA,/ SE VENERA/ En el Convento de N. S. P./ SAN FRANCISCO DE MEXICO:/ CON UNA BREVE RELACION/ de la misma Sacratissima Imagen./ DISPUESTA DE ORDEN SUPERIOR,/ Por el R.P. Fr. Phelipe Montalvo,/ Commisario Visitador de el Tercer/ Orden Seraphico de dicha Ciudad./ CON LICENCIA EN MEXICO:/ En la Imprenta del Nuevo Rezado de los/ Herederos de Doña Maria de Rivera;/ en el Empedradillo. Año de 1755.*—A preceding title, probably the paper cover, has a wood engraving of the image with this legend beneath: *V. R. de N. Sa. de la Macana que se Va. en el Conv. to de Francisc.s de Tlalnepantla* (this last word is erased partially and *Mex.* printed over it by hand; then *Sylverio*, S unfinished or partly rubbed out). This correction, and some lack of correction throughout the text, show that the work was written at Tlalnepantla, and that parts of it had already been set in type, when the statue was transferred to Mexico City toward the end of 1754.—The first lead to Montalvo's work was found in Eleanor B. Adams, *A Bio-bibliography of Franciscan Authors in Central America* (Washington, 1953), 57, which notes that it was reprinted in 1755, 1761, 1762, 1788. Miss Adams luckily procured a photo copy from the Biblioteca Nacional, Santiago de Chile; it now reposes in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe: 1755, no. 3.

7. Adams, *op. cit.*, notes three printed sermons of his: one on St. Clare for the Franciscan Nuns of the Court, 1748; another on St. Dominic for the Dominican friars, 1760; and the third for the dedication of the Hospital of Franciscan Tertiaries, 1761. Montalvo also taught theology and was a censor for the Holy Office.

8. A Fray Bernardo de Alvarez Morales, of Rebollar de Villaviciosa, published among other works, *Lustro primero del Púlpito consagrado a las gloriosas fatigas de Maria Sma.* (Salamanca, 1692). Cejador y Frauca, *Lengua y Literatura Castellana* (Madrid, 1916), V, 300.

9. *El Sagrario* is a special chapel in cathedrals where the Eucharist is reserved. In Spanish cathedrals it also serves as the parish church of the faithful living in the vicinity, since the main cathedral is the mother church of the entire diocese. Toledo's Sagrario Virgin is said to date from the first century, having been brought there from Rome by St. Eugene, first bishop of Toledo. Since the image took part in the city's long history under Romans, Visigoths, Moors, and Spaniards, it has a national as well as a religious significance. It is a carved seated figure of wood, its contours having been covered with silver sheets following the discovery of America. The Infant is detachable. Since the figure is always dressed in a conical dress and mantle according to very old Spanish fashion, it appears to be standing; old engravings and modern photographs show it with or without the Infant. Sánchez Pérez, *Culto Mariano*, see note 1 *supra*.—

A charming but little known masterpiece of Toledo's great master, El Greco, shows this statue with St. Ildefonso, Archbishop of Toledo (659-668); legend holds that the Virgin Mary herself appeared to this saint to invest him with a chasuble, and in doing so she touched the famed statue with her person. The painting now hangs in the hospital of Illescas near Toledo.

10. Fray Agustín Carrión Ponce y Molina was a Franciscan writer who published his *Sermones varios de festividades de N. S. a y Santos*, Toledo, 1654, 1660. Cejador y Frauca, *op. cit.*, V, 214.—Perhaps Montalvo, if not Carrión himself, telescoped the miracle of the rain with that of St. Ildefonso in the foregoing note.

11. The Custody of the Conversion of St. Paul in New Mexico was a filial body of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel, which had its headquarters at El Convento Grande de San Francisco in Mexico City.

12. Montalvo and the anonymous author of the Bancroft MS have hazy and erroneous ideas about the founding of the New Mexico colony and missions. Had they consulted the Viceroy's archives nearby, they could have made use of the original Oñate reports, ably edited in our times by George P. Hammond in his two-volume *Don Juan de Oñate, Colonizer of New Mexico, 1595-1628* (Albuquerque, 1953). Or a careful systematic search in their own friary's archive might have thrown considerable light on the pioneer missionaries who went with Oñate. The Bancroft MS states, and Montalvo implies it, that a group of friars from Spain went directly to New Mexico with the image, but when they went or who they were he cannot say, because documents are lacking due to the hardships of those times and the scarcity of paper.—But we now know that no friars ever went to New Mexico directly from Spain; some of those pioneers were natives of different parts of Spain while others were creoles of New Spain, and all were processed through headquarters of the Holy Gospel in Mexico City. That the statue belonged to the Franciscan missions, or to the colony as a whole, is belied by what follows.

13. Vetancurt's work was printed in Mexico City, 1697, 1698; it was reprinted in four volumes, *Biblioteca Histórica de la Iberia* (Mexico, 1870-71). Vetancurt says that he got the item of the miraculous cure and prophecy from a letter written to a friar of the Convento Grande by Fray José de Trujillo, the missionary of the Moqui pueblo of Xongopavi in that year of 1674; in his sketch of Father Trujillo, Vetancurt says that this friar had sought martyrdom in Japan, but was told by a holy nun in Manila that he would find it in New Mexico. Some forty years later, the aged Father Trujillo attained his goal in the catastrophe which was foretold, for he was martyred at Xongopavi on August 10, 1680.—The Bancroft MS does not relate this item of the crippled girl and the prophecy. As Montalvo says, he got it from Vetancurt, although his supposedly direct quotation varies somewhat because of a comma: *Seis años antes (habla de la rebelion de los Indios) una Niña de diez años, hija del Alguacil Mayor, que estaba con graves dolores, tullida se encomendó . . .* This is Vetancurt's account: *Seis años antes, una niña de diez (hija del alguacil mayor que estaba con graves dolores tullida) se encomendó a una imágen de nuestra Señora del Sagrario de Toledo que tenía presente, y subitamente se halló sana; y admirando el milagro, dijo que la Virgen le habia dicho: "Niña, levántate y dí que esta Custodia presto se verá destruida por la poca reverencia que a mis sacerdotes se tiene, y que este milagro será el testimonio de esta verdad; que se enmienden de la culpa ei no quieren experimentar el castigo."* And he promptly adds: *Publicose el caso, y cantose una misa con sermon, presente la niña.—Quemaron causas y pleitos que permanecian contra los sacerdotes en el archivo.* *Op. cit.*, 276-81. This same item is referred to in different words in *Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, leg. 69, expediente 8, foja 2v.*

14. The term *tullida* implies a crippling from disease, not from some external accident, and in a child it suggests the results of polio or rheumatic fever. Now, this invalid girl had the statue in her presence, in her sick-room. This shows that it was a household *santo*, and not mission property. Such a tiny and relatively inexpensive copy was evidently a family heirloom; as a copy of a specific Madonna, if we keep in mind the custom of the times, it must then have come to New Mexico with a Toledo family. Now, there was only one such family in Oñate's colony, and none such came thereafter. It was the family of Pedro Robledo and Catalina López with their four soldier-sons and two daughters; this included Bartolomé Romero, a native of a village near Toledo, who was married to their elder daughter Luisa. See Fray Angelico Chavez, *Origins of New Mexico*

Families in the Spanish Colonial Period (Santa Fe, 1954), 93-94, 95-98. The nameless crippled girl had to be a great-grandchild of one of the children of Pedro Robledo, but who was she?

Pedro Robledo died when the colony was entering New Mexico in 1598, and some years later his widow returned to New Spain with her three Robledo sons, one of the four having died in a dramatic fall off the cliff of Acoma. The two daughters remained with their husbands, the younger one having married a Tápia who eventually moved down to the Rio Abajo. But Luisa Robledo and Bartolomé Romero stayed on in Santa Fe, the capital and only Spanish town in that first century. By 1674, the year of the miracle and prophecy, their many grandchildren were numbered among the Gómez Robledos, some of the Luceros de Godoy, and the several Romeros of Santa Fe. The various adult male members of these families generally took turns at being major officials of the Kingdom of New Mexico, including the office of high sheriff. But which one was high sheriff in 1674?

The closest we can get is Bartolomé Romero III, the eldest son of an eldest son. He was high sheriff in 1669, according to Fray Juan Bernal, as also a *sargento mayor* and a Spaniard of excellent qualities (*Archivo General de la Nacion, Mexico, Inquisición, t. 666, f. 532*). Actually, there are no documents for 1674 and the years just before and after, a phenomenon noted by France V. Scholes in his conclusion to *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670* (Santa Fe, 1942), 245-58, where he cites Vetancurt's version of the miracle. As Vetancurt wrote: "The news was published abroad, and a Mass was sung with a sermon, the girl being present. They burned complaints and lawsuits against the priests which had been filed in the archive." There is no reason to doubt that this is the cause for such an abrupt dearth in documents at this very time. Whether or not the miracle is admitted as such, or only as an instance of illusion and faith-healing, the fact itself cannot be denied. Anyway, we can assume that Romero continued in office for the next five years, and that his crippled daughter was a "Maria Romero." But even if Bartolomé Romero III was not the high sheriff at the *exact time* of the miracle, we can still take our pick among the many contemporary female first cousins in the Gómez Robledo, Lucero, and other Romero families. It does not alter the singular Toledo derivation of the heroine's family.

15. Montalvo's summary of the 1680 Rebellion is correct, and the one in the Bancroft MS which is similar, as is graphically evident throughout the annals of the Rebellion as edited in Hackett and Shelby, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, etc.* (Albuquerque, 1942). But there is irony in the fact that the predicted destruction of the kingdom and custody (the terms were used interchangeably by friars and colonists) came about through the people's efforts to "make amends" and co-operate with the missionaries. The chief cause of their "poor regard" for their priests, ever since the founding of the missions and the colony, was the question of Indian idolatry; see the Scholes work just cited and his *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650* (Santa Fe, 1937). The Franciscans wanted the *estufas* and *cachinas* completely abolished, if the pueblos were to be truly converted to Christianity; some Spanish governors and major officials had opposed the friars on principle, or when bribed by the medicinemen. After the miracle, the officials proceeded to suppress the pagan customs of the pueblos, and these then arose in concerted rebellion.

16. This infernal giant is the really fantastic feature of the Macana legend. But if we read carefully through the *autos* of Otermín in Hackett's *Revolt*, we find the Indians continually referring to the instigator of the Rebellion as the *teniente*, or executive, of the great spirit Po-he-yemu; it was a black giant with yellow eyes. The Spaniards dismissed it as pure myth; he so angered Otermín that he had 47 prisoners shot for insisting on this story, instead of revealing a real human instigator. But to me this *teniente* had the marks of a real person, and I began looking for one answering the description—a burly negro, perhaps a mulatto with large yellowish eyes. Previous readings of old manuscripts had left snatches of such an individual in my mind, and I looked them up. And there emerged the person of Diego de Santiago, or Naranjo, a *mulato* from New Spain. As early as 1626 we find him as a young servant at the Tunque hacienda of Don Pedro de Chávez near San Felipe; Diego, in fact, is married to a San Felipe woman. He appears to be the same mulatto caught by Bartolomé Romero I par-

taking in a *cachina* orgy inside the church of Alameda pueblo. Then he disappears from the documents, except for part-Quéres individuals near San Felipe whose surname is Naranjo, and who are sometimes referred to as mulattoes; see *New Mexico Families*, 80, 241-42. We can presume that in the meantime Diego Naranjo has been hiding out in Taos for decades, having impressed the medicinemen from the start with his African voodoo tricks and his knowledge of the lore and language of Po-he-yemu, while his youthful appearance persisted as a mythical description. (For the identification of Po-he-yemu with the Aztec hero-deity Moctezuma, see *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, I, 350-58.) Then the previous attempts at revolt by the pueblos, as recalled by the colonists throughout Hackett's *Revolt*, begin to have a unifying principle, for the *modus operandi* suggests the same planner as that of the 1680 Rebellion.

A year after the Rebellion, when Otermín led a futile expedition into New Mexico, his men captured an old *Quéres* medicineman by the name of Naranjo (his first name transcribed "Pedro" by Hackett), who claimed to be *eighty* years old, but who was still very agile; on being interrogated closely, he furnished full details of the plot, this time inventing three spirits to throw the Spaniards off the scent—the first and only time they are ever mentioned, though Hackett and others make much of them. Naranjo also revealed his close acquaintance with the Moctezuma legend and its Lake of Copala (this lake never mentioned before in these *Revolt* annals). He went to confession and had himself absolved of his apostasy, once again fooling the Spaniards, and also later historians, by shifting the blame onto others.—The Naranjo part-Quéres individuals near San Felipe suggest his paternity, as already said, but also others in Taos. To clinch all, in 1696 a José Naranjo of Taos, sometimes referred to as a Spaniard, helped Governor Vargas repress another major rebellion; later he led pueblo contingents against the Apaches, and finally became *alcalde mayor* of Zuñi. By 1767, José Naranjo's son, José Antonio Naranjo, who was also a military leader, had wangled the title of captain from the Viceroy himself, upon claiming full descent from the conquistadores of New Mexico; but the New Mexico Spaniards protested on the score that Naranjo was not Spanish at all, but the son of a *lobo de yndio mulato* whose father, a Domingo or Diego Naranjo, had apostatized in Taos in 1680 and also had instigated the rebellion of 1696. See *New Mexico Families*, *loc. cit.*

17. This defense refers to the siege of Santa Fe in mid-August, 1680, when all the people of the villa and from the haciendas of La Cañada and Los Cerrillos were crowded into the palace compound for protection. See Hackett's *Revolt*.—The Bancroft MS mentions the memorial service for the twenty-one martyrs which was observed in the cathedral of Mexico, March 20, 1681, and the sermon preached by Bishop Sarifana. This sermon was published in Mexico City that same year; it was published in English translation by the Historical Society of New Mexico (Santa Fe, 1906).

18. This painting no longer exists, and Obregón says he knows nothing about it. It was done most likely in 1740, when a special Lady chapel was built for La Macana in the friary of Tlalnepantla, according to the Bancroft MS; then it was transferred to the novitiate chapel at the Convento Grande, when the statue went there at the end of 1754. As Montalvo himself admits, much of his information was taken from the inscriptions on this painting.

19. Only the Bancroft MS says that the head alone was severed, and that blood flowed from the severed parts.

20. For us, the house of Bartolomé Romero in Santa Fe. Here is further evidence for the statue being a household saint, and not mission property.

21. A New Mexican Indian with his small stone mallet breaks the little image, which Maria Romero might have left there to protect her home when she went with the rest of the people to the palace fortress. But who was this Indian? And why should Diego Naranjo (or the devil) punish him for such a devilishly laudable deed? Unless this Indian, having once been a pious Christian, repented of his crime and upbraided the rebel chiefs afterward. These killed him, and Naranjo hung up his corpse from a mountain poplar of the Santa Fe stream as an example to others. All this brings to mind the person of Juan el Tano, a pious Galisteo Indian living in Santa Fe whom Otermín sent out to spy on his pueblo. But to everybody's great surprise, Juan returned as the chief of the Tanos, first dickering with Otermín to have him leave with the Spaniards

in peace, then engaging the Spaniards in combat. Juan's army suffered complete defeat because the northern tribes arrived too late that evening; and perhaps he openly blamed Naranjo for coming too late. (According to García Cubas, the Indian who broke the statue lost his mind and began running all over the battlefield until he was hanged by the evil one.) To appreciate this identification of Juan el Tano with the hanged chieftain, read Hackett's *Revolt*, I, 12-14.

Bartolomé Naranjo, a pious San Felipe Indian working in Santa Fe, was also sent to spy on his people at the same time that Juan el Tano got his orders. But he was slain by his people when he scolded them for rebelling, although his fate was not known until a year later in Otermín's 1681 expedition. It is interesting to speculate that one of Diego Naranjo's sons died for the Faith.

22. The effective Reconquest of New Mexico by Vargas, and the restoration of the missions, did not take place until the end of 1693.—Montalvo most likely confused the public image of *Nuestra Señora del Rosario, La Conquistadora*, which figured prominently in the Reconquest, with the Macana statue; see the Chavez article on *La Conquistadora* in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXIII, 94-128, 177-216. A similar error was made by historian Fray Agustín Morfi three decades later, *ibid.*, 183.

23. This *Fray Buenaventura de los Carros* was none other than Fray Buenaventura de Contreras, who succeeded Fray Francisco de Ayeta as procurator of the missions and master of the supply wagons. A good idea of his forward and stubborn character may be drawn from a few lean sources: *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, leg. 140; Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, leg. 2, doc. 6; leg. 4, no. 28; leg. 5, nos. 2, 3; leg. 9, no. 8; leg. 28, caja 70*. He was the type of man to give a fantastic twist to the story of La Macana, and perhaps leave the impression in Tlalnepantla that he himself had been in New Mexico during the Rebellion, although he never served there as a missionary. Anyway, the mural painting and Montalvo imply that he was the one and only missionary to escape the 1680 massacre. The Bancroft MS, and García Cubas also, say that two missionaries escaped; here the basic legend as told in some quarters evidently included Father Ayeta with Brother Contreras, since both were associated with the returning supply train of 1683 which brought the statue to New Spain.

24. Prior to its apotheosis in Tlalnepantla, the badly damaged statue had to be repaired quite drastically, and this throws light on a conclusion reached by Don Gonzalo Obregón: "The study which I made of the image leads me to conclude that we have here a Mexican work of the second half of the seventeenth century, and therefore it cannot be the original image taken by the first explorers." In other words, the original pyramidal torso of sticks and cloth, what with the brittleness of age, was so badly smashed by the Indian's mallet, that a new one with its horn-like base was made for it around 1684 in the *talleres* of Mexico City. Hence, we must conclude that only the head and hands, or at least the head only, is all that is left of the household saint of the Robledo family.—Presumably at this same period the little replica of an Aztec *macana* of wrought copper was made for it, and this popularized a new name and title which came to supplant that of the Sagrario of Toledo. García Cubas recalled that it was made of silver, perhaps a mistaken recollection after some fifty years, or it might have been thinly silverplated at that time.

25. A direct blow by even a light stone mallet would have smashed the tiny head beyond repair. Evidently, as the blow swept the battered fragile torso to the floor, the head came off and got nicked when it struck the floor or a wall. Still, since the whole frame was so light, the head so loosely attached to it, the total lack of resistance would allow the head to receive the blow, or part of it, with only a nick to show for it.

26. This quaint legend within the bigger legend undoubtedly arose from actual instances when the new bits of plaster and glue fell out from natural causes. The Chanfreau photograph brings out a big lump on the tiny brow, indicating that the last repairer of the face put in an extra supply of plaster for good measure. But when this happened, or when it will fall out again, nobody knows.

27. As historians conversant with conditions in seventeenth-century New Mexico will testify, the reproductions mentioned by Montalvo were an impossibility, and most especially in the dire straights in which the exiled colony found itself at Guadalupe del Paso

in 1683. Moreover, if this had been the case, the memory of the statue and its story would have persisted among New Mexicans instead of being forgotten.

28. The mission of Tlalnepantla, near the pyramid of Tenayuca about 15 miles northwest of Mexico City, was about a century old when the statue arrived in 1683; for dates on it, see George Kubler, *Mexican Architecture of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1948). According to the Bancroft MS, La Macana stayed in the mission church for 57 years [1683-1740], until a special chapel was built for it within the precincts of the friary itself in 1740; here it stayed for 14 years, until 1754, when it was transferred to the Convento Grande in Mexico City.

29. The feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, which was the patronal title of the Franciscan Custody of New Mexico.

30. For a general plan of the Convento Grande, see Montgomery, Brew, and Smith, *Franciscan Avatovi* (Cambridge, 1949), 260; see also García Cubas, *op. cit.*, and Fr. Fidel Chauvet, O.F.M., "The Church of San Francisco in Mexico City," in *The Americas*, VII, 13-30.

31. *El concurso se hacía lenguas*, a pun on the preceding bell's tongue, *la lengua de una esquila*.

32. Fray Pedro Navarrete, an outstanding churchman of his day, was signally devoted to Our Lady of La Macana when the shrine was at Tlalnepantla. Fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, *Bezerro General, etc.*, Ayer MSS (Chicago), 40-41. This author also mentions La Macana when repeating Vetancurt's accounts of the Rebellion and of Father Trujillo.

33. Eduardo Enriquez Ríos, *Fray Antonio Margil de Jesús* (Mexico, 1941), 193-95.

34. Antonio García Cubas, *El Libro de mis Recuerdos* (Mexico, 1904), 64. The presence of an Infant seems to be a mistaken recollection of García Cubas, although the old devotees might have made one for the famous Lady, to be carried by her on occasion as in the case of the original Virgin of Toledo; see note 24.—His account of early New Mexico is taken from faulty histories of the times. His version of the Macana legend seems to be a mixture of Montalvo and the Bancroft MS as relayed in other sources that he might have read. Accompanying his text are much too small and poorly reproduced pictures of the statue and of the high altar of San Francisco.—Rubén Vargas, *Historia del Culto de María en Iberoamérica* (Buenos Aires, 1947), 220, states that the image was at Corpus Christi, his information being taken from García Cubas.

35. Fr. Fidel Chauvet, *op. cit.* This is a good summary of the fortunes and misfortunes of the Convento Grande from its founding to our times.

36. Corpus Christi was the nunnery church of the royal Franciscan Poor Clares (*Descalzas Reales de Madrid, Capuchinas*); incidentally, these were the nuns who published Montalvo's sermon on St. Clare in 1748, see note 6. The nunnery was founded in 1724 for Indian women of noble blood, and approved by Benedict XIII in 1727.

37. Obregón, *loc. cit.* The ancient church of San Francisco and the pitiable remnants of its great convent or friary were restored to the use of the Holy Gospel Franciscans in 1949; see Chauvet, *op. cit.*

THE ITALIANS IN NEW MEXICO*

By FREDERICK G. BOHME

THE people who came to New Mexico following the American Occupation in 1846 to join the Indians and Spanish already there were not all Anglo-Saxons from the eastern and southern United States, for even a casual inspection of the early manuscript censuses reveals a wealth of names from continental Europe. Although the bulk of New Mexico's immigrants during the last century merely crossed the international boundary from their homes in Old Mexico, their number was well leavened by European groups which also left cultural imprints on the Territory. This study is an attempt to follow the history of just one of these, the Italians.

Although Italians represent one of the largest sources of American immigration, they have never comprised more than six-tenths of one per cent of New Mexico's population. In 1910 there were 1,959 foreign-born Italians among 327,301 residents; in 1950, 934 out of 681,187. They are important, nevertheless, because second to natives of Mexico they comprise the largest foreign-born group (8.6 per cent in 1910) in the state. They are significant because Italian churchmen and Italian settlers, more than any others, provided a "bridge" between the Anglo-Saxon and Hispano cultures found here. Arriving in the Territory during the years when the transition from one culture to the other was most rapid, they not only made the necessary adjustment themselves, but could understand and aid in the accommodation of both cultures to each other.

In 1850 there was only one Italian in New Mexico Territory, and he lived in Arizona which was part of New Mexico until 1863. In 1860 there were only eleven, and several of these lived in Arizona too. It was not until the 1880's that any significant number of these people settled in the Territory. They reached a high point during the first decade of the

* This article is based on the author's "A History of the Italians in New Mexico" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1958). Visiting Instructor, Department of History, University of New Mexico.

twentieth century, but following the national trend, their immigration dropped off sharply after World War I.

Contrary to the pattern for this period in the eastern United States where most Italian immigrants reside, the majority of Italians in New Mexico came from northern and central Italy rather than the southern part of that peninsula. The earliest emigrants to New Mexico came from the *compartimento* of Piedmont, in northern Italy, followed by others from Lombardy and Tuscany, and finally—around the time of World War I—by inhabitants of Abruzzi and Molise, in central Italy. They were usually miners, stone cutters, or farmers, beset by unemployment and the carving up of their fathers' small landholdings into even smaller plots. The skilled miners and stone cutters moved to identical positions in New Mexico, and they were followed by an increasing number of farm laborers who had no money to buy land, but could easily adapt to mining or other types of manual labor among their compatriots. One may well ask why these people came to New Mexico, rather than settle among other Italians in the eastern states or California. The answer was, and still is, economic opportunity.

The first arrivals saw a vast territory, just beginning to be populated, and relatively free from the economic competition they would find elsewhere. If one were willing to work hard and live frugally, ignoring the hardships of frontier life, then just a little capital invested in a saloon or a grocery store—occupations often scorned by other settlers—would bring great returns. With this thought constantly in mind, many Italians mined coal or obtained employment as skilled or unskilled laborers. As soon as they had accumulated sufficient funds they would open small businesses, become citizens of the United States, homestead ranches, and send for their relatives to come and repeat the process.

A combination of circumstances brought Italian members of religious orders to New Mexico at least a decade before their countrymen began settling in the Territory in any numbers. The Roman Catholic Church's local needs were very great, for the end of the Civil War brought renewed migration to the West. In 1865 Bishop (later Archbishop) Jean

Baptiste Lamy had but thirty-seven secular priests, mostly Frenchmen, to serve a hundred thousand members of his faith. On a trip to Rome the next year, Lamy sought to have some Jesuits sent to his diocese. The Superior General of the Order, at the same time, was looking for a foreign mission field for some of his own priests, a group of Neapolitan Jesuits who had been expelled by Garibaldi for political activity against his regime. New Mexico and Colorado were immediately assigned to them. Several priests then working in Spain, and able to speak Spanish, were put at the Bishop's disposal, and arrangements were made for them to join him for the return trip to America. These men were Fathers Donato Gasparri and Raffaele Bianchi, and Brother Raffaele La Vezza. Another brother, Priscus Caso, was sent from Naples and met the party in Paris. A fifth member, Father Livio Vigilante, was already in America, and he was detached from the staff of Holy Cross College, at Worcester, Massachusetts, to become the mission's English-speaking superior.

They reached Santa Fe on August 15, 1867, and were assigned to the parish at Bernalillo. From there the group ministered to families northward along the Rio Grande and westward into the Jemez Mountains, and also conducted preaching missions in various parts of the Territory. Father Bianchi died of pneumonia while on a mission to Mora, where it was reportedly so cold that the consecrated wine froze in the chalice at mass. Gasparri, on his part, was instrumental in healing the famous "Taos Schism," in which Father José Antonio Martínez figured so prominently. In 1870, Gasparri also attempted to open a mission among the Navahos, but transportation, among other things, proved too great a problem to surmount. Another of his efforts, at Sandia Pueblo, was brought to a precipitate end when he discovered a live rattlesnake had been placed under his altar.

In 1868 the Jesuit fathers moved to Albuquerque and literally "bought out" the incumbent priest at San Felipe de Neri Church for \$3,600. Here, augmented by the arrival of more Neapolitans, they developed some four acres of gardens which contained many vines and fruit trees from Italy. The old *campo santo* around the church was replaced by buildings,

and a new cemetery, Santa Barbara (now Mount Calvary) was begun on higher ground several miles east. Albuquerque became the headquarters for further missionary expansion as more priests and brothers became available. In 1871 the fathers took over the church at Conejos, in the San Luis Valley of Colorado; the next year Pueblo; and in 1874, Trinidad. With the full approval of Bishop Joseph P. Macheboeuf, their work continued to expand in later years. The church at Socorro, New Mexico, became a temporary Jesuit charge in 1872, and in 1874 the fathers built a church at La Junta (called Tiptonville after 1876). This parish included ten villages, the most distant of which was Fort Bascom, northeast of the present-day city of Tucumcari. In the early 1880's the Neapolitans extended their work to Isleta and El Paso, Texas, where the coming of the Southern Pacific Railroad brought social changes similar to those in New Mexico.

Coincident with the geographical expansion was a move to establish parochial schools. Their first attempt in 1870 was abandoned, but in 1872 the fathers opened the Holy Family Select School for Boys in Albuquerque, supported by public funds and dignified by the title of *collegium inchoatum*, or "elementary college." Another school was operated in connection with the parish at La Junta.

In 1874 a Jesuit house was established in Las Vegas, as a result of enthusiasm engendered by a preaching mission. In this year the mission had thirteen priests and nine lay brothers. Almost at once Las Vegas became the political and intellectual headquarters of the mission as it related to its entire territory, while Albuquerque became more and more concerned with the immediate local problems of the coming of the railroad and the accompanying influx of "Anglos." The *Imprenta del Rio Grande*, a press established by the Jesuits at Albuquerque in 1873 to provide schoolbooks and devotional works for the mission, was moved to Las Vegas to escape flood waters, and in 1875 it began publishing the *Revista Católica* to fill the need for a weekly Spanish-language journal. It was an immediate success, for within six months it had seven hundred subscribers.

The establishment of the *Revista* at Las Vegas in 1875

coincided with the opening of a period of Territory-wide controversy over the separation of church and state in the public school system. Father Gasparri and the *Revista* promptly took the lead in defending the Roman Catholic Church's position over the next five years. In doing so they became rather deeply involved in politics, although at first they avoided stands along party lines. With the influx of English speaking migrants in the 1870's, pressure for more public schools in New Mexico was increased (from none in 1870, there were 138 by 1875). As these were opened, they tended to come under the direct or indirect control of the Roman Catholic Church, usually by default. School boards were organized in each county, but in some cases priests sat as board officials. The textbooks in the majority of the schools were those printed on the Jesuits' press, and a number of parochial schools were aided with public funds. Father Gasparri was even made Superintendent of Schools in Bernalillo County.

In the face of growing opposition Gasparri combatted restrictive laws in the Territorial Legislature, and a Territory-wide press battle ensued. After a period of relative peace from 1876 to 1878, the issue exploded anew when the Jesuits succeeded in having repassed over Governor Samuel B. Axtell's veto a bill incorporating the Society as a tax-free educational institution with wide, uncontrolled powers. This incorporation act was then annulled by the United States Congress, the first time that body had ever overturned a territorial measure through direct legislation. Governor Axtell, who was subsequently removed from office ostensibly because he had taken sides in the so-called "Lincoln County War," attributed his fall to Gasparri and his supporters.

In 1877 the fathers began teaching grammar and high school classes in Don Manuel Romero's "Casa Redonda" on Pacific Street in Las Vegas, and early the next year began using the name "Las Vegas College" for this educational venture. They had 25 boarders, 4 half-boarders, and 85 day scholars at the school's opening, and with an increase in enrollment found it necessary to build a new adobe structure on the nearby Calle de la Acequia. Most of the boarding students came from Mexico, and one of them, Francisco Madero, later

became president of his country. For a time the fathers also operated a public boys' school in connection with their private college. Inasmuch as the Brothers of the Christian Schools already had a college at Santa Fe, and the Neapolitan Jesuits had opened the College of the Sacred Heart (later Regis) in Colorado, Las Vegas College was closed in 1888 without granting any degrees during its ten-year existence.

Due to the advent of the railroad, Las Vegas grew considerably in population, and in 1884 the Jesuits were authorized to start a parish there for the accommodation of the newcomers. The existence of this Jesuit church, together with the college chapel, became an increasingly sore point for the local secular clergy. They complained that the Jesuits were usurping their parochial prerogatives, and alleged that the people would often attend and support the Jesuit services to the exclusion of their rightful pastors. The controversy, in which the archbishop sided with the secular clergy, twice required the intervention of Rome. Ultimately, in 1917, the *Revista Católica* (which had ceased its political activities and become a strictly devotional periodical) was moved to El Paso, and the Las Vegas house was closed. This left Albuquerque as the only remnant of Jesuit activity in New Mexico.

The Neapolitan Jesuits' operations in Albuquerque reflected a steady growth from 1875 on. Although several attempts at opening a novitiate for prospective priests failed, the public school and the wine press prospered. The priests at San Felipe Church took an active part in civic affairs, but welcomed the increased population brought by the railroad with mixed emotions. In 1883 Immaculate Conception Church was built in "New Town" with the aid of many recently-arrived Italians. Fathers Carlo Ferrari, Francesco Fede, and Alfonso Mandalari, all members of the Society of Jesus, figured prominently in its history. Father Mandalari, who served the church until 1924, had been a member of the Las Vegas College staff, and was one of the last of the Neapolitan band in New Mexico. He thus represents the end of an era.

The other Jesuit venture in "New" Albuquerque began in 1900, when Father Alessandro Leone built Sacred Heart Church to serve the Spanish-speaking residents of that area,

and his work was later taken over by the Rev. Pasquale Tomassini, who retired in 1918. In 1919 the New Mexico-Colorado Mission of the Neapolitan Province was disbanded and its holdings divided between two American provinces. Some of the priests returned to Europe, as they had been urged to do, but many had become American citizens or had been in this country so long that they had no wish to return to Italy or any other part of war-torn Europe. San Felipe continued under the leadership of several Italians who originally had belonged to the Neapolitan Province. These were Fathers Salvatore Giglio (1926-1928), and Robert M. Libertini (1933-1937 and 1947-1952). Father Libertini, whose administrations bring the history of the Italian Jesuits in New Mexico almost up to the present day, is still active at Sacred Heart Church, El Paso.

Probably the most colorful of all the non-Jesuits, and one whose history has never been adequately told, was the hermit-monk, Giovanni María d'Agostino. Born in Novara in 1801, he wandered around Europe and South America, sleeping in caves and travelling afoot and by canoe. He lived in a volcano in Mexico, tramped through the Canadian woods, and came to New Mexico in 1863. For three years he lived near the summit of El Tecolote, a mountain about twelve miles from Las Vegas, ministering to the local ranchers and Indians. In 1867 he moved to the Sacramento Mountains of southern New Mexico where, two years later, he was killed, presumably by Apaches. A number of legends grew up around the "Cimarron Hermit," based at least in part on fact. Some of them are associated with El Tecolote, others with Hermit's Peak north of Las Vegas, where it is claimed he also lived. He reportedly erected a number of crosses on the mountainside, and would affix a light to each one each night to assure the people below that he was safe. He found a spring in the heretofore barren Tecolote, and shared his cornmeal and water with his pet cat, "Capitan."

One of the Sisters of Charity in New Mexico, Sister Blandina Segale, was brought to this country as a small child from her native Italy. A teacher, school builder, and friend of

many prominent New Mexicans in the 1880's, her experiences are recounted in her book, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail*.

In assessing the place of Italian churchmen in the history of New Mexico, the emphasis must continue to lie on the activities of the Neapolitan Jesuits. They came to the Territory during its formative period, and encountered both the traditional Hispano culture with its set of values, and that of the incoming Americans who had a different way of life. The Jesuits' contribution lies in their ambivalence: as well-educated Italians (all of the priests had college educations and many had been professors) they could understand and adapt to both cultures, thus providing a "bridge" between the two. This is not to say that other clergy were unable to do so, but the Jesuits' ability is demonstrated in the readiness with which Archbishop Lamy and Bishop Macheboeuf of Denver entrusted them with both Spanish and American parishes.

The Neapolitans were pioneers. If church statistics of confessions, communions, baptisms, and marriages may be trusted, they were most successful in bringing the Spanish-speaking New Mexicans back into formal relations with the Church. Once their work was accomplished, however, it tended to pass into the hands of the secular clergy as the number of these—and the population—increased. The Society was habitually short of clergy, although this may have been due in part to doubts in Naples that the Territory could financially support any more. Most of the fathers' missions were conducted in Spanish, but they soon learned English and used it when required.

Their influence in the social and political life of the Territory, however, was far greater than their numbers. Their private and public grammar schools, the *Revista Católica*, Las Vegas College, and their political activities of the 1870's and 1880's are all history. Without passing judgment on the moral issues involved, it seems evident that they filled a need during that stage of the Territory's development. As an organized group, they provided education when the Territorial public school system had not yet been perfected, and by providing teachers helped that system get started. They pub-

lished a periodical which was widely read and which crystallized public opinion at a time when newspapers were few. Their press published school books when these were almost non-existent in New Mexico. Within the framework of the Church itself, the Jesuits were on the scene and ready to accommodate the American influx, and they, more than any others among the New Mexican clergy, were able to "hold the line" over several decades, until American priests arrived to take their place.

In the present, those Italians who are members of the regular and secular Roman Catholic clergy in New Mexico continue to demonstrate their ability to act as a "bridge" between the two cultures. The Fathers of St. Joseph of Murialdo teach boys of all backgrounds at Lourdes Vocational School in Albuquerque. Priests serving in other parts of the state have "mixed" congregations, and even the Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, the Very Rev. Ottavio A. Coggiola, a native of Cuneo, is in the critical position of harmonizing the activities of both Spanish-speaking and English-speaking clergy. That Italians are found in these positions bespeaks their importance in New Mexico's history.

Although John Stambo, a young tinner from Piedmont, lived in Albuquerque in 1860, there were no Italians other than the Jesuits in that town until about 1880. Ferdinando Selva, a stone cutter, who was there in that year, later acquired property in Tijeras Canyon and opened a roadhouse known as "Selva's Ranch" in the early 1890's. This enterprise is still in existence, and is now called the "Paradise Club." Selva's widow, Secondina, carried on his interests for many years following his death in 1893. In 1880 also, Charles Bruno and John Pedroncelli, whose families are still represented in Albuquerque, were gardening on the Gutierrez Tract in Los Poblanos following an attempt to make their fortunes in the mines of Nevada.

The 1880's brought a number of Italians to Albuquerque, and some of the more prominent names of that period are still found in the city: Sanguinetti, Badaracco, Viviani, Bianchi, Di Mauro, Giomi, Scotti, Torlina, Toti, Melini, and Bachechi.

Many Italians of these and later years went into the saloon business in Albuquerque's "tenderloin." As they prospered and either built or bought their own buildings, they would obtain additional income from rentals. Gambling rooms and dance halls usually took up ground floor area, while upper stories were leased to either hotels or houses of prostitution (and sometimes it was difficult to tell which was which). This type of activity had little, if any, opprobrium attached to it at the time, and few Italians had more than a landlord's interest in these operations anyway. In later years the famed Joe Barnett owned the "White Elephant," which featured gambling, drinking, etc., but he easily made the transition to real estate and theaters when his former activities were outlawed. At his death in 1954, this second-generation Italian left an estate valued at over two and a half million dollars.

The movement of these people into Albuquerque in the 1880's and 1890's exemplifies the effectiveness of the letter home and word-of-mouth advertising, as carried on by those few already here. Oreste Bachechi was probably the most active and best known of these, and is certainly acknowledged as the one person responsible for more Italians coming to Albuquerque than anyone else. Bachechi, born in Bagni di Lucca, near Florence, in 1860, came to New Mexico by way of France, Cuba, and Mexico, and opened a small saloon in a tent rented for that purpose. In 1889 he married Maria Franceschi, a business-woman in her own right, and between them they expanded their holdings as rapidly as finances would permit. Mrs. Bachechi operated a dry goods store and the Elms Hotel by herself, and at the same time bore Oreste six children. Meanwhile, Bachechi transformed a partnership with Girolamo Giomi into a corporation, the Consolidated Liquor Company, which existed for thirty-three years and in time extended over the entire Southwest. In 1905 Bachechi built the Savoy Hotel, then the finest in Albuquerque, and in 1909 he added the Bachechi Block at First and Tijeras. His interests later led him into the theater business, later merged with that of Barnett. Bachechi was also one of the founders of the Colombo Society, established in 1892 with sixty-two charter members, and was its president for nineteen years;

Mrs. Bachechi, too, maintained an interest in public and charitable affairs.

Two other Albuquerque families date from 1899, when Ettore Franchini and Alessandro and Amadeo Matteucci arrived. Franchini was associated with Bachechi in the grocery business, and later in a similar enterprise with his brother, Ovidio, which still bears the family name. Ettore Franchini served as Italian consular agent in Albuquerque, and was made a Knight of the Crown of the King of Italy for his help when the Italian flying boat "Santa Maria" crashed in Roosevelt Lake, Arizona. He also acted as penitentiary commissioner and as a member of the state parole board.

Alessandro Matteucci entered the grocery business in the city, and later expanded into real estate. He and Amadeo were later joined by a third brother, Pompilio, whose shoe repair shop on North First Street later developed into the Paris Shoe Stores operated by his family. A fourth brother, John, also lives in Albuquerque.

Other Italian residents arrived during the first and second decade of the twentieth century; among them were such names as Domenici, Balduini, Dinelli, Bonaguidi, Pucci, Ganzerla, Puccini, and Schifani. While most of these people were from Lucca, Schifani was a Sicilian. Active in politics and public service, several of his sons are engaged in the printing business in Santa Fe. Another son, Emmanuel, is President of the Springer Transfer Company and was Adjutant General of the New Mexico National Guard.

Latecomers from Italy have been few, for the quota system set up by the United States immigration laws of the 1920's curtailed this flow rather sharply. Consequently, the main additions to Albuquerque's colony have been first or second generation Italians from other parts of the United States. They have maintained social and cultural ties in the Colombo Society, the Italian Women's Club, and more recently the Italamer Civic Club, as well as through Immaculate Conception Church.

Since 1880 Albuquerque has been the center of an urban Italian colony which not only grew with the years numerically (over three hundred members of the first generation in

1950), but even more so in influence. Those who had groceries, wine shops, and saloons, catered to citizens regardless of cultural background. Almost without exception, the new arrivals—if they did not already speak it—used Spanish as fluently as their native tongue within six months to a year. They learned English, and were often called upon to translate for customers and friends of both cultures. While a majority of the first generation married within their national group, a significant number married outside of it. The following generations moved easily either way, although increasingly in the English-speaking direction as Albuquerque filled with people from other parts of the United States. In the city, with both an Hispano and an American culture, the Italians have suffered very little from social visibility, being accepted more readily by either culture than the one culture accepted the other.

The majority of these people came from agricultural backgrounds in Italy, but few chose farming as a vocation in the Albuquerque area, even after acquiring capital by working in the Santa Fe shops or for others. Several families, such as the Salces, Trossellos, Morettos, and Airas, however, did cultivate acreage in the nearby community of Corrales, as did the Ghirardis and Ghirardettis near Isleta. The Italians' affinity for the liquor business, in all of its aspects, seems to be a local phenomenon; through tight organization and rigid control they have made it both respectable and profitable.

Santa Fe also acquired its Italian families after the coming of the railroad. Aside from several individual workers, the 1880 manuscript census reported the arrival of the Paladino and Digneo families, stone cutters from Abruzzi. They were brought from Woodstock, Maryland, where they had been working on the Jesuit college, to help in the construction of St. Francis Cathedral, and remained in Santa Fe for the rest of their lives. Gaetano Paladino, with a partner, Michael Berardinelli, entered the contracting business, and was responsible for the construction of many public buildings in the Territory, such as jails, courthouses, and business blocks. The Digneos, likewise, were engaged in this field; Carlo Digneo built Hodgin Hall, the first unit of the University of New

Mexico at Albuquerque. The Berardinelli family has been prominent in Santa Fe's public life; among the seven living members of the second generation there are represented a former county treasurer and city council president, a police magistrate, and a postmaster. The Sebastian and Di Lorenzo families virtually complete the roster of Santa Fe Italians, but others were found in the nearby mining communities of Madrid, Golden, San Pedro, and Cerrillos, when those flourished in the 1890's and early 1900's. There were enough Italian coal miners at Cerrillos to warrant establishment of Camillo Cavour Lodge, a member of the Columbian Federation, in the 1890's.

The town of Las Vegas featured a number of Italian fruit vendors in the 1880's, and two musicians, Paolo Marcellino and Domenico Di Boffa. Marcellino was bandmaster of the Las Vegas Brass Band (which reportedly paraded in "elegant" uniforms), directed the band at Las Vegas College, and was a partner with Di Boffa in a music store. In later years Marcellino moved to Socorro where he raised imported Italian fruit trees and engaged in the insurance business. He became involved in some pension fraud cases, however, and after serving a term in the penitentiary spent his last years teaching music. One of the fruit sellers, Rocco Emillio, later moved to Lincoln County, where he accumulated a saloon, a hotel, a butcher shop, and an orchard. Some of his descendants now live in Socorro.

The Italians were late arrivals in northern New Mexico, despite the fact that some of the Territory's earliest mining activity took place there. However, when the Raton Coal & Coke Company was incorporated in 1881 and developed the coal mines at Blossburg, Italians streamed in by the dozens. The 1885 manuscript census indicates that they comprised almost half of the miners, but few of them figure in the later history of this area. Among the exceptions, however, was Andrew Bartolino, who later established a cattle ranch near Raton, and whose descendants still have large holdings there. Another pioneer cattleman is Sam David, who was born in Piedmont in 1882. He was brought to the United States as a child, and began "punching cattle" at the age of twelve. Now

retired, his grazing land extended over some ten thousand acres north of the town of Folsom, in Union County.

The real development of Italian settlement here began about 1900, when Colfax County coal fields were opened extensively. Some *abruzzesi* came directly to the little mining towns of Brilliant and Gardiner, near Raton, and began the pattern followed elsewhere in New Mexico: working in the mines for several years, returning to Italy, and then locating once more in New Mexico. Still others worked in Van Houten, where one section of this mining village was named "Cunico Town," after that Venetian family. The Cunicos eventually homesteaded land southeast of Raton, and contributed "Mike" Cunico to the annals of championship bronc riders of the Southwest. The Federici family of Cimarron had a similar background, and is now represented by a district judge and a prominent attorney. The coal mining towns of Dawson and Koehler, both twentieth century developments, also had their quota of Italians; around World War I Dawson reportedly had one of the largest groups from the Province of Lucca to be found west of Chicago. Not only were the Italians the most numerous of all foreign groups there, but they held the "elite" jobs in the mines, including those of foreman and engineer. Most of these people moved to Raton, Trinidad, and northward as mining operations declined.

While many ex-miners opened businesses in Raton and nearby towns, probably the outstanding "success" story in northern New Mexico is that of Joe Di Lisio. He was born in Pacentro, Province of Aquila (central Italy), in 1885, and received an elementary education there. In 1904 he came to the United States, spending two months in Hartford, Connecticut, before coming west. His uncle, Mike Sebastiani, had a store at El Morro, near Trinidad, Colorado, and Di Lisio worked a year and a half there. After accumulating a small amount of capital working for his uncle, he took over a saloon in Gardiner. His success led to an offer from the St. Louis, Rocky Mountain and Pacific Coal Company to run their store, the Blossburg Mercantile Company, in addition to his saloon. This he did from 1907 to 1910, when the coke plant at Gardiner was shut down.

Di Lisio then operated a saloon at Brilliant for about three years, taking time out only for a quick trip to Italy to get his bride. He became a citizen of the United States and a member of the Elks' Lodge during this time also. In 1913 he moved to Suffield, near Ludlow, Colorado, where he bought a saloon. The violent strike at Ludlow caused all of the miners to leave, and Di Lisio was broken financially. In 1914, however, he managed to borrow sufficient capital to open a saloon in Raton, and this was followed in short order by a small department store, the Raton Mercantile Company. His affairs prospered, and in 1917 he founded the International State Bank of Raton, with himself as president. In 1929 he built the Swastika Hotel, and used this name until World War II, when for obvious reasons it was changed to "Yucca." He continues as president of the corporation which owns the hotel, and he has been chairman of the board of the bank since 1956. Although he is now 73 years of age (1958), he still operates the department store, called "Di Lisio's" since 1922, and only sold his interest in the Raton Wholesale Liquor Company (established on the repeal of Prohibition in 1933) in 1955.

Always active in civic affairs, Di Lisio has been a director of the Raton Chamber of Commerce, is a past president of the local Kiwanis Club, a member of the Knights of Columbus, and an honorary member of the Foresters (*forestieri*). In World War I he spearheaded a subscription drive for the Italian Red Cross, for which he subsequently received a gold medal, and in the mid-1920's he was made a Knight of the Order of the Crown of Italy. He and his wife, the former Cristina Ponne, have eight children, all of whom are now grown.

The town of Gallup, in western New Mexico, was also a focal point for Italian settlement, dating from its establishment as a coal mining center in the early 1880's. At that time about a hundred Piedmontese and Tyrolese farmers were brought from Colorado, where they had received their first experience in the mines. Among these the Brentari, Rollie, Vidal, Baudino, Noce, Casna, Cavaggio, Martinelli, and Zucal families are but a few of those now represented in the area. This first group moved into the business world after its

stint in the mines, and was replaced by the continuing arrival of relatives and friends from Italy. Around 1915 a second round began when farmers from Abruzzi and Calabria, in central and southern Italy respectively, arrived by way of the Colorado mines. These are represented by the Ferrari, Di Pomaggio, Di Gregorio, and Ricca families, to name several.

As in the coal mining towns of northern New Mexico, these people also had their mutual aid societies for both men and women, but succeeding generations have tended more toward the American service clubs and fraternal organizations. They fitted into the local economy with remarkable ease. While in Colorado Italian coal miners participated in the famous Lake City strike of the 1890's, and in other disorders culminating in the famous "Ludlow Massacre" in 1914, Italian miners in New Mexico led a most peaceful life. Strikes seldom, if ever, got beyond the incipient stage; there were no extremes, and they had little interest in unions. Under these conditions the coal mining areas of New Mexico, both north and west, have benefitted from the enterprise of this immigrant group.

Italians were and are almost non-existent on the so-called "East Side." They are found in southern and central New Mexico, however, but never in as great numbers as in the coal mines and towns of the north and west. The earliest permanent settlers in the southern portion of the Territory probably made their appearance immediately after the Civil War, in the late 1860's. Some Italian laborers were reportedly employed in building Fort Fillmore during the 1850's, but left before the war began. Notable among the names of early arrivals in Doña Ana County were Chaffee Martinelli (or Martinett) and Domenico Luchini, both of whom erected flour mills to serve the army posts in the area. Martinelli was killed by the "Kinney Gang" in 1879 or 1880, but the Luchini family has survived to the present day, including among their number several generations of politically active ranchers.

There are brief traces of other Italians around Silver City, Pinos Altos, Kingston, Carthage, and other mining towns in the area, but these seem to have come and gone with the vicissitudes of the "boom or bust" economy. The town of So-

corro attracted a number of Italians around the turn of the century. Giovanni Biavaschi, a native of the Valtellina, operated a distillery there and also built a two-story business block still in use. He was instrumental in bringing others to the town, among whom the names of Scartaccini, Tabacci, Ballatti, and Del Curto still survive in the region.

Ranching and sheep raising was popular in central New Mexico. The Bianchi and Gianera families are identified with the grazing lands near Socorro, and Joe Gianera prospered as well from the discovery and development of a manganese mine on his property.

The Italians in New Mexico have been exemplary citizens, and there is no evidence of any formal political ties with Italy and the Fascist regime locally. In 1923 or 1924, an *Alianza Fascista degli Stati Uniti* was organized through the various consulates in this country, but it was disbanded due to lack of interest within a year or two. Neither the Sons of Italy, the largest of all Italian-American organizations, nor any of the Italian Fascist groups of the 1930's found representation in New Mexico. *The Italian-American News*, a pro-Fascist newspaper, was published in Albuquerque during 1936 and 1937, but its editor, who had a prior criminal record, was deported during World War II.

Both Ettore Franchini of Albuquerque and Joe Di Lizio of Raton, who had been prominent in promoting such financial causes as the Italian Red Cross and the erection of memorials in Italy, were accused of being members of the Fascist "fifth column" in the West, but there is no evidence to support these charges. The local Italian colony's attitude toward Fascism was certainly passive. Following Pearl Harbor, as in World War I, there was a uniform movement of allegiance toward the United States. None were interned.

Virtually all of the older Italians became naturalized citizens as soon as they were qualified by minimum residence. In the state as a whole these people have consistently had a higher rate of naturalization than the average for all nationalities. Possibly because of the freer social mobility in New Mexico and the higher proportion of single men coming to the state from Italy, Italians here have tended to marry outside

their group more than their compatriots in other parts of the United States. Interviews made during the course of this study have indicated that those who came to New Mexico, mainly from northern and central Italy, invariably had at least the equivalent of an American fourth grade grammar school education, although few attempted to carry their schooling any further after their arrival. The second and third generations, however, have taken advantage of every educational opportunity, and many have entered the professions.

Throughout the history of their emigration to New Mexico, Italians have tended to be town dwellers rather than farmers. Whereas only fifty per cent of New Mexico's total population is found in urban areas (1950), almost seventy-five per cent of the foreign-born Italians and their families have fallen in this category. The movement of Italians in and out of New Mexico was highest in 1913-14, just before the outbreak of World War I, when 303 immigrants entering the United States announced that New Mexico was their destination. That same year 128 Italian aliens living in the state left for their homeland. In subsequent years the turnover diminished to a mere scattering, and in the two decades from 1912 to 1932 only two naturalized citizens returned to their native land to stay.

For the past seventy-five or eighty years, therefore, the Italian laymen have constituted an extremely stable group in New Mexico, making a ready adjustment to both the American and Hispano cultures. They became citizens rapidly, learned both Spanish and English, and took places in the business community where they served all people. They have been uniformly loyal to the United States, and have demonstrated their allegiance by service in two world wars. They have made no significant contributions to letters or the arts, but, what is more important for New Mexico, they have promoted understanding among peoples of divergent cultural backgrounds.

Those Italians who came to the Territory as representatives of the Roman Catholic Church from 1867 on, were important in New Mexico's life far beyond their mere numbers.

Foreign to this country and its ways, they frequently aroused widespread animosity because of their autocratic methods. Through missions, schools, a college, and a press, however, the Neapolitan Jesuits expanded and accelerated the work of their Church in New Mexico, and influenced their parishioners not only spiritually, but socially, economically, politically, and intellectually as well. Their dedication, energy, and intellect provided an example for all, and those Italians who serve in the state now continue to uphold the high standards set by their predecessors.

COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON AND THE TEXAS AND PACIFIC RAILROAD LAND GRANT

By RALPH N. TRAXLER, JR.*

THE railway land-aid policy of the Federal government was initiated by the grant made to the Illinois Central in 1850.¹ This legislation provided for a subsidy of six sections for each mile of completed track. The sections were to be located alternately bordering the track. Alternate sections were retained by the government for sale or entry under the Homestead Act. Indemnity limits were to extend fifteen miles on each side of the main line in case previous settlement denied access to the area within the six alternate sections. When the road was completed, land was given to the states which patented it to the railroad. The Illinois Central bill was approved by those Congressmen who had constitutional scruples against voting direct aid for internal improvements, yet did not want to go on record as being against a program that would help promote much needed railroad construction. By the Illinois Central Act the alternate sections retained by the government were to sell for not less than \$2.50 per acre, approximately twice the minimum value set for other public land.

The next federal subsidy was to the Union Pacific-Central Pacific in 1862 for ten sections per mile to build on a route from Omaha to San Francisco.² In 1863 Congress increased the Union Pacific-Central Pacific grant to twenty sections per mile.³ Congress also changed the system of patenting to allow acreage to be given directly to the road whether it was located in the states or territories.⁴ The last federal subsidy was made to the Texas and Pacific in 1871 for construction in the territories of New Mexico and Arizona and the State of California; it entitled the company to forty sections per mile.⁵

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1. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IX (1850).

2. *Ibid.*, XII, 489 (1862).

3. *Ibid.*, XIII, 356 (1864).

4. John B. Sanborn, *Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1899), p. 67.

5. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 575 (1873).

Between 1850 and 1871 nearly 132,000,000 acres of federal land was acquired by various railroad projects for 18,738 miles of track.⁶

The land aid story in Texas followed a pattern similar to that of the Federal government. The enabling act which brought Texas into the Union allowed the state to retain possession of all its public domain. This amounted to almost 171,000,000 acres even after the United States purchased in 1850 more than 61,000,000 acres to settle the New Mexico-Texas boundary dispute.⁷ With an extensive unsettled area and the need for aid to promote railway construction, there developed increasing pressure for state donations of land. After the Federal government had set the precedent in 1850 with the Illinois Central grant, the same type of grant-in-aid system developed in Texas. State railway grants made from 1854 to 1882 included nearly 32,000,000 acres of Texas land for 3,000 miles of construction.⁸ Among these was included a grant to the Texas and Pacific Railroad to aid construction from the Texas-Louisiana boundary near Marshall to El Paso.

In the United States Senate on March 9, 1870, William Kellogg of Louisiana introduced a bill which was to result in Federal assistance for construction of the Texas and Pacific.⁹ The bill recommended a grant of twenty sections per mile in California and Louisiana and forty in the territories of New Mexico and Arizona. For construction in Texas land grants would have to come from the State of Texas. A provision was included for branch grants from San Diego to connect with the Southern Pacific of California, which was building south from the San Francisco Bay area. A complicated system of trackage to afford rail connection between the eastern boundary of Texas and areas of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and southern Tennessee, terminating at Chattanooga, was also provided.

One year elapsed before Congressional debates ended and

6. Thomas Donaldson, *The Public Domain* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), p. 753.

7. *Ibid.*

8. D. G. Reed, *A History of Texas Railroads* (Houston: The St. Clair Co., 1946) p. 13.

9. *The Congressional Globe*, 41st Cong., 2d Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), p. 1776.

the Texas and Pacific received its charter and land grant. There was a growing hostility evidenced by many Congressmen against further land aid. Therefore it was March 3, 1871, before the grant was approved and signed by the President.¹⁰ The Texas and Pacific was to begin in New Orleans, run northwest to Marshall, Texas, and westward to El Paso and San Diego. The Company was permitted to purchase other roads to complete its trackage and subsequently acquired the Southern Pacific of Texas and the Southern Trans-continental. These two companies located within Texas had completed seventy-seven miles of track and received 318,000 acres.

The land-grant clauses of the charter to the Texas and Pacific are as follows: The railroad, its successors and assigns, were to receive alternate sections along the route in Louisiana and California totaling twenty sections. In Arizona and New Mexico forty sections were to be allowed. Mineral-bearing areas could not become the property of the railroad. Also excluded was any territory claimed under homestead and pre-emption laws. All areas not sold or otherwise disposed of within three years after the completion of the trackage would be subject to settlement and pre-emption at a minimum of \$2.50 per acre. Bonds could be issued on any portion of land granted to a railroad which was later purchased by the Texas and Pacific. There were no restrictions on the amount of bonds that could be issued. With the completion of each twenty-mile section, it was the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents. Within two years after the charter was given, the company had to designate the general route and file a map with the Secretary of the Interior. Acreage was then to be withdrawn from public entry. Commissioners were to be appointed by the President to inspect the road as each twenty-mile section was completed.

By 1873, the state of Texas had made a grant to aid the Texas and Pacific in its construction program from the Louisiana line to El Paso. The Texas section was completed from the Marshall, Texas, area to near El Paso in 1881. But due to the failure of the Texas and Pacific to build west of

10. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, VI, 575 (1873).

El Paso within the time limit (ten years) the only federal land earned was approximately 670,000 acres in Louisiana, patented for construction from near New Orleans to the Louisiana line near Marshall. Congress instituted forfeiture procedures for failure to construct in Arizona, New Mexico, and California, and the acreage was returned and opened for settlement in 1885.

It had become evident by 1880 that the Texas and Pacific would not be able to finance construction west of El Paso. The Southern Pacific was by 1880 firmly committed to building east from San Diego to El Paso and on through southern Texas to New Orleans. This stimulated the officials of the Southern Pacific of California to make an open attempt to work out a transfer of the Texas and Pacific grant west of El Paso. Collis P. Huntington assumed leadership for getting the Texas and Pacific land grant transferred to the Southern Pacific. Huntington in partnership with Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins, and Charles Crocker got into the railroad business by undertaking the construction of the Central Pacific to junction with the Union Pacific in May 1869. Under the name Southern Pacific the foursome expanded rail facilities into southern California until they had strong economic control over the whole state. Huntington was the key man in the famous foursome. As attorney and eastern agent it was through his efforts that negotiations were carried on for claiming the Texas and Pacific land grant in Arizona, New Mexico, and California.¹¹

There is a strong evidence that Huntington was actively interested in acquiring the Texas and Pacific and its Arizona, New Mexico, and California land grants as early as 1876. Congress evidently was cognizant of this desire because the House Committee on the Judiciary in 1876 investigated the possibility that influence was used by Southern Pacific officials to help lobby for the original Texas and Pacific grant.¹² The allegation was that the Southern Pacific of California had sup-

11. Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp. 408-412.

12. U. S. Congress. *Congressional Record*, 44th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), p. 698.

ported the Texas and Pacific legislation with the hope of gaining eventual control of the thirty-second parallel road. Although there had been no proof presented and the investigation had been abandoned the same year, there was danger of the inquiry being reopened if the California company attempted to acquire the grant by direct consolidation with the Texas and Pacific. Huntington was extremely reluctant to announce a definite policy of consolidation for he feared that forfeiture of the grant might ensue. The hostility aroused by such an announcement would have been alien to the best traditions of Huntington's diplomacy.

On April 16, 1881, Jay Gould purchased the controlling interest of the Texas and Pacific from Thomas A. Scott, eastern railway magnate and president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, for \$3,500,000.¹³ Gould, one of the most famous of railroad financiers, already owned a large block of stock in the Union Pacific and controlled the Kansas Pacific, Missouri Pacific, and other smaller lines. In an era that abounded with fabulous figures, none had a more colorful career than Gould, speculator and railroad wrecker. It should have been an easy matter for Huntington and Gould to work out an arrangement concerning joint operation of the Texas and Pacific and Southern Pacific. Gould must have realized the impossibility of the Texas and Pacific ever finishing its track west of El Paso. Huntington, however, adhered to the cautious policy of making no open commitment. If he planned to work a deal with Gould for the Texas and Pacific grant, he did not intend to advertise the fact.

In the spring of 1881 the new administrator of the Texas and Pacific emphasized his independence by instituting suits in the territorial courts of Arizona and New Mexico to prevent the Southern Pacific of California from operating a line which was planning construction from San Diego through southern New Mexico and Arizona to El Paso and then to New Orleans. The Texas and Pacific case had little validity since Congress had seen fit to authorize the Californians to build in the territories. Gould must have suspected that if

13. *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXXII (April 16, 1881), p. 412.

the Southern Pacific built through Arizona and New Mexico first Huntington might attempt to claim the grant made for the Texas and Pacific. The court ruled that the operation of the Huntington line would be in direct violation of the rights granted to the Texas and Pacific by its charter, but since Congress had authorized the Southern Pacific construction the court's hands were tied.¹⁴ There is a strong probability that this suit was actually a sham action to camouflage the beginning of confidential negotiations with the California company. On the surface at least the Texas and Pacific had thereby indicated it would maintain its independence.¹⁵ The artful handling of the negotiations was an excellent example of Huntington's ability to allay suspicion.

By July, 1881, evidence appeared in *The Galveston Daily News* that Huntington had purchased the thirty-second parallel land grant with a one-million-dollar down payment; the amount of the balance was not announced.¹⁶ At this preliminary stage Huntington seemed reluctant to go to Congress for approval of the transfer of the land subsidy. But congressional action would be necessary before a transfer would be valid since the grant had not been patented to the Texas and Pacific.

Through a petition in 1881 a group of residents of both Arizona and New Mexico requested Congress to refuse any claim the Californians might make for the grant.¹⁷ The petitioners argued that no road had been constructed by the original grantee under the terms of the land-grant legislation. As for the Southern Pacific of California, it had begun construction through the territories without making an attempt to claim a land grant. The petitioners asserted that a certification of the original grant to the California organization would be unfair to the people of Arizona and New Mexico. Accordingly, since it was obvious that the Texas and

14. *Ibid.* (June 11, 1881), 628.

15. *Norton's Daily Intelligencer* (Dallas), July 1, 1881.

16. *The Galveston Daily News*, July 12, 1881.

17. Petitions to the Congress of the United States from the Citizens of the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, Legislative Records Division, National Archives.

Pacific would not be constructed, individual settlers' claims were being located in the grant area.¹⁸

Despite the attitude of the residents in the territories toward the Southern Pacific of California it was completed to the western boundary of Texas early in November, 1881. The company continued construction east through San Antonio and Houston to New Orleans and on November 26, Gould decided to come to open terms with Huntington. The Texas and Pacific franchise to the projected line in Arizona, New Mexico, and California accordingly was sold and provision was made for a direct transfer of the land grant to the Huntington interests. The official deed of transfer was signed on January 18, 1882.¹⁹ Gould, of course, had no legal right to transfer a grant still controlled by the Federal government—a grant which had not been properly earned under the terms of the charter.

In a letter to the Secretary of the Interior on May 1, 1882, Huntington made a formal request for the issuance of land certificates to the Southern Pacific after inspection of the construction had been carried out.²⁰ After almost a year elapsed and the Federal government had taken no action to examine the trackage, Huntington renewed his request, forwarding to the Secretary of the Interior a certification testifying to the construction of 441 miles of the main-line track in New Mexico and Arizona.²¹ This second request, like the first, was ignored. A few days later Huntington again asked for an official inspection.²² The Secretary refused to recognize the validity of the land transfer until Congress legalized the action. As far as his office was concerned, the acreage was still in the name of the Texas and Pacific, and that company had earned no land.

18. Letter from G. E. Daily, Land Office of the United States, Tucson, Arizona, To the Commissioner of the General Land Office, January 13, 1883, Land and Railroad Division, General Land Office, National Archives, hereinafter cited as L and RD, GLO, NA.

19. Deed of Transfer between the Texas and Pacific Railroad and the Southern Pacific Railroad of California, L and RD, GLO, NA.

20. Letter from C. P. Huntington, President of the Southern Pacific Railroad of California, to the Secretary of the Interior, May 1, 1882, L and RD, GLO, NA.

21. *Ibid.*, April 13, 1883.

22. *Ibid.*, April 24, 1883.

It was doubtful that Congress would ever approve aid to a company which had completed the desired line without the need of such help.²³ Nevertheless, the Southern Pacific of California maintained it had a legal claim to the acreage of the Texas and Pacific and at the same time tried to forestall forfeiture proceedings which Congress was threatening to begin. Even before Huntington's initial request for inspection and certification of the construction, the House Committee on the Judiciary recommended that the land be returned to the public domain of the United States.²⁴ The Committee indicated that section seventeen of the Texas and Pacific charter reserved for Congress the right to recover the grant if the railroad did not build along the thirty-second parallel.²⁵ Furthermore, section nine provided that the assignation or transfer of the grant had to be approved by the Federal government.²⁶ Since this had not been done the Committee insisted that the Southern Pacific of California had no legal claim.

Huntington argued that section twenty-two of the original Texas and Pacific charter permitted the New Orleans, Baton Rouge, and Vicksburg to make a direct transfer of its grant to the thirty-second parallel line in Louisiana without Congressional approval. Therefore, he declared, it was only just that the Texas and Pacific, in turn, be allowed to transfer any part of its acreage if a sale or any other fair agreement had been entered into between the original grantee and a second party.²⁷ Huntington, nevertheless, did not convince the House investigating committee that it should abandon the recommendations it had made for forfeiture.

During the investigation by the House Committee, charges of dishonesty in acquiring the original land grant

23. U. S. Congress, House Committee on Public Lands, *Letter from the Secretary of the Interior on Land Grant Railroads*, House Executive Document 144, 47th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), pp. 44f.

24. U. S. Congress, House Committee on the Judiciary, *Texas and Pacific Railroad Land Grant*, House Report 1803, to accom. HR. 286, 47th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1882), p. 4.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

27. *A brief on the Matter of the Application of the Southern Pacific Companies of Arizona and New Mexico for the Appointment of a Commissioner to Examine the Said Railroad Construction, L and RD, GLO, NA.*

came into the discussion. The Secretary of the Interior had received a letter from one J. J. Newell, who claimed that as a lobbyist he had arranged for thirty members of Congress to receive payment in cash and railroad stock in exchange for their efforts in pushing the thirty-second-parallel grant through the two houses.²⁸ While he did not actually say that he had acted as an agent for the Southern Pacific in these dealings, he hinted that this railroad had paid for his services. He had many friends in Congress during the early seventies and therefore had undoubtedly been useful in obtaining approval for a thirty-second parallel grant. Although Newell quoted at length from a diary which he said had been kept at the time, there was no other substantiation of his charge. He concluded that since the grant was originally made under fraudulent conditions, it should now be forfeited. It is difficult to understand why, if his story of these past nefarious dealings were true, he now took his stand on the side of righteousness. Only an attitude of repentance, or the fact that he had had a falling out with his Southern Pacific friends, could explain this change of heart. Even though he was able to present no evidence to prove his charges, Newell's allegations made an impression on some Congressmen who were adverse to the transfer. On the whole, however, the allegations were ignored.

A letter from a Southwestern oil agent, I. E. Dean, although making no charges against Huntington and Gould, voiced definite objections to the transfer of the grant to the Southern Pacific of California. The oil interests seemed anxious to keep as much acreage as possible open to general speculation, even though no important oil strikes had yet been made in the Southwest.²⁹ San Diego officials also expressed their disapproval of the transfer of the grant because such a move would leave the town off the main line of the thirty-second parallel railroad. The Southern Pacific of California did not intend to build its line into San Diego. These citizens hoped a Congressional refusal to approve the negotiations for

28. Letter from J. J. Newell to the Secretary of the Interior, May 12, 1883, L and RD, GLO, NA.

29. Letter from I. E. Dean, Oil Agent, to the Attorney General of the United States, July 27, 1883, L and RD, GLO, NA.

a land transfer would serve as partial punishment for depriving this city of a direct connection.³⁰ At a later date they were to display a more kindly attitude toward the California road when it constructed a branch line into the city.

The year 1882 and part of 1883 passed with no further discussion of forfeiture proceedings. In June, 1883, in a letter to the Secretary of the Interior, Huntington challenged the adverse attitudes displayed toward his company's acquiring the land grant by direct transfer. Since the Southern Pacific had taken over the construction and had completed it before the time limit had expired, Huntington insisted that the patents should be issued.³¹ By August, 1883, it was fairly obvious that Congress would make no decision concerning transfer or forfeiture that year.³² Meanwhile, letters continued to come into the office of the Secretary of the Interior strongly opposing the proposed transfer. Representatives W. T. Rosecrans of California, T. R. Cobb of Indiana, and Poindexter Dunn of Arkansas voiced the opinion that if the request were approved the Southern Pacific of California would immediately mortgage the land. While such a procedure might be justified during periods of construction, it merely became a speculative venture after the completion of a railroad. They charged that such schemes deprived the people of the United States of their public domain in order to "line the pockets" of a few wealthy land promoters.³³

In the fall of 1883, Senator William P. Kellogg of Louisiana announced that direct action would be taken in Congress to bring about the forfeiture of the grant during the session beginning in December, 1883.³⁴ This Senator had had an interesting career, first as a brigadier-general in the Union Army, and later as a carpetbagger politician in New Orleans.

30. Telegram from the Council of the City of San Diego to the Secretary of the Interior, May 27, 1883, L and RD, GLO, NA.

31. Letter from C. P. Huntington, President of the Southern Pacific Railroad of California, to the Secretary of the Interior, June 8, 1883, L and RD, GLO, NA.

32. *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, XXVII (August 5, 1883), p. 121.

33. Letter from W. T. Rosecrans, T. R. Cobb, and Poindexter Dunn, Representatives from California, Indiana, and Arkansas, respectively, to the Secretary of the Interior, June (no day), 1883, L and RD, GLO, NA.

34. Report by Senator Kellogg of Louisiana on the Forfeiture of the Texas and Pacific Railroad Lands, undated, L and RD, GLO, NA.

He had been elected to the Senate in 1868, then served a short term as governor of Louisiana, and was a Senator again.³⁵ On December 10, Louis Payson of Illinois introduced a bill in the House for forfeiture of the Texas and Pacific grant.³⁶ Kellogg did not seem inclined to introduce a companion measure in the Senate. His motive seemed to be to let the forfeiture measure pass the House before coming up for debate in the upper chamber.

After several revisions to the bill as introduced in December, the House Committee on Public Land reported to the House on January 22, 1884, with the recommendation that it pass. Debate was started in the lower chamber on January 31, 1884. After some discussion as to whether the committee report was to be read, a decision was reached to dispense with the reading and print it in the *Record*. T. R. Cobb of Indiana represented the temper for forfeiture by declaring that he believed it should take no more than five minutes to pass the legislation.³⁷ It is obvious from the lack of debate that the House was in a receptive mood for declaring the Texas and Pacific's Federal grant void.

Huntington's correspondence with his associate Leland Stanford, incorporated into the House committee report, revealed the manner in which Huntington had labored to arrange for a transfer of the Texas and Pacific grant to the Southern Pacific of California. His attempt to stir up Congressional hostility toward the Texas and Pacific was well planned and carried out in its initial stage. As early as November 10, 1875, Huntington made it clear that the Texas and Pacific had to be stopped from building its line westward from El Paso. He announced in a pious vein that "The Texas and Pacific Railroad is in no way a Southern Pacific road, but a road if built by the Government would prevent the Southern States from having a road to the Pacific for many years."³⁸

35. Dumas Malone (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp. 305f.

36. U. S. Congress, *Congressional Record*, 48th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), p. 64.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 787.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 790.

This pronouncement was in direct contrast to what Congress intended the Texas and Pacific to become when it was finished—a southern railway which would prevent the Central Pacific-Southern Pacific monopoly from spreading eastward from California. Included were other similar letters covering the period between 1874 to 1878, during which the Texas and Pacific had attempted to obtain further federal aid.

The House Committee also demonstrated that the California group had openly declared its intentions to build east to El Paso without federal assistance. A Huntington letter of November 28, 1874, maintained that the Southern Pacific of California would “. . . build east of the Colorado to meet the Texas Pacific without aid, and then (we shall) see how many members (of Congress) will dare give him (Thomas A. Scott of the Texas and Pacific) aid to do what we offered to do without.”³⁹ The committee further declared that Huntington had attempted to obtain unfavorable Congressional action against the Texas and Pacific when it was attempting to get additional aid to finance land-grant bonds. In a letter to David Colton, one of Huntington's associates in the Southern Pacific Company, dated November 19, 1874, Huntington stated, “I think the Texas Pacific or some of their friends will be likely to take the ground that the Southern Pacific is controlled by the same parties that control the Central Pacific (which of course it did). . . . I am disposed to think that you had better come over and spend a few weeks at least in Washington.”⁴⁰ By Colton's visit Huntington must have hoped to convince official Washington that the interests of the Southern Pacific of California and the Central Pacific were completely separate with respect to their dealings with the Texas and Pacific. The existence of this letter was evidence enough to convince the House Committee that there had been a long standing plot on the part of the California company to gain control of the Texas and Pacific and its lands. The Texas and Pacific, the committee concluded, was still in existence as a corporation and the Southern Pacific of California could not, therefore, legally claim to be the successor of the original

39. *Ibid.*, p. 789.

40. *Ibid.*

grantee.⁴¹ The spirit of the times precluded the Californians' gaining land for which they had no previous claim.

If any argument were needed to convince the skeptical that the Texas and Pacific land grant should be returned to the public domain, it could not be found in the documents published in the House Committee's report. The forfeiture bill passed the House on January 31, 1884 by the overwhelming margin of 261 to 1 with 58 abstaining.⁴² The only vote cast against the bill was that of Samuel F. Barr of Pennsylvania.⁴³ There is no indication as to why he took such a unique stand; moreover an explanation of the one negative vote hardly seems important in view of the large majority in favor of forfeiture. After the vote was recorded, several House members made it clear that certain of their colleagues who were unable to attend when the vote was taken wanted to be placed on record as having supported the measure.⁴⁴

After the House approved the forfeiture, the attorneys of the Southern Pacific of California protested that the railroad's representatives were not given time to present their case adequately before the House Committee.⁴⁵ Before this charge could be carried any further, the Senate Committee on Public Land gave that chamber their conclusions on the forfeiture bill.⁴⁶ The report, submitted in March, 1884, took approximately the same stand as that of the House Committee. The only major difference between the House and Senate reports was that the latter included an amendment to delay entrance on the land for two years after it was forfeited. This stipulation was inserted to enable all land claims to be adjusted before new claims were made. The session of 1884 adjourned before action could be taken by the Senate on the legislation.

41. U. S. Congress, House Committee on Public Land, *Forfeiture of the Texas and Pacific Land Grant*, House Report 62, to accompany S. 3933, 48th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), p. 1.

42. U. S. Congress, *Congressional Record*, 48th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), pp. 795f.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 796.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *San Diego Union*, February 13, 1884.

46. U. S. Congress, Senate Committee on Public Land, *View of Minority on Forfeiture of Texas & Pacific Lands*, Senate Report 607, to accompany S. 3933, 48th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1884), p. 1.

On February 13, 1885, discussion on the forfeiture bill was begun in the Senate.⁴⁷ Huntington still refused to concede that the conveyance of the land grant by the Texas and Pacific was illegal. He argued that the transfer of the grant was no different in principle from the transfer of a mortgage on the land; the latter course, it was argued, had been taken by several other railroads.⁴⁸ John T. Morgan of Alabama refuted the stand taken by the Southern Pacific by asserting that while a mortgage might be disposed of at the will of a corporation, the only manner in which the public domain could be legally transferred from one company to another was by an act of Congress. Morgan maintained that land grants were made at the will of Congress and remained under its jurisdiction until the patents were issued. Only then could acreage be disposed of at the discretion of the railroad.⁴⁹

Although there was no disagreement among the senators as to whether or not to declare a forfeiture of the federal grant, a lengthy discussion ensued on the recommendation of the Senate Committee to withhold the land grant from public entry for a period of two years after the forfeiture was approved.⁵⁰ Senator John Sherman of Ohio formally introduced the recommendation of the Senate Committee as an amendment to the bill passed by the House.⁵¹ Briefly, the amendment stipulated that at least two years should be allowed to adjust land claims before the acreage was opened to entry. John Ingalls of Kansas believed that it should be made clear in the amendment that the lands would be used only for homestead entry after that period.⁵² A Senator from Kentucky, James Beck, indicated that the amendment had been so phrased that it denied entry to the grant for two years except for pre-emption claims.⁵³ If the phrasing were thus interpreted it would give speculative land interests a fling at the acreage before it became available for homesteading. Sherman and

47. U. S. Congress, *Congressional Record*, 48th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), p. 1620.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 1878.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 1887.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 1896.

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

Ingalls both denied that any such interpretation was intended. The amendment had been worded, they maintained, so as to deny entry on the forfeited land under any of the existing land laws.⁵⁴

John Miller of California maintained that the lands under discussion were not fit for homesteading but were more suited for grazing land or as a potential source of mineral wealth. Although the soundness of the Californian's argument must be respected, the mere mention of denying acreage to the homesteader caused a veritable explosion within the land reform group in Congress.

Debate in this vein might have continued indefinitely except for the overwhelming strength of the forfeiture advocates, who wanted the bill passed immediately whether or not it contained all the stipulations proposed. The amendment introduced by Sherman was defeated by a vote of forty-one to twelve. This meant that entry could be made on the public domain immediately after forfeiture.⁵⁵ The twelve members who supported the amendment represented a group who believed that forfeited land should be administered by the courts before it was opened for public entry. These twelve insisted that the fundamental rights of private property were being tampered with by permitting Congress to assign the grant directly to the Executive Department before all contested claims were settled. Under executive control claims would be settled by administrative decisions of the Department of the Interior and the General Land Office. From the distribution of the twelve votes—two from the South, two from the Midwest, three from the far West and five from the East—it can be seen that the East cast no significant number of votes which might lead to a charge of sectional support for the amendment.⁵⁶ Although ten of the twelve votes were registered by members of the Republican Party, the fact is only relatively more significant than the geographical distribution of the ballot, since Republicans cast a majority of their strength against the amendment.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 1897.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

The forfeiture bill was finally passed by the Senate with a vote of fifty-six to two,⁵⁷ becoming law on March 2, 1885, three years after the deadline for completion of the railroad.⁵⁸ Support given to the termination of the Texas and Pacific grant presents an interesting contrast to the way in which Congress voted when the grant was approved. The ballot on the forfeiture showed no sectional or party rivalry in either house. There was, of course, a conflict in the Senate between the pro- and anti-land grant forces. The two senators voting negative refused to accept the trend of public opinion against corporations which had not completed construction on time.

During the period of uncertainty when no one knew whether or not the transfer to the California line would be legalized or the grants forfeited, individual settlers were anxious to obtain judgment on disputes that had arisen over the validity of their claims. Administrative decisions in the Department of the Interior assumed great importance. For instance, the Secretary decided that a pre-emption claim within the grant area of the railroad was valid even if the final payment had not been made by the time the grant was withdrawn from public entry.⁵⁹ A later decision made it clear that pre-emptors did not need to have the final patent to lay claim to acreage within the grant area if the original settlement had been made before the withdrawal of the acreage from public entry.⁶⁰

By an order of March 17, 1885, the Secretary of the Interior ordered the Commissioner of the General Land Office to notify the local land offices to begin the process of returning the grant of the Texas and Pacific to the public domain.⁶¹ The General Land Office immediately put into operation the local administrative machinery needed to return the grant to public entry. It was to be many months, and in some areas years, however, before all the acreage again became available for settlement by the individual land seeker. Public notices

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*, p. 2409.

59. The Department of the Interior, *Decisions of the Department of the Interior*, III (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 122.

60. *Ibid.*, 164.

61. Letter from the Secretary of the Interior to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, March 17, 1885, L and RD, GLO, NA.

were published announcing that tracts were to be disposed of either by direct sale for \$1.25 per acre or under the conditions of the homestead act.⁶² There is no evidence that speculators were responsible in any way for delaying the return to public entry of the acreage which was being held pending settlement of private claims. The settlement of all claims, however, took considerably longer than was anticipated by that amendment.

The total acreage returned was about 18,500,000.⁶³ This, of course, represented a serious blow to Huntington's plans for the Southern Pacific of California. The forfeiture had been brought about by the reaction that had taken place against land grants in general, although the immediate factors making such a movement possible were the failure of the original grantee to construct the line on time and the attempt to transfer the grant without the approval of Congress. In the forfeiture process it is interesting to note how closely the executive and legislative branches cooperated in collecting information and drawing up the necessary legislation.

The loss of the land grant did not destroy the effectiveness of the Southern Pacific-Central Pacific monopoly of West coast trade. Huntington's "coup d'etat" failed but the loss of 18,500,000 acres did not alter the fact that the Southern Pacific had succeeded in extending its empire east to New Orleans. The grant thus failed completely in fulfilling the two purposes for which it had been created: the prevention of a monopoly of Pacific coast trade by California railroad interests and the building of a thirty-second parallel line in Arizona, New Mexico and Texas which would be free from control by Huntington and his Southern Pacific railroad associates.

62. *Arizona Daily Star* (Tucson), March 24, 1885; *Los Angeles Daily Herald*, March 26, 1885; *Rio Grande Republican* (Las Cruces, New Mexico), March 28, 1885.

63. U. S. Congress, House Committee on Public Land, *Forfeiture of Certain Railroad Lands*, House Report 2476, to accompany s. 1430, 50th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1888), p. 1.

ARIZONA'S FIRST NEWSPAPER,
THE WEEKLY ARIZONIAN, 1859

By MARVIN ALISKY*

WHEN newspapers came to Arizona, the land area bearing that name was merely the western portion of the Territory of New Mexico. Not until four years after Arizona acquired its own journalism did it achieve governmental status as a territory. But unlike New Mexico, Arizona first acquired a newspaper in the English language, not in the Spanish language.

New Mexico's first newspaper, *El Crepúsculo de la Libertad*, begun in Santa Fe in 1835,¹ naturally was published in Spanish,² its potential readers being Mexicans. Arizona's first newspaper, *The Weekly Arizonian*, began in Tubac in 1859,³ carried not one story in Spanish. Only after eight English-language newspapers had been established during an eighteen-year period, did Arizona in 1877 finally get its first Spanish-language newspaper, *Las Dos Repúblicas* at Tucson.⁴

Just one century ago, relatively few residents, English-speaking or Spanish-speaking, were to be found in Arizona. Rapport between the two language groups could hardly have been at a maximum in the aftermath of the War of 1846-1848 and the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. To officials in Washington, Tucson and Tubac were the news centers of Arizona⁵ despite military installations at Fort Yuma.⁶ Tubac and Tucson

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1. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), 341; D. C. McMurtrie, *The Beginning of Printing in New Mexico* (Chicago, 1932), 1-10; Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism* (New York, 1947), 288.

2. *Ibid.*, 287.

3. Estelle Lutrell, "Arizona's Frontier Press," *Arizona Historical Review*, VI (January, 1935), 15; Marvin Alisky, "Early Arizona Editors," *The Quill*, XLVI (March, 1958), 10.

4. Lutrell, *op. cit.*, 22-23; *Pettingill's Newspaper Directory* (New York, 1878); *Arizona Daily Star* of Tucson referred to pioneer Spanish-language paper in a story on July 29, 1879. Selected issues of volumes I and II of *Repúblicas* in Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

5. *Hse. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 3 sess. no. 76, pp. 84-85. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 sess. II, no. 1, p. 84.

6. Averam B. Bender, *The March of Empire: Frontier Defense in the Southwest, 1848-1860* (Lawrence, Kans., 1952), 42; Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861* (Glendale, Calif., 1932), 260.

had been military outposts for the Spanish, then the Mexicans, then the Americans. Aside from the army, the vanguard of Anglo civilization in 1859 was epitomized in Arizona by the alliterative two E's: the engineer and the editor.⁷

Mining engineers came to dig mineral riches from the ground. Journalists came to dig mining news from the camp sites. The printing press upon which the first newspaper was printed was brought to Arizona by William Wrightson in 1858 upon specific direction to do so by the Santa Rita Mining Company of Cincinnati.⁸ The Santa Rita Company had set up a headquarters in Tubac to expand operations in mines in southern Arizona. Meanwhile, the home offices of the company in Cincinnati were frequented by Wrightson and his brother Thomas, editors of the *Railroad Record*, a periodical which advocated western railroad expansion and American exploration of the newest United States territorial acquisition.⁹ The company chose Wrightson as press custodian.

In 1855, the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company opened a trading post in the former Mexican barracks in Tubac.¹⁰ Americans and Mexicans came from as far as the border to buy goods at the company store. The newspapers brought in with other supplies were passed from hand to hand. When Wrightson brought the printing press into Tubac in 1858, the means at last were at hand for disseminating news of Arizona in a local publication. The Santa Rita Mining Company would finance it.

On March 3, 1859, the first issue of *The Weekly Arizonian* was published.¹¹ The four-page paper contained many advertisements of merchandise which could be ordered by mail from Cincinnati, plus advertisements for whiskey and guns

7. Lutrell, *op. cit.*, 15.

8. Estelle Lutrell, "Newspapers and Periodicals of Arizona, 1859-1911," *University of Arizona Bulletin*, XX (July 1949), 102.

9. *Ibid.*, 63, 102; D. C. McMurtrie, *The Beginnings of Printing in Arizona, 1860-1875* (Chicago), 9.

10. Sylvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora* (New York, 1864), 26.

11. Volume I of the *Arizonian* can be found at Arizona Pioneers Historical Society at Tucson; microfilm of volume I at Arizona State Department of Library and Archives in Phoenix; parts of volume I at Univ. of Arizona library, Bancroft Library at Berkeley, Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass. Volume II at Pioneers Historical Society, Tucson, and Bancroft Library.

for sale in Tubac. Coming only eleven years after the Mexican War and only six years after the Gadsden Purchase, the first issue of the *Arizonian* understandably devoted most of its front page to news about Mexico. The lead article, captioned "Mexican Politics," stated:

There are in Mexico three great leading parties, answering to the type of party wherever that product of imperfect civilization exists. The first, because the eldest, is the CONSERVATIVE, with principles cognate with its name; strenuously adhering to ancient realism. . . . This party was in power, in the person of Santa Anna, from April 20, 1853, to August 11, 1855. It was again in office only a few months since, in the person of Felix Zuloaga. . . . The second great division consists of the Radicals. . . . Intermediate between these extremes is the moderate party—the MODERADOS—in power from 1851 to 1853 . . . and from December, 1855, to January, 1858 . . . (among) the opposing factions . . . we may still look for a continuance of this strife. . . .¹²

This lead story occupied all of the first column adjacent to the left side of the front page, and one-fourth of the second column. Each page had four columns.

Directly under the end of the first story, in the second column from the left, the second story was captioned "Condition of Mexico." Columns three and four were devoted to news of Arizona under the headlines "Leech's Wagon Road" and "News from Arizona," with the exception of one-fourth of column four devoted to General Miramon, the new president of Mexico.

Tacked onto the end of the Miramon article was the following paragraph: "It is rumored at Washington that a proposition for the sale of Sonora and Chihuahua has been received from President Miramon. The price named is said to be sixteen millions. We do not credit the rumor."

In addition to foreign, mining, governmental, and trade news, the Tubac paper soon began carrying crime stories. The editor, Edward E. Cross, personally called on military

12. From page one, *The Weekly Arizonian*, March 3, 1859. Several news items about Mexico were reprinted from *The Times* of London. News of Arizona mining from the *New York Times* was contrasted with first-hand reports from the same mining sources contacted by the *Arizonian* editor, Edward Ephram Cross.

officials at both Tubac and Tucson to get clearance on transfers of military personnel in and out of Arizona. Finally, in the paper's fourth month of publication, military news yielded a crime story, which loomed large not because of the infraction of the law as much as from the severe terms of the sentence. A soldier convicted of stealing a horse and attempting to leave his post received fifty lashes with a cowhide whip on his bare back, was confined at hard labor while heavily ironed, forfeited all pay due him, had his head shaved and branded with a red hot iron with the letter "D," and was given a dishonorable discharge from the army.¹³

In July, 1859, the *Arizonian* began to carry editorials adverse to the creation of a Territory of Arizona. Editor Cross argued that the Arizona portion of the Territory of New Mexico contained only a few thousand inhabitants, that the agitation in Tucson for territorial status was prompted by Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry's ambition to become a territorial delegate to the United States Congress.¹⁴

Lieutenant Mowry had graduated from West Point in 1852, had resigned from the army in 1858 while stationed at Fort Yuma, moved to Tucson and began advocating territorial status for Arizona and his own candidacy as territorial delegate to the United States Congress.¹⁵

Mowry may have read with pleasure the editorial in the second issue of *The Weekly Arizonian* entitled "What Our Government Can do for Arizona." Editor Cross seemed to be pleading for territorial status, or at least the preliminary step, an Arizona judicial district distinct from that of New Mexico:

. . . The first great boon we have asked is a territorial organization; one which gives us a means of making and enforcing laws to protect life and property, and which will encourage the enterprising to come and settle within our limits. If this boon must be denied for a time, till other questions are settled, the next best thing for us, is the establishment of a separate Judicial District with a United States Judge and officers. This can be done without prejudice to the great ques-

13. *The Weekly Arizonian*, June 30, 1859.

14. "Arizona Correspondence" column in *San Francisco Herald*, July 15, 1859; *The Weekly Arizonian*, July 7, 1859, and July 14, 1859.

15. Jo Ann Schmitt, *Fighting Editors* (San Antonio, 1958), 2-3.

tion of a Territorial organization, and will give a semblance of a disposition on the part of the government to extend to this distant region the first dawn of favor.¹⁶

Two months before launching the *Arizonian*, Cross sent a dispatch to the *St. Louis Republican*:

The President in his late message to Congress, says, referring to Arizona: "The population of that Territory, numbering as is alleged, more than ten thousand souls," etc. Now, whoever alleges this, alleges what is not true. Raking and scraping together every human being within the proposed limits of Arizona—Americans, Mexicans, and Indians, white, black, yellow, and red—you cannot make a total of eight thousand inhabitants. The Indian population cannot be estimated with much certainty, but every tribe is greatly over-estimated, as is usual in such cases. The Mexican population at this end of the Territory is very small, not over one hundred and forty men, women, and children at Tubac, and perhaps twice that number at San Xavier (*sic*) and Tucson.

. . . There has been an enormous amount of falsehood uttered and published concerning this country and its resources. . . .¹⁷

That *St. Louis Republican* dispatch was published January 30, 1859, and reprinted in Washington, D. C., on February 26 in the *Washington States*. Now both Cross and Mowry wanted to see Arizona's resources developed. But Cross was a stockholder of the St. Louis and Arizona Mining Company, whereas Mowry's holdings were in rival mining operations. The two men lived less than fifty miles apart, but instead of disputing Arizona population figures in person, debated long-range in the columns of the *Washington States*.

Mowry consummated the formal challenge on population figures by writing a letter to the *Washington States* admitting that he was the source for the estimated 10,000 population in Arizona. He then asserted that Cross

. . . has stated what is absolutely untrue. Mr. Otero, the delegate from New Mexico, has certified in writing, that of his own knowledge, there were more than eight thousand people in the Rio Grande valley alone two years ago, and that the

16. *The Weekly Arizonian*, March 10, 1859.

17. *Washington States*, February 26, 1859.

present population of the territory is at least ten or eleven thousands. If it is necessary I can call witnesses, now in Washington—certainly ten—whose respectability and position cannot be questioned, who will testify, at the bar of the Senate or House, to this same fact. . . .¹⁸

By the time Cross read Mowry's reply, the editor perhaps was too engrossed in the newly-founded *Arizonian*, too busy engaging in journalism first-hand in Tubac, to pause to engage in a journalistic duel long-range in Washington. Mowry's letter appeared in print two days before the first edition of the *Arizonian* appeared, but reached Cross's attention sometime after that. Finally, late in April, Cross chose to continue the debate in the Washington newspaper:

I came to Arizona in November 1858, and my business was partially to correspond with several leading journals in the United States, to give, as far as possible, a true statement of the condition, resources, and prospects of Arizona. I had been a careful reader of Mr. Mowry's voluminous (and, as I now find, fabulous) productions regarding this country, and supposed them correct. I found, however, that many of his assertions were not true, and that all were exaggerated . . . that in representing Arizona to be a good agricultural country, he was absolutely injuring the Territory, and deluding people into a long and dangerous journey to a country whose agricultural resources, in all, are not equal to one first-class corn-growing county in Ohio.

I therefore, in writing to the East, endeavored to correct some of the false ideas prevalent concerning Arizona, but never, except once, mentioned Mr. Mowry's name. . . .¹⁹

Mowry felt obliged to challenge Cross to a duel, and the editor accepted. On July 7, *The Weekly Arizonian* editorialized that the population of Arizona did not yet justify territorial status.²⁰ The next day, the duel over population figures shifted from journalistic to physical combat. The duel was described in the *Arizonian*:

The parties met near Tubac, weapons, Burnside rifles, distance, forty paces. Four shots were exchanged without effect;

18. *Washington States*, March 1, 1859.

19. *Washington States*, May 24, 1859. Cross wrote the letter on April 24.

20. *The Weekly Arizonian*, July 7, 1859; *San Francisco Herald*, July 15, 1859; *San Francisco Bulletin*, July 22, 1859.

at the last fire Mr. Mowry's rifle did not discharge. It was decided that he was entitled to his shot and Mr. Cross stood without arms to receive it. Mr. Mowry, refusing to fire at an unarmed man discharged his rifle in the air and declared himself satisfied.²¹

In another part of the paper of that same issue, the editor commented that a high wind was blowing across the line of fire, thus preventing accurate aim. The two men shook hands, drew up a statement, which was carried in the following issue of the Tubac paper :

Mr. Edw. E. Cross withdraws the offensive language used by him, and disclaims any intention to reflect upon Mr. Mowry's veracity, or upon his character as a gentleman, in any publication he has made in reference to Arizona. Mr. Mowry withdraws any statement that he has made in his letters to the press, which in any degree reflects upon Mr. Cross' character as a man and a gentleman.

Any difference of opinion which may exist between them in reference to Arizona is an honest one, to be decided by weight of authority.

Tubac, Arizona,
July 8, 1859

(signed)

SYLVESTER MOWRY
EDWARD E. CROSS²²

The July 14 issue carried the statement of truce between Mowry and Cross, signed July 8, the day after the *Arizonian's* weekly publication date. Cross edited only one more issue, that of July 21. Arizona's first newspaper editor had served less than five months, from March 3 to July 21, editing the first twenty-two numbers of volume one.²³ The Santa Rita Silver Mining Company then sold the paper to the S. J. Jones and Company.²⁴ Speaking for the Santa Rita officials, William Wrightson had chosen Cross as editor. But the new ownership favored the political views of one of its stockholders, Mowry, and favored Tucson as publishing site.²⁵

21. *The Weekly Arizonian*, July 14, 1859. To contrast Cross's version of the duel see *Descendants of Nathaniel Mowry of Rhode Island* (Providence, 1878), 292-296; Mowry, *op. cit.*, 52, 61.

22. *The Weekly Arizonian*, July 14, 1859; Schmitt, *op. cit.*, 19.

23. Luttrell, *University of Arizona Bulletin* (July 1949), 65.

24. *Ibid.*, 65-66; Luttrell, *Arizona Historical Review* (January 1935), 18.

25. Sylvester Mowry, *Mines of the West* (New York, 1864), 1-14.

Issue 23 of the *Arizonian* appeared August 4, 1859, carrying a Tucson dateline, with J. Howard Wells listed as editor. A Justice of the Peace during 1859-1860, Wells edited the paper until its suspension on June 14, 1860.²⁶

On February 9, 1861, the *Arizonian* reappeared, with Charles L. Strong, a printer from New York, listed on the masthead as publisher, and T. M. Turner, a lawyer from Ohio, listed as editor. This issue of the paper contained a notice signed by Mowry advising the subscribers and general reading public that Strong had leased the printing press and other facilities of the plant, was now publisher though Mowry retained title to the physical properties of the newspaper. Six months later, Editor Turner was killed.

A military express arrived in Santa Fe on the night of July 14 bringing the information that T. M. Turner, late of Arizona, was found brutally murdered near Las Vegas, New Mexico. It is thought the man who committed the crime was one Watrous, who was his traveling companion. Turner had been a resident of Arizona for some three years. He resided some time in Tubac, but more recently in Tucson where he edited the *Arizonian* newspaper. He was the Arizona correspondent of the *St. Louis Republican*. He was an occasional correspondent of several other prominent newspapers. He formerly edited a paper at Terre Haute, Indiana, and a magazine at Cincinnati, Ohio. . . .²⁷

From February to September, 1861, the *Arizonian* was quoted in various California newspapers. None of the Arizona, California, Washington, D. C., nor Worcester, Mass., archives yield any copies of the pioneer paper from the autumn of 1861 to the summer of 1867. The September 2, 1861, issue apparently was the last edition until 1867.²⁸

The *Arizonian* was reorganized as a newspaper on June 15, 1867,²⁹ changed in name to the *Southern Arizonian* in Au-

26. *The Weekly Arizonian*, August 4, 1859, and June 14, 1860; Lutrell, *Arizona Historical Review*, 18; Lutrell, *University of Arizona Bulletin*, 64, 66.

27. *Sacramento (California) Union*, September 9, 1861.

28. Lutrell, *University of Arizona Bulletin*, 64; *Arizona Miner*, July 13, 1867; D. C. Poston in *Arizona Weekly Star* of Tucson, March 11, 1880; *Daily Alta Californian*, September 2, 1861.

29. "Autobiography," *The Weekly Arizonian*, April 24, 1869.

gust,³⁰ then by 1868 again called by its original name.³¹ The pioneer paper continued to publish during 1869 and 1870, and ceased publication on April 29, 1871.³²

Thus, the publication life of the first newspaper in Arizona chronologically was: from March 3, 1859, to July 21, 1859, in Tubac, then in Tucson from August 4, 1859, to June 14, 1860, and from February 9, 1861, to September 2, 1861, and finally from June 15, 1867, to April 29, 1871. *The Weekly Arizonian* antedated Arizona's territorial status, became involved in the debate over it, remained suspended during most of the Civil War, then chronicled a postwar growth of the mining industry.³³

When Confederate Colonel John R. Baylor seized Mesilla in August, 1861, he issued a proclamation that all of New Mexico south of the thirty-fourth parallel was to be Arizona Territory.³⁴ The consequences of this act were set forth in the *Arizonian* of August 10, 1861:

The only reason under Heaven that can be assigned for the injustice and bad treatment we have undergone is that the people of Arizona are southern in feeling and have dared to own it. The eleven starred banner that floats over Tucson shows that her citizens acknowledge no allegiance to abolition rule.³⁵

30. *Southern Arizonian*, November 17, 1867, is in the archives of the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society in Tucson. Issues not preserved in either Tucson or Phoenix are traced through California newspapers. The *Southern Arizonian* for August 18 was quoted in *Daily Alta Californian* of September 18, 1867; issue of September 5 quoted in *Daily Alta Californian* of October 21, 1867; issue of *Southern Arizonian* of September 29 quoted in *San Francisco Times* of October 16, 1867.

31. Quotations from California newspapers for 1868 show that the Tucson newspaper had by then resumed its original title of *Weekly Arizonian*. See quotes from the issue of November 28, 1868, in the *Los Angeles Weekly News* for January 2, 1869.

32. The last issue can be found at the Arizona Pioneers Historical Society in Tucson, and at the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley. The printing press of the *Arizonian* was moved from Tucson to Tombstone by A. E. Fay and Carlos Tully, and later became the property of William Hattich, who presented it to the Arizona Pioneers Historical Association, which group has preserved it. See *Arizona Citizen*, October 15, 1870, and October 22, 1870; *Arizona Miner*, October 3, 1868; Luttrell, *University of Arizona Bulletin* (July 1949), 66-67; G. W. Barter, *Tucson Directory* (Tucson, 1881), 1; Rowell's *American Newspaper Directory* for the years 1870, 1871, 1872.

33. Richard J. Hinton, *The Hand-Book to Arizona* (San Francisco, 1878), 186, 197-198.

34. Donald Robinson Van Petten, *The Constitution and Government of Arizona* (Phoenix, 1956), 10.

35. Quoted in the *Daily Alta Californian*, September 2, 1861.

By the time the Union troops³⁶ entered Tucson on May 22, 1862, to replace the Stars and Bars with the Stars and Stripes, the pioneer newspaper had been dormant almost nine months. By the time the *Arizonian* was revived in June, 1867, the new Territory was more than four years old. Though Arizona's first newspaper chronicled various events of historical interest during its publication life, it missed the chance to record the ousting of Confederate troops by Union forces, and the establishment of the first territorial government. The *Citizen* was founded in Tucson on October 15, 1870,³⁷ by Richard C. McCormick,³⁸ thereby assuring the continuance of newspaper publishing in Tucson when the *Arizonian* ceased publication permanently³⁹ in 1871. A perusal of its pages indicates that whatever occasional shortcomings in accuracy and precision of expression it may have had, *The Weekly Arizonian* left a legacy of outspoken courage to Arizona newspapers which were to follow.

36. The "California Column" that chased the Confederate forces from Tucson consisted of the First and Fifth Infantry regiments, five troops of the First California Cavalry, and two artillery batteries. See *Arizona Daily Star*, May 23, 1891; Hinton, *op. cit.*, 187; Rodney Glisan, *A Journal of Army Life* (San Francisco, 1874), 114; Lurton J. Ingersoll, *A History of the War Department of the United States* (Washington, 1879), 113, 193.

37. Hinton, *op. cit.*, appendix II, 12.

38. Lutrell, *University of Arizona Bulletin* (July 1949), 56. According to Lutrell, during the territorial period, sixty towns in Arizona published more than two hundred newspapers, of which twenty-nine were still being published in 1949. The *Citizen* still appears, now as a daily.

39. Frank Griffin in 1957 printed an issue of *The Weekly Arizonian* on a press in Tucson, then mailed the "revived" paper from the Tubac post office. He issued his revived paper irregularly, four issues during a one-year period. See Hanson Ray Sisk, "Views," *Nogales Herald*, December 7, 1957. *The Arizonian*, published weekly at Scottsdale, Arizona, just east of Phoenix, claims a link with the first Arizona newspaper by virtue of its name. This Scottsdale weekly was founded in 1953. See Arizona Newspapers Association, *Directory of Newspapers and Other Publications* (Phoenix, 1957), 54.

Notes and Documents

Federal Judge William Denman left a major part of his estate to finance university education for members of the Indian tribes of the Southwest, it was disclosed yesterday.

The 86-year-old jurist, retired Chief Judge of the Ninth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, committed suicide in his Pacific Heights apartment on March 9.

His will, filed for probate in Superior Court, made specific educational provisions for two members of the Hopi Tribe, Hattie and Michael Kagotie of Oraibi, Arizona, and one member of the Zuni Tribe, William D. Ondelacy of Zuni, N. M.

Each of them will receive \$1200 a year while attending university classes.

Eventually, one third of the residue of the Judge's estate will go to the University of New Mexico to pay the expenses of students from the Hopi, Zuni and Navajo tribes.

Two thirds of the residue will ultimately go to the University of California to provide scholarships for students of philosophy, comparative religion and international relations, without any restriction as to race.

The San Francisco Chronicle
March 17, 1959

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|------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Gallup | Val Bern McK Mora | 18 Sept 82 | | John W. Swartz | | | |
| Garcia | Union | 3 June 92 | | Placida R. de Garcia | 24 Aug 98 | | Mail to Beenheim |
| Gardiner | Colf | 19 July 04 | | Lino Garcia | 15 July 09 | | Mail to Barney |
| Garfield | D. A. | 31 Dec 97 | | James A. Wiggs, Jr. | | | |
| Garrison | Roos | 19 Sept 96 | | Myer Hirsch | | | |
| Gascon | Mora | 8 June 11 | Leach | Joel J. Garrison | 1919 | | Mail to Longs |
| | | 26 May 98 | | Richard Dunn | 14 Apr 01 | | Mail to Rociada |
| | | 20 Sept 05 | | Harry L. Cutler | | | |
| Genova | S. M. Union | 6 June 84 | | Quirino Gallegos | | | |
| | | 13 Apr 04 | | Emiterio Gallegos | 22 Jan 98 | | Mail to Gallegos |
| Georgetown | Grant | 21 May 75 | | Benno Rosenfeld | 10 Nov 05 | | Mail to Logan |
| Geronimo | S. M. | 20 Mar 96 | Lesperance | Cesaria Lesperance | 1 Dec 03 | | Mail to Mirmbres |
| Gibson | Bern McK | 7 June 90 | | William Scott | 26 Aug 02 | Mineral Hill | |
| Gila | Grant | 5 Apr 75 | | John W. Chenoweth | 11 July 76 | | Mail to Cliff |
| | | 4 May 82 | | John W. Chenoweth | 20 Mar 95 | | |
| Gila City | D. A. | 20 Sept 05 | | Mrs. Ida R. Lyons | | | |
| Givens | Roos | 24 Dec 58 | | Henry Burch | 14 Feb 63 | | Mail to Arch |
| Gladstone | Colf Union | 24 Mar 08 | | Joel E. Givens | 1913 | | |
| | | 15 May 88 | | Richard P. Henderson | | | |
| Glen | Chav | 12 Apr 99 | | Maria A. Urton | 15 Mar 08 | | Mail to Sunnyside |
| Glencoe | Linc | 14 Nov 01 | | Jasper N. Coe | | | |
| Glenwood | Soc | 11 Sept 06 | Clear Creek | George W. Rowe | | | |
| Glorieta | S. M. S. F. S. M. | 4 May 80 | | Elijah H. Pattison | 12 Aug 80 | | |
| | | 9 Nov 80 | | Gideon M. Tomlinson | | | |

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| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|--------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Golden | S. F. | 25 Feb 03 | | Thomas E. Marshall | 27 Jan 03 | | Mail to Lamy |
| | S. F. | 2 July 80 | | Robert G. McDonald | 28 Feb 89 | | Mail to San Pedro |
| | | 1 June 89 | | Frank L. Frazier | | | |
| Goldgrade | Torr | 7 June 07 | | Nellie B. Jennings | 14 Dec 07 | | Mail to Willard |
| Gold Hill | Grant | 26 Jan 86 | | Robert Black | 15 June 06 | | Mail to Lordsburg |
| Gonzales | S. M. | 16 Feb 04 | | Jose F. Gonzales | 1913 | Maes | |
| Good Hope | R. A. | 8 Sept 84 | | Eugart H. Hutchinson | 1 Sept 87 | | Mail to Tres Piedras |
| Gould | Union | 20 Sept 06 | | Flevia T. Brown | 21 Sept 08 | Mosquero | |
| Grady | Quay | 22 Apr 07 | | John W. Green | | | |
| Grafton | Curry | 21 Apr 81 | | David P. Quinn | | | |
| | S'ra | | | | 5 Mar 04 | Phillipsburg | |
| Graham | Soc | 1 June 95 | | Nelson A. Batcheller | 21 Oct 04 | Clear Creek | |
| Granada | D. A. | 26 Dec 96 | | Joseph Smith | 8 Mar 98 | | Mail to Mesilla Park |
| Grande | Union | 10 Aug 08 | | Thomas H. Sanders | 14 Jan 11 | | Mail to Des Moines |
| Grant | Val | 14 Jan 82 | | W. P. Bargien | | | |
| Gran Quivira | Soc | 23 Mar 04 | | Ida E. Dow | | | |
| Gray | Torr | 20 Aug 94 | | Seaborn T. Gray | 15 Sept 09 | | Mail to Willard |
| Greenfield | Linc | 28 Aug 11 | | William E. Linton | 11 Oct 00 | Capitan | |
| Greenville | Chav | 20 Nov 88 | | Elisa H. Coigny | 24 Dec 88 | Greenville | |
| Grenville | Colf | 24 Dec 88 | Greenville | Elisa H. Coigny | 7 Aug 94 | | Mail to Clayton |
| | Union | | | | | | |
| Grifegos | Bern | 12 May 09 | | Luther E. Light | | | |
| Guadalupe | Guad | 15 Sept 03 | | David M. Perea | 1913 | | Mail to Old Albuquerque |
| | L. W. | 18 Dec 00 | | Makin Allan | | | |
| Guadalupita | Guad | | | | | | |
| | Mora | 25 Nov 79 | | Jacob Regensburg | | | |

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|---------------|-------|------------|------------|--------------------|------------|---------|-----------------------|
| Guam | McK | 3 June 02 | Dewey | Hans Neumann | 1914 | Perea | |
| Guillou | S. M. | 1 Sept 99 | | H. C. Guillou | 14 Jan 04 | | Mail to Las Vegas |
| Guique | R. A. | 12 Feb 06 | | Andres de Herera | 1912 | | Mail to Chamita |
| Gurule | Bern | 23 June 92 | | Felipe J. Gurule | 16 Aug 92 | | Mail to Albuquerque |
| Guy | Union | 2 Aug 10 | | Louise Ralph | | | |
| Haag | Curry | 16 Sept 09 | | George F. Haag | 1913 | | |
| Hachita | Grant | 27 Mar 82 | | Burrage Y. McKeyes | 14 Mar 98 | | Mail to Separ |
| | | 25 Sept 02 | | Carl F. Dunnegan | | | |
| Hadley | Grant | 22 Apr 90 | | James Martin | 18 May 95 | | Mail to Cooks |
| Hadley | S. M. | 14 Mar 04 | | John M. Kelly | 31 Aug 05 | | Mail to Rociada |
| Hagan | Sand | 9 Nov 08 | | Forest E. Dunlavy | 30 Sept 09 | | Mail to Placitas |
| Hagerman | Chav | 27 Feb 95 | Feliz | John W. Langford | | | |
| Haile | Guad | 25 Sept 07 | | James W. Haile | (1918) | | |
| Hall's Peak | Mora | 21 Sept 87 | Vandoritos | Israel Cosner | (1912) | | |
| Hamilton | S. M. | 6 Mar 83 | | Elmer E. Easdale | 11 Apr 83 | | Mail to Glorieta |
| Hanley | Quay | 17 May 07 | | James C. Anderson | (1918) | | |
| Hanover | Grant | 14 Mar 92 | | Arthur E. Dawson | | | |
| Hansburg | Grant | 12 Nov 92 | | Emma J. Hansburg | 2 June 94 | | Mail to Allison |
| Hansonburg | Soc | 18 Sept 06 | | Luciano Tafoya | 15 Dec 10 | | Mail to San Antonio |
| Harence | Sand | 11 Mar 11 | | James P. Earhart | 14 Oct 11 | | Mail to Senorito |
| Harrington | Union | 17 June 10 | | Vernon L. Glover | | | |
| Harris | Quay | 4 May 08 | | Otty W. Harris | (1918) | | |
| Hartford | Quay | 9 May 07 | | William C. Freeman | 31 Aug 10 | | Mail to Looney |
| Hassell | Quay | 23 July 07 | | John W. Hassell | | | |
| Hatch | D. A. | 2 Feb 87 | | John B. Huntington | | | |
| Hatch's Ranch | S. M. | 25 Mar 78 | | Robert J. Hamilton | 15 Apr 79 | Chapman | |
| Haver | Curry | 10 Feb 10 | | Lewis B. Donchoo | (1921) | Grier | |
| Hayden | Union | 25 Apr 08 | | Carolyn Spies | | | |
| Haynes | R. A. | 6 July 08 | | Samuel H. Haynes | (1922) | | |
| Heaton | McK | 18 Apr 09 | | Fred R. Mills | | | |
| Hebron | Colf | 24 Dec 02 | | Lulu B. Hoover | 15 Apr 10 | | Mail to Dorsey |
| Hematite | Colf | 17 July 97 | | John C. Neel | 13 Oct 99 | | Mail to Elizabethtown |
| Henry | Eddy | 16 July 09 | | Henry B. May | (1912) | | |
| Hereford | Otero | 26 Mar 04 | | Henry L. Newman | 12 Feb 06 | Newman | |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|---------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Hermanas | Luna | 4 Apr 03 | | Benjamin L. Walker | (1925) | | |
| Hermosa | Soc | 10 July 84 | | John C. Plemmons | | | |
| | S'ra | | | | | | |
| Herrera | Bern | 26 Jan 00 | | Nicholas Herrera | 15 Aug 00 | | Mail to Albuquerque |
| Herron | D. A. | 26 Jan 86 | | C. M. Herron | 31 July 88 | Earlham | |
| Highrolls | Otero | 31 Aug 01 | Fresnal | William O'Reilly | 21 Sept 04 | Mountain Park | |
| Hilario | S. M. | 3 Sept 10 | | Jose G. Romero | | | |
| Hillsborough | D. A. | 7 Mar 79 | | Nicholas Galles | | | Also known as Hillsboro |
| | S'ra | | | | | | |
| Hilton | D. A. | 22 Mar 87 | | Enoch B. George | 17 May 94 | | Mail to Weed |
| Hobart | S. F. | 19 May 94 | | Wm. E. Van Volkenburgh | | | |
| | R. A. | | | | (1912) | | |
| Hobbs | Eddy | 26 Jan 10 | | George W. Rogers | | | |
| Hodges | Taos | 11 Feb 09 | | Fred W. Drake | (1913) | | |
| Hogadero | S. M. | 6 Oct 84 | Red River Springs | James D. Delany | 28 Oct 85 | | Mail to Fort Bascom |
| Holland | Union | 21 Nov 05 | | Henry C. Thompson | (1917) | | |
| Hollene | Quay | 30 Aug 07 | | Charles E. Foster | | | |
| | Curry | | | | | | |
| Holloway | Linc | 9 May 08 | | James M. Holloway | (1915) | | |
| Holman | Mora | 17 Sept 94 | | Charles W. Holman | | | |
| Hondale | Luna | 11 June 08 | | Frank Cox | | | |
| Hondo | Linc | 6 Feb 00 | | John S. Williamson | Jan-May 10 | | Mail to Tinnie |
| | | 16 Dec 10 | | Jose M. Torres | | | |
| Hood | S. J. | 20 July 98 | | George S. Hood | 2 Apr 06 | | Mail to Farmington |
| Hope | Colf | 31 Oct 88 | | Wesley G. Beggs | 2 Dec 89 | | Mail to Grenville |
| Hope | Linc | 10 Oct 90 | | Mrs. Mollie F. Jarrell | | | |
| | Eddy | | | | | | |
| Hopewell | R. A. | 30 Apr 94 | | Edwin C. Belden | 10 Nov 06 | | Mail to Tusas |
| Horse Springs | Soc | 6 Oct 79 | | Jacob Connor | 30 Oct 82 | | Mail to Socorro |
| Hot Springs | S. M. | 18 Mar 02 | Las Vegas | | | | |

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|---------------|-------|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Jemes | Sand | 21 Feb 08 | Putney | John N. Hilliard | 9 Dec 07 | Putney | |
| Jemez Springs | Sand | 8 Oct 07 | Perea | Orin S. Brown | | | |
| Jenkins | Chav | 21 June 10 | | William L. Jenkins | | | |
| Jewett | R. A. | 7 Mar 84 | | Henry Hull | 15 Jan 07 | | Mail to Fruitland |
| J. J. | S. J. | | | | | | |
| Jicarilla | Linc | 21 Dec. 92 | | Jacob Weishar | | | |
| Johnson | S. M. | 23 Jan 92 | Fort Bascom | Andrew H. Souther | 13 Mar 95 | | Mail to Liberty |
| Johnson | Union | 26 Oct 06 | | David C. Johnson | 25 May 11 | | Mail to Kenton, Okla. |
| Jonesville | Quay | 30 Jan 08 | | Joseph C. Jones | | | |
| Jordan | Curry | | | | 31 Aug 11 | | Mail to Pleano |
| Jordan | Quay | 2 Aug 07 | | Jennie C. Jordan | | | |
| Jornado | Soc | 7 July 03 | | Cassa M. Pratt | 8 Mar 04 | | Mail to San Marcial |
| Jose | Luna | 6 Nov 02 | | Samuel E. Wood | 30 Dec 05 | | Mail to Cooks |
| Joseph | R. A. | 30 Sept 84 | Abiquiu | Alexander Douglas | 2 Dec 84 | Abiquiu | |
| Joseph | Soc | 26 Feb 87 | | Henry S. Delgar | 26 July 98 | | Mail to Frisco |
| | | 20 May 01 | | Joslin A. Armstrong | 3 May 06 | Aragon | |
| Juana Lopez | S. F. | 10 Dec 66 | | Nicolas Pino | 27 Jan 70 | | |
| Juan Tafoya | Val | 28 Jan 88 | | Ramon Serna | 5 Mar 95 | Juantafoya | |
| Juantafoya | Val | 5 Mar 95 | Juan Tafoya | Manuel Cassias | 26 June 99 | | Mail to Seboyeta |
| Judson | Roos | 23 July 07 | | Judson Hunter | | | |
| Junction | S. J. | 5 June 95 | Junction City | Alice Smith | 9 Sept 96 | | Mail to Farmington |
| Junction City | S. J. | 9 May 91 | | Miss Minta Elmer | 5 June 95 | Junction | |
| Kappus | Quay | 11 Feb 10 | | Anthony Kappus | (1913) | | |
| Kelly | Soc | 15 Feb 83 | | Daniel Greer | 23 Mar 95 | | Mail to Magdalena |
| | | 23 Oct 95 | | William A. Connely | | | |
| Kemp | Bern | 1 Aug 07 | | Dina Kemp | 30 June 08 | | Mail to Albuquerque |
| Kenna | Chav | 10 Mar 02 | | Leroy Buck | 15 Oct 04 | | Mail to Elida |
| Kenna | Chav | 21 Feb 07 | Urton | Anna E. Graham | | | |

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|------------|--------------------------|------------|----------------------------|
| Kennedy | Linc | 2 Jan 88 | Silas E. Kennedy | 6 Feb 90 | Mail to Lower Pensaco |
| Kennedy | S. F. | 31 May 02 | Otto L. Rice | (1918) | |
| Kent | D. A. | 18 July 04 | Garard W. Kent | 15 Sept 11 | Mail to Organ |
| Kermit | Roos | 11 June 10 | James L. Monroe | (1918) | |
| Kettner | Val | 23 Jan 04 | Stanleigh A. Harabin | 16 July 09 | Sawyer |
| Kimball | Colf | 8 Mar 90 | Annie James | 16 Apr 90 | Spring Hill |
| King | Chav | 10 July 09 | Mary S. Clendennen | | |
| Kingston | Grant | 14 Aug 82 | Asa Barnaby | | |
| | S'ra | | | | |
| Kiowa | Colf | 17 Dec 77 | Jacob S. Taylor | 8 June 80 | |
| | | 7 June 90 | Alfred Hitchcock | 20 Jan 92 | Mail to Folsom |
| | | 11 Dec 01 | Dominick Casson | 15 Aug 04 | Mail to Folsom |
| Kirk | Quay | 4 May 08 | Sam Hendricks | (1921) | |
| Kirtland | S. J. | 13 Oct 03 | Phebe Guymon | | |
| Knowles | Eddy | 5 Nov 03 | Joseph M. Chase | | |
| Koehler | Colf | 3 June 07 | Emerson P. McGuire | | |
| La Bajada | S. A. | 17 July 70 | Filomeno Gallegos | 20 Mar 71 | |
| | | 12 Jan 72 | Robert E. Bradford | 2 Oct 72 | |
| Labelle | Taos | 13 Jan 95 | Sumner B. Jellison | 14 Dec 01 | Mail to Elizabethtown |
| La Boca | S. J. | 12 Apr 02 | B. A. Rodriguez | 14 Oct 03 | Mail to Ignacio, Colo. |
| | | 28 Dec 03 | Socorro B. Garcia | Jan-May 09 | Put in La Plata Co., Colo. |
| La Canada | R. A. | 4 Feb 52 | William J. Davy | 12 Apr 55 | |
| | | 5 Nov 55 | Patrick H. Kelly | 3 Jan 57 | |
| La Chienega | S. F. | 17 Apr 06 | Apolonio Rael | 30 Sept 07 | Mail to Santa Fe |
| La Cinta | S. M. | 24 July 77 | Joseph C. De St. Quentin | 18 Sept 88 | Mail to Bell Ranch |
| La Concepcion | S. M. | 22 May 82 | Carlos Martinez | 19 Feb 83 | Mail to Las Vegas |
| | | 18 Apr 83 | Eugenio Martinez | 28 Jan 85 | Mail to Las Vegas |
| La Cuesta | S. M. | 17 Jan 73 | Eugenio Griego | 4 Dec 73 | |
| La Cueva | Mora | 19 Feb 68 | Vincent Romero | 3 July 73 | |
| | | 29 Oct 73 | William M. Troiel | 10 June 78 | |
| | | 10 July 78 | Rafael Romero | | |
| Lacy | Roos | 17 June 07 | John H. Crabtree | | |
| Ladd | Colf | 15 Sept 86 | Charles B. Ladd | 7 Jan 89 | Mail to Springer |
| La Glorieta | S. M. | 6 Jan 75 | George Hebert | 30 Jan 80 | |

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|-------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Laguna | Val | 24 Jan 79 | | Robert Marmon | | | |
| La Jara | Sand | 29 July 11 | | Edubigon Gurule | | | |
| La Joya | Soc | 21 June 71 | | Charles Frieloff | 30 Apr 73 | | Mail to San Acacia |
| | | 28 Feb 83 | | Charles Frieloff | 12 July 87 | | |
| | | 22 Mar 88 | | Gregorio Baca | 5 Dec 95 | Lajoya | |
| Lajoya | Soc | 5 Dec 95 | La Joya | Tomas Cordova | | | |
| La Junta | Mora | 11 Apr 68 | | George W. Gregg | 31 July 79 | Watrous | |
| Lake Arthur | Chav | 4 Nov 04 | | Joe J. Boyd | | | |
| Lake Valley | D. A. | 23 Aug 82 | Daly | Lafayette Clapp, Jr. | | | |
| | S'ra | | | | | | |
| Lake Valley | Soc | 18 Oct 80 | | John A. Miller | 30 Dec 81 | | |
| Lakevan | Chav | 4 May 97 | | Frank G. Campbell | 17 Dec 98 | | Mail to Hagerman |
| Lakewood | Eddy | 30 Nov 04 | McMillan | Thomas M. Waller | | | |
| La Lande | Roos | 9 May 06 | | John C. Light | | | |
| La Liendre | S. M. | 6 Feb 78 | | Manuel Baca | 29 Jan 80 | | |
| | | 4 Sept 82 | | Ezequiel C. de Baca | 28 Apr 84 | | Mail to Las Vegas |
| La Luz | D. A. | 23 May 06 | | Felipe Tapia | | | |
| | Otero | 27 Jan 86 | | Jonathan H. Stuart | | | |
| La Madera | R. A. | 9 July 06 | | Elias Gallegos | 20 Jan 08 | | Mail to Ojo Caliente |
| | | 17 Apr 11 | | Jesus M. Maestas | | | |
| La Mesa | D. A. | 8 Nov 80 | | P. Moreno | 20 Mar 82 | | Mail to Chamberino |
| La Mesa | D. A. | 4 May 08 | Victoria | Harry D. Nelson | | | |
| Lamy | S. F. | 1 Mar 81 | | Daniel A. Phillips | 13 July 81 | | |
| | | 8 Feb 84 | | John Stein | | | |
| Lanark | D. A. | 9 Nov 05 | | Minnie Rausberger | | | |
| Langton | Roos | 5 Jan 04 | | William D. McBee | (1921) | | |
| La Plata | R. A. | 9 June 81 | | John R. Pond | 8 Oct 81 | | |
| | | 16 Jan 82 | | Daniel Rhoades | | | |

(To be continued)

Book Reviews

An Apache Campaign in the Sierra Madre. An Account of the Expedition in Pursuit of the Hostile Chiricahua Apaches in the Spring of 1883. By John G. Bourke, Captain, Third Cavalry, U. S. Army. Introduction by J. Frank Dobie. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958. Pp. 128. \$2.75.

Captain John G. Bourke spent nearly half of his allotted fifty years fighting, befriending, studying, and writing about the Apache Indians. As a result he became a foremost authority on the Western Apaches and left important records of his contact with them. He not merely told of his campaigns against these people; he contributed immeasurably to our knowledge of their folklore and customs. *The Medicine Man of the Apache* is described by J. Frank Dobie in his introduction to the present volume as "the meatiest thing that has appeared on medicine men of any American tribe." It is worth noting that Bourke was president of the American Folklore Society when he died and was as much at home with anthropologists as he was with his Apaches.

His finest quality, however, was his regard for human beings of all complexions. The Apaches were not specimens to him; they were people whom he respected and sometimes admired. This warmth of heart, assisted by his sense of humor and his feeling for landscape, makes his description of Crook's expedition of 1883 a real classic.

Driven by hunger and the white man's double dealing, the Chiricahuas had left the San Carlos Reservation—710 of them, men, women and children. The Mexicans attacked them in Chihuahua and they took refuge in the wilds of the Sierra Madre far below the International Boundary. General George Crook with three skeleton companies of cavalry and 200 Apache scouts, went in after them in April, 1883.

Bourke knew those Apache scouts and describes them from intimate knowledge. Whenever he could, he joined them in their activities. He even took part in a sweat-lodge

ceremony, and when he was required to sing, he gave them a loud rendition of "Our Captain's Name Is Murphy."

After a fearfully hard trip into the high sierra, the expedition finally caught up with the surprised Chiricahuas, who had believed their mountain fastness impregnable. They lost a couple of sharp skirmishes and began to come in, a few at a time, led by their chiefs Loco, Chihuahua, Gerónimo, Chato, Juh, and Nané. On June 15 Crook crossed the Arizona line with nearly 400 of them in tow.

Bourke's day-by-day account of the trials and hardships of that epic journey is still fresh and fascinating. No other Indian fighter has left us an account of such sympathetic intimacy, such tolerance and geniality. The original publishers have done well to reissue it as a reminder of a great soldier, scholar and gentleman.

Texas Western College

C. L. SONNICHSEN

New Mexico's Royal Road: Trade and Travel on the Chihuahua Trail. By Max L. Moorhead. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958. Pp. xiv, 234. \$4.00.

Primarily this study is concerned with the development of trade and traffic between Mexico and New Mexico in a period of two and one-half centuries, 1598-1848, a trade that was extended to the Missouri country in the 19th century. It began with the founding of New Mexico by Juan de Oñate in 1598, when he established a colony, San Juan de los Caballeros, at the pueblo of San Juan, New Mexico's first capital. Santa Fe, the new capital, founded a dozen years afterward, gradually developed into a famous frontier center, and here traders, once they reached the Southwest, were sure to gather.

From Oñate's time, the lifeline to Mother Mexico had to be maintained and the colony supplied with the needs of civilized society—all sorts of manufactured articles and the more refined products of consumer goods as well. All appointments, too, came from Mexico—the governor, his staff, soldiers, colonists—from a thousand or more miles away;

likewise, missionaries and everything they needed had to be brought from the older establishments far to the south.

The trade and traffic by which New Mexico was supplied flowed over the trail originally pioneered by Juan de Oñate and his soldier-colonists in 1598, the story of which constitutes the first chapter of this volume. The author gives not only a general historical background, but identifies the chief stopping points along the trail, important since this was to be the route followed with almost no deviation for the next two hundred years.

Throughout this time, except for what came over this route New Mexico had almost no contact with the outside world. Occasional visits by foreigners at Santa Fe were so infrequent as to be insignificant. Shortly after 1800, however, the westward sweep of settlement in the United States crossed the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. At the same time, the outbreak of Mexico's struggle for independence ushered in a new era, marked by a weakening of old frontier restrictions. Traders from Missouri soon made their way to Santa Fe, bringing in goods more cheaply than they could be had in Mexico; this commerce was shortly extended to Chihuahua, Durango, and elsewhere. The author tells the story of the beginning of this international trade, estimates its extent and volume, methods of freighting and payment of bills, problems of international exchange, the support given to American merchants by their own government, Mexico's reaction to this commerce, the ever-increasing volume and its capitalization.

The author's major contribution in this work rests on this broad concept of the extent and significance of this trade. Writers in the past have dealt largely with its origin and beginnings, the activity of William Becknell and other pioneers of the 1820's. But the traffic from the United States, begun on a small scale, expanded rapidly, nor did it stop in Santa Fe, which was a small community, able to absorb only a part of the vast amount of goods it carried. The major portion was sent on to Chihuahua and points farther south, where it competed profitably with local trade.

The author continues the study to the Mexican War, when Mexico lost her northern outposts and they became a part of the United States. It is the story of the origin and development of trade and traffic on the oldest international route touching the United States. The book, well written and carefully documented, is a fine contribution to the literature of the Southwest.

Bancroft Library
University of California

GEORGE P. HAMMOND

George Curry: 1861-1947: An Autobiography. Edited by H. B. Hening. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1959. Pp. xv, 336. \$6.50.

George Curry, one time governor of the Territory, fifty years and more prominent in New Mexico's history, died in Albuquerque on Nov. 24, 1947. He left behind him little of this world's goods, a monument to his honesty and integrity, because Curry held many positions in public life in an era in which officials were not too squeamish about means and methods of becoming wealthy. Governor Curry did leave to posterity, however, a manuscript telling in outline the story of his life, which was bequeathed to Horace Brand Hening, a long time personal friend, with the request that it be completed and published.

Governor Curry made a happy choice in selecting Mr. Hening as his literary executor. No one else, in this reviewer's opinion, could have achieved such a happy and scholarly result. Containing 336 pages, nine photographs, five drawings by Sam Smith, noted artist, and an adequate index, the book is a most valuable bit of New Mexicana. The book tells the colorful and interesting story of a man, born in Louisiana, the son of an officer in the Confederate Army, deprived of any formal education whatsoever, caught up in the backwash of the Civil War, a resident of Dodge City, Kansas, in the days of Bat Masterson and Wild Bill Hickok; the story of an apprenticeship in sutler's stores in the buffalo country in Texas; of leadership and participation in the stirring early day events in Colfax and Lincoln counties, New

Mexico; the story of service in the Spanish-American War, of friendship with Col. Theodore Roosevelt; of soldiering in the Philippine Islands after 1898; of service as Chief of Police of Manila and Governor of Samar Province under Governor-General William Howard Taft; the story of Curry's appointment as Governor of New Mexico; of his political battles in the closing months of the Territory; of his election to Congress after statehood; the recital of a host of exciting events in political life in New Mexico before statehood.

"George Curry, an Autobiography," is a remarkable book. All those interested in life in New Mexico about the turn of the century are greatly in Mr. Hening's debt. The book is an outstanding contribution to New Mexico history. "George Curry" deserves a place on the top shelf in any southwestern library.

Albuquerque

W. A. KELEHER

The Letters of Antonio Martinez Last Spanish Governor of Texas 1817-1822. Translated and edited by Virginia H. Taylor, assisted by Mrs. Juanita Hammons. Austin: Texas State Library, 1957. Pp. vi, 354, index.

Antonio Martinez, the last governor of Spanish Texas and first of the Mexican province, held a position of unusual interest and importance, yet he remains one of the least known public men of his times. As governor he dealt with Stephen and Moses Austin, and aided the American colonization of Texas; but source material for studying his personality and administration has remained rather inaccessible. That obstacle is now happily removed by the publication in translation of 807 letters he sent between May, 1817, and July, 1820, to Joaquín de Arredondo, Commandant General of the Eastern Provinces of the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

Martinez served the Spanish government from his appointment in 1817 until he took the oath of independence in 1820, and it is that service that is reported in these letters. His responsibilities included the protection of the eastern frontier of Texas and the Gulf Coast against threats of foreign aggression, destruction of smuggling and intrigue in the

same areas, protection against Indian attacks, suppression of internal disorder and revolution, and development of a productive economy, especially in agriculture, to avert starvation. The occurrence of those problems and the actions Martinez took to meet them are vividly recounted in one letter after another. The governor was constantly handicapped by his lack of money, food, clothing, paper, medicine, seed, horses, soldiers, arms, ammunition, iron, and other essentials. Having little to work with, and failing to get adequate cooperation and support from the Viceroy and the commandant general, Martinez seemed constantly standing at the edge of disaster.

Many of the letters are routine requests and reports, doleful and often pathetic in tone. But their style, combining a high degree of formality, and appropriate deference to authority (carefully retained in the translations) sets off sharply the details of a harsh, rude existence in a poverty-stricken province. Monotonous routine is frequently broken by incidents of dramatic adventure, raids, escapes, pursuits, a disastrous flood (No. 532) and other events that provide an account of Spanish days in Texas unsurpassed by later writers.

The translator, Virginia H. Taylor, State Archivist of Texas, offers an exceptionally worth while volume prepared with great care. The helpful Preface and Introduction and an excellent index contribute to the value of the work. Presumably demands of economy account for the absence of all documentation.

Perhaps few but professional students of history will make use of *The Letters of Antonio Martinez*. The enjoyment of historical sources is no doubt an acquired taste. But any one who will take the trouble to read these letters will find in them a narrative full of adventurous detail and local color that will amply repay the effort; even the writers of "westerns" and television serials might improve their episodes by reading this collection.

The Humor of the American Cowboy. By Stan Hoig. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1958. Pp. 193. \$5.00.

Anyone who is even vaguely familiar with the literature of the American cowboy is aware that it is laced and enlivened with numerous spirited stories, ludicrous incidents, and practical jokes—the cowboy was notorious as a prankster and as a droll- and tall-story teller. Under the most dire circumstances he was able to laugh and cuss—laugh and cuss at himself, his horse, and any other “critter” who crossed his path. In the past this ability charmed and convulsed his companions and contemporaries. The volumes of Ramon Adams, Edward E. Dale, J. Frank Dobie, Frank King, Emerson Hough, Philip A. Rollins, and R. M. Wright (to mention a few) prove this contention as they stand; it is further verified only in part, however, by the contents of *The Humor of the American Cowboy*. In fact this recent addition to “cowboyana” is a much-revised compilation of material from the above authors and others. Unfortunately, *en masse*, the altered humor fails to amuse and grows wearisome and naive as one diluted story, incident, and prank follows another, and particularly when removed from the original text—the smooth running prose of the authors.

In addition, the humor of the cowboy proves not so humorous when an individual as virile, manly, crude, and vulgar as he was does not produce a single earthy yarn or lusty story. For compiler Hoig, who admittedly has “read scores of books *by* cowboys,” (italics by reviewer) the opportunity to collect robust material was not lacking in his search; however, under his editorial pen much of its vigor is destroyed. The “classics”—Hough’s *The Story of the Cowboy*, and Rollins’, *The Cowboy* suffer artistically, but, when Dale’s *Cow Country*, King’s *Wranglin’ the Past*, and Price’s *Trails I Rode* get the treatment, it is pitiful. All the Anglo-Saxonisms become “doggone,” “dern,” “gosh,” “heck,” etc. This is no plea for the vulgar and obscene, and admittedly humor need not be offensive, yet in a specific study such as this, when

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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PIONEER WOMAN

By DAN McALLISTER

ALTHOUGH she didn't realize it and didn't so style herself, my Grandma Findley was the ruggedest individualist I have ever known. Individualism heightened the stature of any man or woman on New Mexico Territory's fabulous six-shooter frontier, around the turn of the century; and in that sense Grandma was plenty tall, I tell you.

In those early days, very few doctors had as yet chosen that frontier to practice medicine in. It was still the West, wild, primitive. People for miles around called upon Grandma for help in time of sickness. Anybody living within twenty-thirty miles of you was your neighbor. Twenty-thirty miles by horseback or in a buckboard, that was.

Grandma always responded promptly, whatever the weather. She would apply her doctoring know-how acquired from years of frontier life, plus considerable knowledge she had gleaned from her OLD RELIABLE FAMILY PHYSICIAN or WHAT TO DO UNTIL THE DOCTOR COMES.

On her plains errands of mercy my indefatigable and most versatile Grandma drove two fast mules hitched to a buckboard. In cold weather she would heat a large flat rock in the fireplace and lay it wrapped in gunny sacking in the buckboard to keep her feet warm. When she went up into the Sacramento Mountains to nurse somebody, she rode horseback, astride, which was something for a woman to do then, even in New Mexico.

Grandma assisted many a baby through the gates of the morning of life. She set broken bones, and upon a few occasions dug lead out of men that had been shot. When a small-

pox epidemic raged in and around the sleepy village of La Luz and some houses had to be quarantined and used as "pest-houses," Grandma vaccinated dozens of people. She used a vaccine¹ that she personally extracted from calves she had inoculated with virus of the disease. Grandma's vaccinations nearly always "took" beautifully.

On that frontier you didn't just run down to the corner drugstore for a bottle of hoarhound cough drops or a mustard plaster. Even after 1900 our nearest drugstore was Frank Rolland's in the new town of Alamogordo, six miles away by horseback. So Grandma kept a medicine chest that supplied many remedies for her patients. Some remedies that she used effectively were those old frontier standbys, quinine, turpentine, coal oil, and whiskey. (Except for medicinal purposes, Grandma abominated whiskey.)

Grandma used also some old Indian remedies an Apache squaw had taught her how to prepare. Probably those remedies had been in use in that country for hundreds of years. Certainly long before the white man came.

One such Indian remedy was an efficacious febrifuge brewed from pine needles and *yerba buena* or good herb that grows here and there on the plains. And green cactus meat beaten to a pulp made poultices that drew inflammation from and even abated infection in knife cuts, barbed wire rips, severe bruises from horsekicks, and even gunshot wounds. Perhaps it was the original chlorophyl. *¿Quien sabe?*

Modern medical practice might be horrified by some of the treatments "Doctor" Findley used to give her patients

1. I know that in 1898 or 1899, during the smallpox epidemic in La Luz, people whom Grandma vaccinated did not come down with smallpox, while many who refused vaccination did. And I know that a couple of doctors finally arrived and took charge of things, after *they commended Grandma for her good work.*

And I know that in El Paso where I later went to school eight or nine years, every school child was required to be either vaccinated or issued a written excuse from such by a doctor, every year. Examining doctors would simply look at the great scar on my arm where Grandma had vaccinated me, and then give me an O. K.

Sometimes a doctor would ask, "Who vaccinated you? A scar like that—"

When I had told him how Grandma had scraped then slashed criss-cross with a sharp knife an area on my left arm at least an inch and a quarter in diameter, and had rubbed her lymph-like vaccine into the bleeding wound, the doctor or doctors would usually mutter "Good Gawd!" or something equally expressive.

Old Doc Stevenson, pioneer doctor in El Paso, once told me: "Son, you *never* need to be vaccinated against smallpox again."

down Otero County way better than half a century ago, but Grandma did the best she could with what she had to do with. It was that or do nothing. And I know that among the many sick and injured persons she treated and comforted through the years, she undoubtedly saved a goodly number of lives. She didn't ask and never accepted pay for her services. The happiness Grandma gained from helping sick and suffering people was plenty pay for her.

Grandma was a frontier preacher, too. She felt she had the "call." She substituted sometimes for circuit-riding preachers when really rough weather delayed them in their rounds. She sat up with the dead and she conducted funerals.

When she prayed, Grandma talked personally with her God with Whom she was on pretty good terms. Always she asked His blessing upon everybody from President McKinley on down to those present, individually and collectively.

Her preaching was vigorous, to put it mildly, because Grandma was steeped in old-time religion. She really got down to fundamentals: Heaven beckoned to the good, Hell yawned wide to claim all unrepentant sinners. God was merciful and all-forgiving. And to Grandma, the Devil was a very real and active character indeed.

In her sermons, if "Reverend" Findley didn't

"Chase the Devil around the stump,
And give him a kick at every jump,"

then no frontier preacher ever did.

A duty my versatile Grandma voluntarily laid upon herself was to send lengthy weather reports in longhand to Washington. A government clerk named Cortelyou used to acknowledge her reports and commend her for covering the area, weatherwise. Grandma greatly prized his letters. George B. Cortelyou afterward held two Cabinet posts under President Theodore Roosevelt.

And Grandma was a newspaper correspondent, in a way. When the E P & N E bisected the fabulous frontier and a new town, Alamogordo, sprang up on the plains, the Alamogordo *News* leaped into print. Grandma wrote interesting little

items about Otero County and sent them to Manning, the Editor. He always ran them.

One such item was about a Plymouth Rock hen of Grandma's that forsook the chicken yard and laid ten eggs twelve feet off the ground in the crotch of a cottonwood, then "set" on the eggs until they hatched.

Rugged homespun justice tempered by kindness seasoned Grandma's life on that frontier. From Tularosa down to Alamogordo, from Las Cruces across the White Sands to La Luz and on up into the Sacramento Mountains as far as the Mescalero Apache Reservation, people knew and loved Grandma Findley for her good works. Likewise they admired her resolute and independent spirit, and they respected her prowess with her shotgun.

I have seen Grandma shoot coyotes, bob-cats, skunks, and scads of chicken hawks—all the predators that continually gave her chickens a bad time. Once I watched her blow a four-foot rattlesnake with maybe fifteen rattles off our stone doorstep where he had insolently coiled himself in the sun. She gave that rattler both barrels. Indeed, the old lady hardly ever fired her trusty scattergun without cutting loose with both barrels.

Riley Baker, the best sheriff Otero County ever had, always at war with cattle-rustlers, once said to my Grandma: "Mrs. Findley, ma'am, you ought to be one of my deputies. With your shotgun and my six-shooter we could soon clean out all these cattle thieves."

Occasionally some poor unfortunate in an advanced stage of tb would be stranded in La Luz, unable to drag on any farther. Grandma would get him a cot and supply him with goat's milk and eggs until he died. One such case fooled Grandma, however. Frank Earle. He got well, well enough that for years he ran a cigar stand in El Paso.

When Grandma Findley grew quite old and tired, she moved down to El Paso and lived until her death with Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Henry Sutherland, both former pioneers of Otero County. Mrs. Sutherland was her daughter.

Yes, Grandma Findley was a great old girl. To use one of her own expressions, "I ain't never seen the beat of her."

NEW MEXICO VIEWED BY ANGLO-AMERICANS 1846-1849

By JOHN P. BLOOM*

THERE are two sides to this story, the American and the New Mexican, and on each side there are several parts. Johnny Gringo¹ is the central figure on the American side. He was the so-called "common" soldier of the war with Mexico of 1846-1848—the father, brother, uncle and ancestor of Johnny Reb and Johnny Doughboy, as well as Billy Yank and "GI" Joe. His coming brought New Mexico into the United States, ending one era of New Mexican history and beginning another. One may obtain an impression of what sort of person Johnny Gringo was and what experiences he encountered in New Mexico through his personal letters, diaries and other accounts.

The paucity of materials strictly of this nature, however, forces one to consider also the documents left by officers, merchants and forty-niners, among others. This material often does not bear directly on Johnny Gringo, but it adds immeasurably to the other side of the story, that is, what the old New Mexico was like before its character was changed by the first substantial influx of Anglo-Americans.

The main outlines of military activity in New Mexico during the war may properly be summarized here. Stephen Watts Kearny, commander of the "Army of the West," received his promotion to brigadier general shortly before

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1. The word *gringo* did not originate during the war of 1846-1848, various stories to the contrary notwithstanding; but this was the period when the word became familiar to Americans. See Will M. Tipton, "Note on Origin of the Word 'Gringo,'" *Old Santa Fé*, II, 279. American "common" soldiers were sometimes called "Neds" by fellow Americans and "God-damn-me's" by Mexicans, the latter apparently a reflection of the invaders' strong language. Lewis H. Garrard, *Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail*, Ralph P. Bieber, ed. (Glendale, 1938), pp. 199n, 321; "Sr Gonzalez" at Monterrey, Mex., to unnamed person, n. d., in Morelia, Mex., *El Federalista*, Nov. 15, 1846; and Samuel C. Reid, Jr., *The Scouting Expeditions of McCulloch's Texas Rangers . . .* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 77.

occupying Santa Fe unopposed on August 18, 1846, with a force consisting of Missouri Volunteers and a few regular soldiers. He soon set out for California in accordance with his orders, taking only a few regulars with him when he learned from Kit Carson that Mexican authority there had already been overthrown.

Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan was briefly in command in New Mexico, his force augmented by the arrival of Colonel Sterling Price's Second Missouri Mounted Volunteer Regiment in early October. The Mormon Battalion, somewhat less than five hundred men, hastened through New Mexico at about the same period, to join Kearny in California. Doniphan led his First Missouri Mounted Volunteers on a short but strenuous campaign to pacify the Navajos before setting out for an expected rendezvous at Chihuahua with General John E. Wool's "Central Division." Doniphan fought a small action on Christmas Day, 1846, at Brazito, just above El Paso, which he occupied until February 8, 1847.

Price and his successor, Colonel Edward W. B. Newby of the Fifth or "First Additional" Illinois Volunteer Regiment, maintained headquarters at Santa Fe, with detachments dispersed at various points off and on until the war's end, such as Taos, Abiquiu, Mora, Las Vegas, Galisteo, Albuquerque, Cebolleta, Tomé, and Socorro. Price's most severe crisis was in meeting the insurrection which broke out at Taos on January 19, 1847. Despairing of an early end to the war, and anxious to hasten its end by emulating Doniphan, Price set out from El Paso for Chihuahua on March 1, 1848, with a force including the Third Missouri Mounted Volunteers, Santa Fe Volunteers, Chihuahua Rangers and some First Dragoons. He met no organized opposition until he moved into the town of Santa Cruz de Rosales, southeast of Chihuahua. He won a battle here but in July, the war ended, he withdrew, his command in much disorder, through El Paso and Santa Fe instead of marching to Saltillo and the Gulf of Mexico as Doniphan had done. Doniphan's earlier expedition against the Navajos was more closely emulated by an expedi-

tion in 1847 and another in 1848, but no lasting benefit was obtained by any of these efforts.²

Johnny Gringo and almost all the other invaders of New Mexico in this period came into New Mexico along the Santa Fe Trail. They observed individual Mexicans in servile capacities along the Trail, occasionally a party of Mexican traders or travelers, and in 1846 some scouts or "spies" in Mexican military uniforms, but these were only tentative contacts. Not until they arrived at the first settlements did the invaders begin to get a real impression of the land and its people. Before they had a fair view of the first village, either Mora or Las Vegas, the new arrivals were likely to be besieged by New Mexicans with food and beverages to sell, "like the huxter-women after a steamboat," as young Susan Shelby Magoffin wrote. The food included *tortillas*, mutton, cheese, and a few fruits and vegetables in season; the beverages were goat's milk, whiskey and *aguardiente* (native brandy). Mora and Las Vegas were both recently settled. The former was very small; descriptions lead one to suppose only a score or two of population. American reactions varied widely. "Nothing could be more discouraging to men fated to remain a whole year in Mexican territory than the first view of this town," wrote a New York volunteer.³ A Marylander, on the other hand, held that "The sight was most pleasant to our eyes, accustomed as they were for forty-four days to a wild waste." Perhaps he was thinking primarily of the "pretty Mexican woman, with clean white stockings," mentioned by Lieutenant W. H. Emory and Private Marcellus B. Edwards,

2. Howard Louis Conard, *Uncle Dick Wootton, the Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountain Region*, Milo M. Quaife, ed. (Chicago, 1957), pp. 204-218; Averam B. Bender, "Government Explorations in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1859," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX, 252-53. There may have been two Navajo expeditions in 1847, one early in the year and another, according to Private Philip G. Ferguson, in September. Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848, by Abraham Robinson Johnston, Marcellus Ball Edwards [and] Philip Gooch Ferguson* (Glendale, 1936), pp. 320-21.

3. Stella M. Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico; the Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847* (New Haven, 1926), p. 90. Some of the houses were partly dug-out, exceptionally poor even for New Mexico. Frank S. Edwards, *A Campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 41. See also Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, Max. L. Moorhead, ed. (Norman, 1954), p. 146.

as well as of the countryside here as contrasted with the treeless plains behind them. "This is a beautiful country of mountains & valleys of Water fine pine & Spruce trees &c," commented a Mormon.⁴

Las Vegas's population was about three hundred.⁵ Here the simile came into play which was applied by Johnny Gringo very frequently to towns built of adobes: the town looked like a large brick-kiln. The area contained fields of corn, wheat, onions, squash, melons and chile, which were attractive enough, but the town itself was apparently a disappointment to all. "A ruinous and dilapidated appearance," said one; "a sight not very pleasing to the eye of an American," said another, discussing "the long rows of houses . . . with small holes for doors and windows, and the dirty streets and goat pens."⁶

But the invaders pressed on for Santa Fe, knowing that these settlements were on the New Mexican frontier and therefore cruder than the older regions of New Mexico. They were no doubt encouraged to find that San Miguel was larger than any previously-encountered town. Susan Magoffin thought it was cleaner, too, and she was finding the people "decidedly polite," and free and easy in their manners, which pleased her.⁷

Santa Fe was much larger, a veritable city of perhaps five thousand, more or less, according to how much territory the city was presumed to include.⁸ But Johnny Gringo and others had tended to let their expectations run too high. Private Daniel Hastings recorded his reaction:

Great indeed was the contrast between the beautiful and magnificent city which my imagination had pictured, and the low

4. William H. Richardson, *Journal of Doniphan's Expedition* (Columbia, Mo.: reprinted from *The Missouri Historical Review*, 1928), p. 35. William H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance . . .*, Ross Calvin, ed. (Albuquerque, 1951), p. 46; Bieber, ed., *Marching*, pp. 151-52. Robert S. Bliss, "The Journal of Robert S. Bliss, with the Mormon Battalion," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, IV, 74.

5. See *Notes and Documents* on the Population of New Mexico, 1846-1849, below.

6. Bieber, ed., *Marching*, p. 314.

7. Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 98.

8. "A stranger is very apt to imagine it smaller than it really is, extending, as it does, a considerable distance up and down the creek. . . ." Ralph Paul Bieber, ed., *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847*, by George Rutledge Gibson (Glendale, 1935), p. 209. See *Notes and Documents* on population, below.

dirty and inferior place which I then beheld. . . . perfect contempt was my predominant impression while beholding Santa Fe for the first time.

Private M. B. Edwards went into more particulars :

. . . a city known all over the world and what sort of a city do you suppose it is, Well it is a dirty filthy place built entirely of mud and flat roofed houses it covers a considerable extent of ground but chiefly corn fields the city of course has a filthy appearance from the width of the streets which are very narrow and walled in with mud fences the houses of mud and not whitewashed and the women wetting right in the street in plain view no difference who is present . . . No people in the world have been more overrated than this.⁹

All accounts lead one to the inescapable conclusion that Santa Fe was, indeed, a crowded, hectic, unpleasant place in the early months of Johnny Gringo's invasion, and to some extent throughout the period here considered. When Johnny arrived, he and his animals were tired from their long trip, and often very hungry. The resources of the Santa Fe area were utterly insufficient to meet the new demand, either in food or in shelter. "The country around Santa Fé is the most dreary & desolate that ever caused the eye to ache by gazing upon," one man wrote. The careless and unclean habits of the Santa Feans were certainly matched by Johnny Gringo, however. Private Hastings wrote :

The roads and corrals are strewed with dead animals producing a most unhealthy and disagreeable stench, so much so that one can scarcely pass through some of the back streets. Thirty five mules starved to death in one corral within two days. . . . Crows are very numerous and tame, devouring the filthy carcasses within a few yards of the men.¹⁰

9. D. H. Hastings, Personal account: "With Doniphan in Mexico," Justin Harvey Smith Papers, Vol. 15, Latin American Collection, University of Texas Library, Aug. 20, 1846. M. B. Edwards to brother Joseph, Aug. 23, 1846, Mexican War Envelope, Missouri Historical Society.

10. Henry B. Judd to unnamed person, Dec. 10, 1848. Thomas Sidney Jesup Papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress. Hastings, Personal account, n. d. [Aug.-Sep. 1846]. Over a year later the situation apparently remained little changed. The *Santa Fé Republican* newspaper protested against "the filth and dirt about town . . . the putrid carcasses of animals which are permitted to rot all over it . . . the decayed and decaying matter in all the streets and corrals, and private places. . . ." Nov. 20, 1847.

The animals had to be sent away from Santa Fe for pasturage, and a large number of the soldiers similarly.

When the bitterly cold winter weather came it reduced the stench, but proved a severe trial to the men in Santa Fe. Unheated rooms and poor tents were bad enough; guard and other duty became intolerable for the ill-equipped men in some instances. Construction on Fort Marcy was temporarily halted in December 1846, because of the weather.¹¹ The military routine continued in a general pattern, however. The Plaza, already a promenade and marketplace, became also an artillery park and drill field; the open area north of the Plaza, beyond the Governor's Palace, became the "General Parade Ground." Company parades were held at 8 A.M., which coincided with guard-mounting, and at 4 P.M. Tattoo was at 10 P.M. Picket guards one-half mile or more from the Plaza and a curfew were necessary to maintain any semblance of good order.¹²

One of the few entertainments we have, [wrote Lieutenant George R. Gibson] is the artillery band at tattoo, who play several tunes every evening between the calls. To hear the martial notes of a bugle [on] a clear, calm, lovely evening is always soul stirring, but to have three or four good musicians . . . nightly play some old and favorite air . . . is certainly a pleasure of no small consequence. . . .

Gibson was writing in terms of pleasures of a high order, but these were not the pleasures with which Santa Fe was primarily identified, which were gambling and drinking and the vices associated therewith. "Each day finds us in a more reckless and depraved condition," lamented the high-minded Hastings, discussing a Christmastime "frolic" in which most of the officers participated. "Saloons, gambling dens, and dance halls remained open day and night, seven days in the

11. The fort was already in "a defensible state" on Nov. 6, 1846. See series of letters of Engineer Lieutenant Jeremy F. Gilmer from Santa Fé, 1846-47, especially those dated Sep. 23, Nov. 6, 23, and Dec. 9, 1846, in Lenoir Family Papers, No. 2, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. Gilmer superintended the construction of Fort Marcy in this period.

12. Orders No. 63, Headquarters Army of New Mexico, Oct. 28, 1846, Adjutant General's Office Manuscript Orders, National Archives.

week," in the fall of 1846, a New Mexican recalled matter-of-factly.¹³

There was not much at Santa Fe, aside from the commercial diversions, for the occupation of Johnny Gringo's idle hours. The heart of town, the Plaza, could be surveyed quickly: cottonwood trees along the outer edge of the sidewalk, sustained by a small ditch running from the river; *portales* supported by rough poles along the front of the one-story buildings on every side; very tall flagpole in the center with a very large United States flag waving from it, "silk probably 30 by 15 feet, in 1846"; and many, many nondescript dogs. On the north side of the Plaza lay the Governor's Palace, partly in a bad state of decay, including barracks and jail and former custom-house, with thick adobe walls and "as few doors and windows as possible," the windows "glazed," or equipped with isinglass. On the south side were the military chapel, or oratory, no longer in use; opposite, shops and residences and a large room which Josiah Gregg called the "*Casa Consistorial* of the *Alcaldes*." Away from the Plaza the streets were, of course, irregular, and the houses interspersed with fields. San Francisco Street was considered the main street, probably because it led to the parochial church, the most important of the city's five churches.¹⁴

This was likely the church in whose "mud steeple" Robert S. Bliss counted five bells. It did not impress Johnny Gringo favorably, outside or inside, but perhaps it is not fair that the most detailed description of the interior at this period is through the very critical eye of an artist, Alfred S. Waugh,

13. Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, p. 256. Hastings, Personal account, Dec. 26, 1846. W. H. H. Allison, "Santa Fe in 1846; Recollections of Col. F. Perea," *Old Santa Fé*, II, 397.

14. See especially: J. W. Abert, *Report of Lieutenant J. W. Abert, of His Examination of New Mexico, in the Years 1846-'47*, H. Ex. Doc. No. 41, 30 Cong., 1 Sess, pp. 455-56; Allison, "Santa Fe," 393-95; Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, pp. 213, 255; Bliss, "Journal," 75; H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard, trans., *Three New Mexico Chronicles: the "Exposición" of Don Pedro Bautista Pino, 1812; the "Ojeada" of Lic. Antonio Barreiro, 1832; and the Additions by Don José Agustín de Escudero, 1849* (Albuquerque, 1942), pp. 85-86; Edwards, *Campaign*, pp. 45-47; Gregg, *Commerce*; and John F. McDermott, ed., *Travels in Search of the Elephant: the Wanderings of Alfred S. Waugh, Artist, in Louisiana, Missouri, and Santa Fe, in 1845-6* (St. Louis, 1951), p. 120.

who preceded the Army of the West into Santa Fe. The floor plan was in the form of a cross, he wrote, and it contained

statues of some ecclesiastics painted to resemble the life,—as no doubt the artist supposed. The great altar was bedizened with a multitude of very paltry pictures and a profusion of the commonest looking-glasses—such as you can buy in the States for a few dimes, and the drapery was extremely shabby. Another altar on the great aisle resembled the first in tinsel splendor; and nearly opposite, was an enclosed seat of considerable length, terminated by another of more ample proportions and covered with crimson cloth. [Here the priest] put on vestments. . . .¹⁵

Fort Marcy, and the burial-ground for Americans which rapidly grew on the hillside under its walls,¹⁶ completed the list of points of interest for Johnny Gringo. Susan Magoffin was conducted to visit “the Gloriatta, an inclosed public walk,” but she found that, “being planted altogether in indifferent looking Cotton-woods, it is quite susceptible of improvement,” and one suspects that her gallant escorts were seeking every possible excuse to lengthen their pleasant excursion about town with the winsome teen-age bride.¹⁷

Some changes were wrought in the city as time passed, and there was no greater booster for Santa Fe’s improvement than the newspaper, the *Santa Fé Republican*, which two young printers, one a volunteer, commenced issuing on September 10, 1847. In their issue of September 17, they boasted:

When Genl. KEARNEY [*sic*] one year ago entered Santa Fe, at that time there was but one Public House in the place, and it was so badly kept and supplied that but few paid it a second visit—now we have several, the Missouri House, the Santa Fe House, Beck & Redmans Hotel and the German Hotel, also several Private Boarding Houses, the Tables of which are well supplied and on which our vegetable Potatoes only will be missed. The Merchant[s] have fitted up large and convenient

15. McDermott, ed., *Waugh's Travels*, p. 124. See also Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, p. 227.

16. Gregg mentioned that American “heretics” were buried on a hill to the north overlooking Santa Fe, years before the Mexican War. Gregg, *Commerce*, p. 185.

17. Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, pp. 141-42.

rooms in place of the small and crowded ones, and the doors, windows and other marks of improvement that strike the eye every where indicates a most rapid improvement. . . . Not a street in the place presents the appearance it did, this time one year ago, and if things continue in one year more the whole appearance of the city will be changed.¹⁸

Santa Fe's improvement did not bring so rapid a transformation, however, that Lieutenant Henry B. Judd would fail to write, when he arrived there late in 1848, that he was at "the Siberia of America, the Texas of Texas and the Gomorrhah of the Modern World."¹⁹ The forty-niners saw several two-story buildings on the Plaza, the Castrense remodeled into a warehouse, the leading Exchange Hotel on the southeast corner commonly called "La Fonda Americana," and a substantial proportion of American residents—but still there came the old refrain: "The inhabitants comprise the lowest and vilest characters, whose time is mainly occupied in gambling, drunken fandangoes and debaucheries."²⁰

Johnny Gringo ranged far and wide over New Mexico. More's the pity that he left generally scanty records of what he saw. Perhaps he exhausted his descriptive powers at Santa Fe and furthermore assumed, with a tourist's typical superficiality, that when he had seen the capital he had "seen it all." More questions than answers appear when one considers New Mexico in the period 1846-1849. Where were New Mexico's boundaries? Johnny Gringo was quite uncertain, but of course the United States was too, for several years. It mattered not to Johnny Gringo, east, north or west, but it should be noted that the southern boundary under Mexican administration,

18. Bieber, ed., *Marching*, pp. 320-22. *Santa Fé Republican*, Sep. 17, 1847. For two views of accommodations at Santa Fe hotels see the *St. Louis Weekly Reveille*, Sep. 28, 1846, cited in Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, p. 215n; and George D. Brewerton, *Overland with Kit Carson, a Narrative of the Old Spanish Trail in '48 . . .* (New York, 1930), pp. 177-183, 199-200.

19. Judd to "My dear Major," Dec. 10, 1848, Jesup Papers.

20. Lorenzo D. Aldrich, *A Journal of the Overland Route to California and the Gold Mines . . . with Notes by Glen Dawson* (Los Angeles, 1950), p. 34. Allison, "Santa Fe," 401-02. "A member of the Little Rock Company," *Arkansas State Democrat*, Aug. 31, 1849, cited in Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Southern Trails to California in 1849* (Glendale, 1937), pp. 309-310.

after 1824, did not include El Paso or the not-then-established settlement of Doña Ana.²¹

What was the second city of New Mexico? The candidates would have been Albuquerque and Taos, if rivalry had existed. Apparently Taos was the center of a larger population throughout this period, but her reputation was not favorable in American eyes after the rebellion in early 1847, and the winters were milder and economic prospects brighter at Albuquerque, which may have begun to grow more rapidly than Taos. The total population of New Mexico was somewhere in the neighborhood of sixty thousand.²²

Johnny Gringo's critical remarks about the large and small towns were a part of his general refrain on New Mexico as a whole. "It is as near no country as ever was made," wrote a typically exasperated campaigner, continuing, "one cannot go out of his tent without getting his eyes most gloriously filled with sand for mud is a stranger to this country." The *Santa Fé Republican* went to work on this problem of attitude in its second issue, with an editorial article entitled, "The Wrong Idea":

The opinion formed by people from the United States in regard to New Mexico, is, generally, most erroneous. The men who come here are farmers and mechanics, and expect to see here what they see in the United States. . . . and because the *appearance* and *face* of the country presents an aspect less attractive than their fancies had painted for them, they denounce it without stint. . . . These conclusions are very rational, but very erroneous. . . . New Mexico is a vast labyrinth . . . compared with which the annual products and luxuriant crops of *any* of the States sink into insignificance. Put upon the resources of this Territory the same labor that is bestowed on those of any State of the Union, and a greater amount of wealth will be realized here than there.²³

The editor was particularly interested in boosting mining activity in New Mexico and extending irrigation and sheep-

21. Lansing B. Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican Administration, 1821-1846," *Old Santa Fé*, I, 30; Gregg, *Commerce*, p. 271. The El Paso district was a part of Chihuahua after 1824, not in any way linked to Coahuila, Nueva Leon or Texas under Mexican administration.

22. *Notes and Documents* on population, below.

23. Thomas Edwards in Postscript to letter of M. B. Edwards to their brother, Joseph, Oct. 7, 1846, Mexican War Envelope.

raising, but these were doubtful potentialities and Johnny Gringo could usually find little more to praise in actualities than the wonderfully salubrious climate.²⁴

Various objects caught the attention of the invaders as they traveled through the country. Some of them noted that the people seemed more prosperous, even "more intelligent," and the land more productive as they moved toward the south,²⁵ an impression that was heightened if they went as far as El Paso or Chihuahua. They were struck by the poise and dignified carriage of New Mexican and Indian girls and women who carried on their heads earthen jars and baskets of water, fruit and other commodities.²⁶ They were interested in the gold mines and mining techniques, south of Santa Fe, as well as salt extraction from the salt lakes farther to the south.²⁷ Occasionally they encountered and described such things as the crib-work dam, twelve feet wide, eight feet high and one-hundred feet long, along with a primitive mill, at Manzano.²⁸

Since they were all more or less familiar with animals and agriculture, the invaders commented often on farming techniques and the use of *burros* (jackasses, they usually wrote), mules, horses and oxen as they observed them everywhere. Lieutenant Emory noticed that the *burros* were "usually mounted from behind, after the fashion of leap-frog," and of course that they could thrive where horses would starve. Many Americans were shocked to observe that New Mexican women rode astride, and in the case of a couple, the woman rode in front of the man. "The lady is furnished with a cudgel," Private Edwards wrote, "which she applies with considerable force to the side of the animal's head opposite the direction she wishes him to take." No-one in the period being considered gave a better description of the loading and

24. "Bilious diseases," wrote the medical-minded Gregg, "are here almost unknown"; there was very little by way of fever, and people lived to be very old. *Commerce*, p. 105.

25. William E. Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California* (Topeka, 1907), p. 233; Bieber, ed., *Marching*, p. 167; Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, pp. 150, 158; Captain Henry S. Turner, *Diary*, Missouri Historical Society, p. 22.

26. *E. g.*, Abert, *Report*, p. 464; and Garrard, *Wah-to-yah*, pp. 247-48.

27. See especially *Santa Fé Republican*, Sep. 24 and Oct. 9, 1847; and Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 118-124.

28. Abert, *Report*, p. 485.

management of mules and mule-trains than Gregg had already given, but many commented on the surprisingly large loads they could carry. The primitive native carts, or *carretas*, which emitted wild creaks and screeches with every motion, and the horn-yoked oxen which pulled them, often drew unfavorable attention. But Private Hastings wrote,

I thought the Mexican manner of training cattle was at least in one respect preferable to our own, since it saves all wear and tear of human lungs. They seldom speak in driving, or if they do they simply use the word "sho, sho" in a very soft tone, which the animals readily obey and travel in a day as great a distance as our horses.²⁹

Lieutenant Emory observed particularly colorful *carreta*-loads at Tomé, where people were gathering for a fiesta:

The man of the family usually seated himself on the tongue of the wagon, his time divided between belabouring his beasts and scratching his head. In one of these wagons a violin was being played, and the women who were sitting on their feet, made the most of the music by brandishing their bare arms and moving their heads to the cadence.³⁰

New Mexican agricultural implements were so crude as to remind at least one of the invaders of those used by the ancient Egyptians, a plow "being but the fork of a small tree, with only one handle. The point entering the ground is sometimes shod with iron." But this man added that the soil was easily cultivated and there was really little need for better implements. Johnny Gringo was perhaps slow in comprehending that in New Mexico the owners of livestock were responsible for keeping their animals out of the fields, rather than the farmers being under obligation to maintain fences, the custom in "the States."³¹ The vital importance of the irrigation systems was also a novelty to the invaders. They were probably surprised at the vehemence of protests that resulted

29. Emory, *Notes*, p. 60. Bieber, ed., *Marching*, p. 169. Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 127-131. Hastings, *Personal account*, n. d. See Gregg's description of the *carreta*: *Commerce*, p. 147.

30. Emory, *Notes*, pp. 70-71.

31. Garrard, *Wah-to-yah*, p. 246. Gregg observed that most of the *peones* cultivated only with the hoe. *Commerce*, p. 107.

from an officer's act near Abiquiu in breaking down an embankment because he feared his tent might be flooded.³²

A further difference between the New Mexican countryside and that to which Johnny Gringo was accustomed was that here, in New Mexico, practically all of the people lived in communities, and not on separate farms. An obvious reason was for protection from the marauding Indians, chiefly Navahos and Apaches. Young Lewis H. Garrard described the typical temporary habitation of a northern New Mexico shepherd—an exception to the rule of community-dwelling:

two forked poles . . . are generally driven upright into the ground . . . with four feet or about, visible. A pole is then laid from one fork to the other, and other small ones, seven or eight feet in length laid, the smaller ends on the cross pole, the butts resting on the ground. On top of these, are spread raw hides of beef, and the skins of game, and under the frame, the soft ends of the pinyon and cedar branches, are spread to the depth of a foot or more. On top of that, deerskins are laid, and then the bedding surmounts that, which, altogether, makes a springy mattress. . . .³³

But the generality of New Mexican homes were the unprepossessing adobe houses of the towns and villages. Johnny Gringo's reaction on going inside was often unexpected. "I was surprised on entering them," one man wrote, "I found every thing verry neat and clean and furnished verry tasty." Lieutenant Emory wrote, "Nothing can exceed the comfort and convenience of the interior. The thick walls make them cool in summer and warm in winter."³⁴

The houses of the common folk generally comprised only one room. The entrance was sometimes covered with coarse fabric or hides instead of a door, and there were sometimes no windows, sometimes small windows protected by cloth or isinglass—windows the size of "the ventilator of a summer hat," one man exaggerated. The walls inside were white-washed, making the room appear better lighted than it would otherwise have seemed, but since the powdery white gypsum

32. Richardson, *Journal*, pp. 40-41.

33. Garrard, *Wah-to-yah*, pp. 208-09.

34. T. J. Edwards to brother Joseph, Sep. 15, 1846, Mexican War Envelope. Emory, *Notes*, p. 60.

easily rubbed off on one's clothes, those who could afford it attached calico or wall-paper up to a height of five feet or more. Chairs and tables were very rare in humble homes. Earthen floors were the rule in homes of all classes, the difference being in the amount and quality of floor covering, whether the "rags, tattered blankets, or old robes" so commonly seen, or the "handsome Brussels carpet" observed once by Susan Magoffin. A sort of banquette, or built-in bench, ran around all sides of the wall in even the finer homes, although sometimes it was omitted and its place taken in the daytime by rolled-up, blanket-covered mattresses, or by cushioned benches. The ceiling consisted of the beams and cross-pieces which supported the thick, flat, earth-covered roof. The houses were almost fireproof, but it was not unknown for such roofs to leak mud, as Susan Magoffin soon discovered, or for plants to take root there.³⁵

Dwellings of all classes contained, as George Brewerton described it,

a sort of family altar or chapel, where rude engravings of saints, images intended to represent the Saviour, or "La Madre de Diòs," sacred relics, and consecrated rosaries, are displayed around a huge crucifix, which occupies the centre of the wall on that side of the apartment. These images, particularly upon high fiestas and holidays, are decked out by the females of the family with all sorts of tawdry ornaments; and on such occasions it is by no means uncommon to see a doll representing the Virgin Mary arrayed in a muslin frock, trimmed with artificial roses, and festooned with ribbons of the gayest hues. Here and there are oil paintings; a worse copy of a bad picture, or, it may be, a veritable "Old Master," occupies the post of honor. . . .

35. See especially: Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, pp. 103-04, 154, 166; Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, pp. 209-210 (only mention of a fireplace: "small and illy-contrived"); Edwards, *Campaign*, pp. 48-49; Anna P. Hannum, ed., *A Quaker Forty-niner; the Adventures of Charles Edward Pancoast on the American Frontier* (Philadelphia, 1930), p. 221 ("there were no Water Closets, and little Modesty was observed"); Abert, *Report*, p. 452; Emory, *Notes*, pp. 67-68; Bieber, ed., *Marching*, pp. 162-63; Brewerton, *Overland*, pp. 150-51; George F. A. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1847), pp. 184-85; Also Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 144-46; Rufus B. Sage, *Wild Scenes in Kansas and Nebraska, the Rocky Mountains, Oregon, California, New Mexico, Texas, and the Grand Prairies . . .* (Philadelphia, 1855), pp. 174-75; and James A. Bennett, *Forts and Forays; . . . a Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850-1856*, Clinton E. Brooks and Frank D. Reeve, eds. (Albuquerque, 1948), p. 14.

Lieutenant Abert regarded the oil paintings he saw more favorably than Brewerton did, asserting that "one frequently meets with fine specimens of art." He attempted to purchase one from his landlady but was refused. Much more universal were mirrors: "I have seen over a hundred looking-glasses of all sizes in one house," Private M. B. Edwards stated. "They [New Mexicans] have a great disposition to see themselves . . . but cannot see themselves as others see them," he added.³⁶

Two exceptions existed from the type of permanent dwelling described above. In a few especially poor localities the houses were partially dugout, with above-ground adobe walls. At Chilili and Torreon, according to Lieutenant Abert, "the walls of the houses are formed by placing logs upright in the ground, and plastering them over with mud. The roofs of the houses are flat, and composed of the same materials." He considered this to be "modern construction."³⁷

Lewis Garrard was the only visitor to New Mexico in the late 1840's to describe the use of ovens. Many houses at Taos had ovens in front of them, he said, shaped "like a cupping glass," in which was baked "the whitest bread it has ever been my fortune to taste. . . . The hard bread, *biscoche*, is light, porous, and sweet—a perfect luxury with a cup of coffee. . . ."³⁸

But the blue *tortilla*, not the white *biscoche*, was the ordinary breadstuff of New Mexico—and Taos flour was notorious with Johnny Gringo for being unbolted, apparently often worse than the Graham flour that he was familiar with at home. In addition to *tortillas* and rarely *biscoche*, Johnny found many other commodities offered for his purchase, including: eggs, milk, cheese, chickens, rarely a turkey or pigeon, good mutton, goat-meat, rarely pork or beef, red and green chile, corn, corn-sugar, molasses, musk melons, watermelons, pumpkins, squash, *frijoles*, onions, flour, garlic, salsify, *piñon* nuts, peaches, apples, apricots, pears, plums, grapes, prickly pears, and also wine, *aguardiente*, Taos whis-

36. Brewerton, *Overland*, pp. 150-51. Abert, *Report*, p. 456. Bieber, ed., *Marching*, p. 163.

37. Edwards, *Campaign*, p. 41; Gregg, *Commerce*, p. 146; Abert, *Report*, pp. 483-84.

38. Garrard, *Wah-to-yah*, p. 242.

key, and apparently some beer and *mescal* (the latter imported from the south, distilled from *pulque*). The milk and cheese were ordinarily from goats, and they did not often appeal to Johnny Gringo. The goats were generally milked, a Mormon wrote, by boys "who sat at the rear of the animals, and the milk pail caught frequent droppings of nanny-berries, which were carefully skimmed out with the fingers. Possibly, this may in some degree account for the extreme richness of the goat's milk cheese." Susan Magoffin likened this cheese to Dutch "smerecase, though very tough, mean looking, and to me unpalatable." Milk, butter and perhaps cheese from cows were available but very expensive. Mountain trout were available in Santa Fe in the fall of 1847, and New Mexico-grown potatoes were promised for the following year.³⁹

It was often a mutually trying experience for Johnny Gringo to take a meal in a New Mexican's home. The invaders were likely to be finicky in the matter of cleanliness, by New Mexican standards, and they did not take chile and onions as appreciatively as a polite guest should. New Mexicans were ceremonious on such occasions, as Private Richardson learned:

An old woman invited me in her house and set before me some tortillas and cornstalk molasses, which were quite a treat. . . . I was about to take leave, with many thanks for their hospitality, when, to my great surprise and embarrassment, the old lady and her daughter most affectionately embraced me. I suppose it was a custom among these simple hearted mountaineers, but of which I was quite ignorant.

The hosts characteristically refused payment. Lieutenant Richard S. Smith and his comrades ate heartily of a mutton stew with *tortillas* in a small village, and got their New Mexican host to accept payment only "after one of us who could 'habla' Spanish a little managed to make him understand

39. See especially: Gilmer to Captain George Welcker, Sep. 23, 1846, Lenoir Family Papers, No. 2; Abert, *Report*, p. 448; Edwards, *Campaign*, p. 53; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, pp. 229-230, 269; Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, pp. 211, 244; Garrard, *Wah-to-yah*, pp. 271-72; Sergeant Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-1847* ([Salt Lake City], 1881), p. 164; Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 90; *Santa Fé Republican*, Nov. 13, 1847; and also Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 111-12, 135-36, 273n. Gregg mentions chocolate but apparently with reference to northern Mexico, not to New Mexico.

that if he wished to be regarded as a good 'Americano' he must take everything he could get his hands on, honestly of course."⁴⁰ The common forms of "Mexican food" with which tourists and residents regale themselves today in New Mexico, such as the *tamale*, *taco*, *enchilada*, *chile relleno* and *sopai-pilla*, were apparently quite unknown to Johnny Gringo.⁴¹ *Atole* was a concoction better suited to the time and place. As described by Sergeant F. S. Edwards, *atole* was

prepared of various materials, mostly of the common meal. However, to make it really good, it should be prepared in an open vessel by heating a few quarts of milk or water; and when it boils, stirring in a mixture of fine wheat flour mixed with the meal of the small piñon nuts, obtained from a species of the pine tree. After being boiled a short time, it becomes very palatable, and a great satisfier of hunger. When made with only water and corn meal, it is, of course, not so inviting, although by no means bad.⁴²

Atole came to be prepared very commonly by the soldiers for their own use. *Tortillas*, knives and fingers, rarely anything else, were the tools of eating. New Mexican women ordinarily did not eat with the men, at least in the presence of Americans. Water, if served as a beverage, was placed in a large cup from which all could drink, in turn, at the conclusion of the meal.⁴³

Enough has been said here already to suggest that Johnny Gringo and fellow American invaders exhibited strong feelings, strong prejudices, in and about New Mexico. It will be well to examine this matter further, at this point, before studying the person-to-person relationships in New Mexico between conqueror and conquered.

No mid-twentieth-century American, acquainted with the record of American servicemen abroad in two great conflicts,

40. Richardson, *Journal*, p. 38. Richard S. Ellitt, *Notes Taken in 60 Years* (St. Louis, 1883), p. 236.

41. The closest identifiable report of a *tamale* was at El Paso.

42. Edwards, *Campaign*, p. 54.

43. See especially: Abert, *Report*, p. 462; Bieber, ed., *Marching*, p. 323; Brewerton, *Overland*, pp. 156, 165; Emory, *Notes*, pp. 68-69; Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 94; Richardson, *Journal*, pp. 50-51; and Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 110-11.

retains any notion that a tour of duty in a foreign land will often divest a soldier of the prejudices which he took into that land. One should not expect more of Johnny Gringo. He entered New Mexico with many preconceptions. Sometimes he was aware of them, as in the case of a young Mormon who admitted that he was "quite prejudiced" against Mexicans, having heard since infancy that they were "a very savage and unprincipled people." His mother had particularly cautioned him against them when he enlisted.⁴⁴

More often than not, however, Johnny did not recognize his bias or made no effort to take it into account. He invariably tended to take the attitude toward Mexicans of the typical Texan, and this was an attitude in which the Alamo and San Jacinto and the almost equally well-known story of the Texan-Santa Fe Expedition were vital and *recent* ingredients. This was true in general. In particular, it is seen that the writings of Gregg and George Wilkins Kendall had a large influence on Johnny Gringo's descriptions of New Mexico. These men were both excellent, educated observers who made honest efforts at objectivity, but neither was entirely successful. Gregg, for example, described Northern Mexicans as cruel, intolerant, bigoted, intriguing, alternately cringing and arrogant. As he expanded on these points he made more of an impression on his readers than he later did with this brief qualification:

While such are the general features of the character of the Northern Mexicans, however, I am fain to believe and acknowledge, that there are to be found among them numerous instances of uncompromising virtue, good faith and religious forbearance.

Not only are Gregg and Kendall often cited by name in the letters, diaries and accounts of the invaders of 1846-1849, but it is evident that their influence, indeed their very phraseology, affected many of the remaining documents. It is refreshing, then, to find an exception, a diarist who pointedly rebuked their influence. Benjamin Hayes, a forty-niner,

44. William Coray in "The Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. 1846 and 1847," Oct. 10, 1846, Office of the Church Historian, Salt Lake City.

wrote that New Mexicans "are polite, kind, mild, well-meaning people, respecting the laws, and eminently religious in their feelings. 'Tis a contracted pedant who would blame them for their want of education."⁴⁵

In addition to the biases created by previous writers and by a natural sympathy for Texas in her war for independence, the documents here used show much evidence of careless writing, particularly in accepting gossip for fact and in making sweeping generalizations on the basis of slight experience. Thus one appreciates Daniel Hastings' assurance in his journal that he did not write or imitate the views of other people—regretting at the same time that he decided, "Many happenings on a campaign of this Kind in an enemies country must necessarily be omitted as being improper." In another unpublished source, a journal by Captain Henry S. Turner, a Catholic, a corrective is suggested with reference to the common assertion by the invaders that all New Mexican priests and women were grossly dissolute: "yet they may not (be) so abandoned as they are said to be [said Turner]; the reports we receive are from ignorant Americans generally, with whom, want of veracity and violent prejudice are the conspicuous traits of character—a truthful American is rarely seen here."⁴⁶

That New Mexico was in a very backward condition in the 1840's is beyond cavil, of course, as Mexican sources clearly reveal.⁴⁷ But its inhabitants were certainly not without fine traits of humanity, as the experience of an Illinois volunteer shows, who fell sick at Albuquerque:

I repaired to the House of a Mexican of whom I had bought "Mais" [maize] for the Mules and Cattle, where I was kindly received and made as comfortable as a soft bed and warm fire could render me. Dr Perry visited me here and by timely prescriptions successfully broke the disease. I remained here all

45. Gregg, *Commerce*, p. 155. Marjorie T. Wolcott, ed., *Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849-1875* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 29. Of course there is a difference between describing a condition, the purpose of this paper, and denouncing persons involved in it, which Johnny Gringo did rather freely.

46. Hastings to Justin Harvey Smith, May 4, 1907, J. H. Smith papers, Vol. XV. Turner, *Diary*, p. 19. Turner almost immediately forgot his skepticism, however: *ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

47. See Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, *passim*.

day and night. . . . I cannot too highly commend the disinterested kindness of these people to myself during my sojourn in their "Casa" [.]. A Brother an[d] Sister could not have shown more solicitude or tenderness than was exhibited by these kind hearted couple.

Every little delicacy which their stock afforded was kindly pressed upon me. . . . When taking leave of them it was with the utmost difficulty that I could prevail upon them to receive a trifle in return for their kindness to me.⁴⁸

At the same time, it is notably ironic that devastating and unjust criticism of New Mexicans should come from such persons as the invaders proved themselves to be. "We are a great people, mister," a volunteer boasted to one of his officers in Santa Fe. But a few months later one of his fellows commented, on soldiers at that city: "a more drunken and depraved set, I am sure, can never be found."⁴⁹

Johnny Gringo could not have failed to notice various manifestations of religion in New Mexico even if he had been utterly oblivious to religion at home. Churches were found everywhere—"quaint little buildings," "extraordinary and primitive specimens of architecture," one man said. "At each corner of the façade half a dozen bricks are erected in the form of a tower, and a centre ornament of the same kind supports a wooden cross."⁵⁰ Bells were rung constantly,⁵¹ and fiestas and other public religious observances such as weddings and funeral processions all called attention to New Mexico's church.

Children's funerals seemed both frequent and striking to Johnny Gringo. A child's corpse, as described by Lieutenant Gibson,

is dressed up with a cross upon its breast and is carried (without any coffin) to church on a kind of hand-barrow or platform, generally by little girls, escorted by . . . a fiddle and guitar play-

48. Benjamin L. Wiley, *Journal*, Illinois State Historical Library, Nov. 7, 1847.

49. Christian Kribben to unnamed person (copy), Sep. 26, 1846, J. H. Smith Papers, Vol. XIII; Hastings, Personal account, Jan. 5, 1847. For the views of a European observer see Ruxton, *Adventures*, pp. 175-78, 197, *et passim*.

50. Ruxton, *Adventures*, p. 184.

51. Gregg described the city-wide observance of vespers at Santa Fe in the early 1840's (*Commerce*, p. 180), but absence of comment by Johnny Gringo or others implies that this observance was lost in the period 1846-1849.

ing a lively tune. . . . The whole seems to be more of rejoicing than mourning.

Another man, describing a child's funeral, thought the service at the church very perfunctory. He also followed the little procession to the graveyard:

Here the body was lowered into a pit about eight feet deep, a cloth placed over the face,—it had no coffin,—the women threw in a few handfuls of earth and then retired to the other side of the *camposanto*, where they formed a circle on the ground, drew their *rebozos* over their heads, and sat in solemn silence until the grave was filled up. The man who officiated as sexton pounded in the earth with a large piece of rock, which so excited my horror, that I came away as quickly as I possibly could.⁵²

Weddings were occasionally noticed, as for instance one at Las Vegas in 1848:

the happy pair (of the unshaved and unwashed class) marching through town escorted by rude music and a few dirty men, women, and children, some of whom continued as fast as they could to fire off old-fashioned muskets every few minutes until they reached home.⁵³

Saints' days were attended by both solemn and festive observances. Towns were illuminated by small fires and pine faggots and yard-long tallow candles, placed on walls and around the plazas and carried in procession. Theatrical performances were held in the plazas and guns, fire-balls, sky-rockets and torpedoes were put into play. In Santa Fe on San Juan Day, June 24th, there were races and games, particularly chicken-pulling, in which fast-riding contestants tried to seize a chicken with greased neck, buried (except

52. Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, p. 242. McDermott, ed., *Waugh's Travels*, p. 124. See also: Bieber, ed., *Marching*, pp. 318-19; Abert, *Report*, p. 447; Edwards, *Campaign*, pp. 47-48 (blaming soldier-brought measles for many deaths); and Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 184-85. Gibson noted the funeral of a New Mexico boy, a military cadet at a Chihuahua school, who was attended by an American military escort. Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, pp. 266-67.

53. George R. Gibson, *Journal*, typescript copy lent me by Prof. R. P. Bieber of Washington Univ., May 1, 1848. Original is at Missouri Historical Society. The artist, Waugh, asserted that New Mexican brides never wore white dresses, but used instead various colors. McDermott, ed., *Waugh's Travels*, p. 125n.

head and neck) in the ground—and then they fought over the bird when someone carried it off.⁵⁴

Johnny Gringo sometimes attended mass on Sunday, when he was convenient to a church, but he rarely felt that he understood or profited by it. Private W. H. Richardson was probably typical in this regard, as seen in his laconic reports of services he attended at Abiquiu and Santa Fe. A priest appeared wearing gold lace, he wrote once, and “The music of various instruments now commenced, the priest meanwhile drinking sundry glasses of wine. The people remained on their knees till the music ceased, when all retired.” “The music was prettily performed,” he wrote on the other occasion. “An old man in the meantime turning round before an image, and after he had bowed to the people several times, the music ceased, All was over, and we returned to camp. I felt sick and sad, for the worship did not refresh my spirits.”⁵⁵

Johnny Gringo had constantly in mind, during religious observances, his low opinion of the morality of New Mexican women, and their kneeling devotion seemed a travesty to him. The music sounded identical with that played at *fandangos*. Nor could he forget the gossip he had heard about the priests. Even Captain Turner, who tried to keep his head, noted that the vicar at Santa Fe was “a large, fat licentious looking man,” and “not one woman in the church was supposed to be virtuous.” Puritanical Americans were ready to believe the worst of a people whose greatest day for business and pleasure was Sunday. The invaders ordered all places of business closed on Sundays, beginning October 4, 1846,⁵⁶ but the order didn't stick. The weight of evidence is overwhelming that some priests in New Mexico gambled, but most Ameri-

54. Emory, *Notes*, pp. 71-72; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, pp. 233-34; Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 165; McDermott, ed., *Waugh's Travels*, pp. 125-27; George Wilkins Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition, Comprising a Description of a Tour through Texas . . .* (New York, 1844), I, pp. 337-39; letter dated Socorro, N. M., July 8, 1849, in *Arkansas State Democrat*, Oct. 5, 1849, cited in Bieber, ed., *Southern Trails*, p. 315. For a unique soldier description of *penitentes* scourging themselves during Lent (in 1852), see Bennett, *Forts and Forays*, p. 37.

55. Richardson, *Journal*, pp. 46, 36. See also: Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, pp. 137-38; Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, pp. 218, 227, 241; Abert, *Report*, pp. 454-55; and Emory, *Notes*, p. 69.

56. Turner, *Diary*, pp. 19-21. Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, pp. 246-47.

can statements on the subject were unreasonably extreme.⁵⁷ Sergeant F. S. Edwards, who had little use for priests, still did write, referring to gambling at cards, "It is said that the priests also indulge at it, but I never saw one playing."⁵⁸

Johnny Gringo condemned the priests in strong terms for failing to ameliorate the illiteracy and extreme ignorance of the people.⁵⁹ Education was the church's responsibility. But yet, Lieutenant Abert, a careful reporter, could write:

I have been much surprised by the many men and children of the lower class that I have met with who both read and write; in fact, all that we questioned seemed to be educated, thus far, but they have no books; I only recollect to have seen a Roman Catholic catechism at Padillas. Many of the sons of the ricos are well educated; we saw several who had been at Union College, St. Louis. They speak French and English, and understand their own language grammatically.⁶⁰

Perhaps the last word should be reserved for a Mexican resident of New Mexico. He wrote in 1832. Conditions had apparently improved somewhat by the late 1840's, but his testimony is still relevant:

At present the tithe is used only to enrich three or four private persons, without any spiritual benefit to New Mexico or temporal profit to the republic. . . . Christian piety revolts on seeing the abuses committed in New Mexico with regard to the care of souls. Charity demands that a veil be thrown over many things which would, if they were narrated, create a scandal.⁶¹

But Johnny Gringo was generally much more preoccupied with amusements than with religion, and the leading form of amusement in New Mexico was the *fandango*—here he met the *señoritas*, and he needed no formal introduction to enjoy himself with them. Johnny did not realize it at first, but *fandangos* were very often undertaken for the profit of the host

57. *E. g.*, Gilmer to Welcker, n. d. (fragment), Lenoir Family Papers, No. 2; Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, p. 289; and Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 183-84.

58. Edwards, *Campaign*, pp. 59-62.

59. *E. g.*, McDermott, ed., *Waugh's Travels*, p. 123; and Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 140-41.

60. Abert, *Report*, p. 482.

61. Antonio Barreiro in Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, p. 55.

and his associates. Various eatables and drinkables were always offered for sale, and Johnny was expected to "treat" his partners. Gambling was usually carried on, also. In Santa Fe and presumably elsewhere in New Mexico, *fandangos* came more and more to be sponsored by the commercial houses of lodging and gambling, and sometimes by groups of the soldiers themselves. *Fandangos* were always informal, come-one-come-all affairs; an invitational, dress-up, society affair would be called a *baile*.

The *señoritas* were the big attraction. "The volunteers cut a wide row among the spanish [*i.e.*, Mexican] girls," a Missourian wrote to his brother, continuing, "the most of them are dark and homely but I have seen some as pretty girls here as in any country."⁶² Their grace in dancing was universally admired, even by the critical artist, Alfred Waugh, who also considered the *fandango* an admirably democratic institution where persons of high and low stations mingled with entire ease.⁶³ The dance most noted was the *cuña*: the "Coonie" was "perfectly *sui generis*," said the *Santa Fé Republican*, "Beginning like a Country Dance it changes to an Indian swing, and winds up like a waltz, being . . . partly of Indian origin."⁶⁴ Lieutenant Emory called other figures the "Bolero" and the "Italiana," and likened the latter and the *cuña* to the waltz, the former to a "negro jig." Close body contact was common, and repugnant to some.⁶⁵ The invaders attempted to introduce "cotillions" and other figures with which they were more familiar, but without notable success. The music was supplied chiefly by violins and guitars—which seemed to play the same tunes at church and in funeral and wedding processions—supported by drums, triangles, "pieces of wood" and voices, singly and in chorus. The human voice was important. A forty-niner at a fandango at Galisteo re-

62. T. J. Edwards to brother, Joseph, Sep. 15, 1846, Mexican War Envelope, "The beauty of Mexican ladies is not generally great, but in some cases is extraordinary fine and brilliant," wrote another soldier. Cpl. M. L. Baker to sister, Sep. 13, 1846, Mexican War Envelope.

63. McDermott, ed., *Waugh's Travels*, p. 128; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 216. The wives of *ricos*, however, were known to use footstools in the form of a serving-man crouched on elbows and knees! Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 123.

64. *Santa Fé Republican*, Oct. 2, 1847; Edwards, *Campaign*, p. 64; Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 145.

65. Emory, *Notes*, p. 74. Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 216.

ported "some of the sets accompanied by a beautiful chant." At Manzano, Lieutenant Abert heard singers composing impromptu songs which sometimes evoked much laughter.⁶⁶

The "*vicio inocente*" of smoking, as Gregg termed it, was particularly in evidence at the *fandangos*, for the *señoritas* smoked even while dancing. Captain Turner noted cryptically, "Everybody smoking, women & men. Cloud of smoke all the time, Genl. [Kearny] go to bed sick in consequence. . . ." The habit attracted favorable attention from some of the invaders, however. "It certainly does enhance the charms of the Mexican *señoritas*," wrote Lewis Garrard, adding that they, "with neatly rolled up shucks between coral lips perpetrate winning smiles. . . ." A soldier described the corn shucks, cut into pieces about three inches by one inch, and other paraphernalia:

When neatly tied in bundles, these skins [shucks] are called *hojas*. Every Mexican, male or female, carries, at the girdle, a pouch which contains a bundle of *hojas* and a small bottle of powdered tobacco . . . and flint, steel and tinder. As tobacco is very scarce with them, they are not over free to offer a cigarito; but when they do, they always first kindle it with the assistance of the mouth. This, from their general use of garlic, does not improve the flavor of the cigarito. . . . I did not observe a single Mexican make any other use of tobacco.⁶⁷

New Mexicans did not, in other words, dip snuff. Gregg added further, to their credit, that they were "but little addicted to inebriety and its attendant dissipations," although he explained this in part by pointing to the extreme poverty of the lower classes.⁶⁸

The universality of the cigarito [wrote Sergeant F. S. Edwards] is only equaled by that of their eternal game of monte, played with cards. The suits whereof are clubs, swords, suns,

66. See especially: Hannum, ed., *Panchoast*, p. 217; Abert, *Report*, pp. 448, 486; Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 165; Elliott, *Notes*, pp. 249-250; C. Kribben letter in *Taglicher Anzeiger des Westens*, Sep. 26, 1846, cited in Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, pp. 216n-217n; Bieber, ed., *Marching*, pp. 321-22; *Santa Fé Republican*, Oct. 16, Dec. 1 and 25, 1847; Gregg, *Commerce*, p. 170; and Bennett, *Forts and Forays*, p. 16.

67. Gregg, *Commerce*, p. 170. Turner, *Diary*, p. 20. Garrard, *Wah-to-yah*, p. 238. Edwards, *Campaign*, pp. 58-59. See also: Garrard, *Wah-to-yah*, p. 237; and Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 170-71.

68. Gregg, *Commerce*, p. 171.

and cups, all delineated in their own proper colors and figures. Each suit numbers ten cards, namely, (like the American,) from ace to seven, and then knave, horse standing in the place of queen, and king. The mysteries of the game can only be learnt by losing at it.

It is apparent from a wealth of reports that there was a lot of "losing at it" at Santa Fe and in other parts of New Mexico, by Johnny Gringo as well as by the New Mexicans. Gambling was a vice which the invaders supported generously. A forty-niner unknowingly echoed remarks of previous years when he wrote, "Santa Fe takes the lead of all places I ever was in for gambling. It is filled with sporting characters, and even the women gamble. On one of the streets last evening I noticed in front of one of the houses a transparency with the names of the games that were carried on within."⁶⁹

The fullest description of a Santa Fe gambling house of this period, and it is in fact unduly elaborated, is by George Brewerton, dated midsummer 1848. After passing through a bar equipped with billiard tables and cut-glass decanters, he entered an even more foul-smelling room, long and narrow, its earthen floor saturated with tobacco juice. This was the main gambling den of Santa Fe. There were six tables, three each along opposite walls, with dealers seated back-to-wall and *pesos*, *onzas* (gold pieces), dollars, knives and pistols much in evidence. The far end of the room held a roulette table. There were women, a child and a priest present in the crowd. The most interesting person was a woman, the famed Doña Tules, alleged gambling queen of New Mexico. She was "richly but tastelessly dressed," in Brewerton's opinion, with her fingers "literally covered with rings, while her neck was adorned with three heavy chains of gold, to the longest of which was attached a massive crucifix of the same precious material."⁷⁰

69. Edwards, *Campaign*, p. 59. "A member of the Little Rock Company" in *Arkansas State Democrat*, Aug. 31, 1849, cited in Bieber, ed., *Southern Trails*, p. 309.

70. Brewerton, *Overland*, pp. 185-191. See also: Gilmer to Welcker, Nov. 6, 1846, Lenoir Family Papers, No. 2; Sgt. William C. Kennerly, "Recollections of Our War with Mexico," typescript, Mexican War Envelope, p. 8; McDermott, ed., *Waugh's Travels*, p. 121; Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 168-69; and Kendall, *Narrative*, I, p. 319n. For a not entirely convincing defense of Doña Tules, see Fray Angélico Chávez, "Doña Tules, Her Fame and Her Funeral," *El Palacio*, 57: 227-234.

Dancing, gambling, smoking and drinking, be they vices or diversions, were all involved in processes that brought Anglo-American males and New Mexican females together. The natural laws of sex were in full operation. Charles E. Pancoast, a forty-niner from New Jersey, met one of the results at a Galisteo *fandango*, a "pretty, bright eyed, innocent-looking Spanish [*i. e.*, Mexican] Girl" with a two-year-old daughter whose father, a former soldier, had returned to the east six months earlier, to bring back dresses and jewelry for his woman and child. Pancoast thought that she would never see her soldier again. On a more earthy level, a Missouri volunteer wrote that "the most choice women are those that are married who fear their husbands as they do death which prevents them from becoming so common[.] there is nothing like chastity in any spanish woman. . . ." ⁷¹

It was truly shocking to her modesty, Susan Magoffin wrote as she entered New Mexico, and she blushed behind her veil, to observe how the women of New Mexico dressed—and how their children ran about undressed. The women had bare arms and necks and "perhaps their bosoms," too, which was bad enough. But in addition, when fording a creek, "regardless of those about them, they pull their dresses . . . up above their knees and paddle through the water like ducks." The skirts barely concealed the calves of their legs, to begin with. ⁷² Blushing or not, both Susan Magoffin and Johnny Gringo looked at New Mexican women and often admired what they saw. Flashing black eyes, glossy black hair, small feet and hands, bright teeth. "But what we admired most was the fine forms, the graceful carriage, and the ease and dignity of the fair," said the *Santa Fé Republican*, reporting on a *baile* and speaking boldly of "Busts, which a Phideus might take for a model." ⁷³

New Mexicans were regarded by Johnny Gringo as diminutive in stature, and their color was against them among in-

71. Hannum, ed., *Pancoast*, pp. 217-18. M. B. Edwards to brother, Joseph, Oct. 7, 1846, Mexican War Envelope.

72. "Some of them wear leather shoes from the States, but most have buckskin mockersins, Indian style." Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 95. Many more "leather sandals" or nothing. Bieber, ed., *Marching*, pp. 164-65.

73. *Santa Fé Republican*, Dec. 18, 1847.

vaders who were growing increasingly color-conscious. Indian features and coloration were a mark of degradation. "Those [women] who have much white blood in them are pretty," wrote Sergeant F. S. Edwards, "but these are seldom found among the lower order. . . ." Some influence from the States in the matter of feminine styles was being felt in New Mexico, but not among the "lower order." Among all classes the *rebozo* reigned supreme, the bonnet unknown. With the "lower order," the *rebozo* or shawl, wrapped over head and shoulders throughout the day, indoors and out, at work and leisure, often took the place of the bodice. If a bodice was worn, it was sleeveless and collarless, and a soldier at a *fandango* in 1850 reported that, soon after the music struck up, "those ladies who had waists to their dresses commenced taking them off. 'Twas too warm." The ladies of higher position, "dressed in the Mexican style," who attended a governor's ball at Santa Fe, wore "large sleeves, short waists, ruffled skirts, and no bustles," according to Susan Magoffin.⁷⁴ Such ladies, with fancier *rebozos*, would call them *mantillas* instead—but Johnny Gringo was not always sure of, or even aware of, the difference.

But Johnny was repeatedly made aware of a particularly disgusting custom, among New Mexican women even of prominent position, which was the use of *alegría* on the face. The invader's first reaction was uncertain. "A result of some Aztec custom," one said; to cover the dirt, said another; tattooing, said a third; "an inflammation of the face" and "birthmark," said others.⁷⁵ They were all wrong. *Alegría* was the juice of a special plant, crimson, "not unlike blood," as Gregg said, which was smeared over the face in order to protect the skin from the sun, hence to render it lighter in color when the stain was removed on the occasion of a *fan-*

74. Edwards, *Campaign*, p. 50. Bennett, *Forts and Forays*, p. 15. Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 145. New Mexican women of all classes liked "various showy ornaments, such as hugh [sic] necklaces, countless rings, combs, bows of ribbands, red and other coloured handkerchiefs." *Ibid.*, p. 124. Gregg reported that some jewelry of New Mexican manufacture was "admirably executed," and was "generally preferred" over the large quantities of cheap imported jewelry. *Commerce*, pp. 152-53.

75. Michael McEnnis, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, July 2, 1905, cited in Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 626; Ruxton, *Adventures*, p. 184; Richardson, *Journal*, p. 35; Brewerton, *Overland*, p. 197; and Kendall, *Narrative*, I, pp. 316-17.

dango.⁷⁶ The rich purple juice of the poke-berry (*Phytolacca*) was also used, the juice of "a kind of cornstalk which is very red," and grease.⁷⁷ Whitish applications for the same purpose were also common, consisting of clay, starch or flour.⁷⁸

The use of *alegría* and other substances did nothing to improve the generally bad reputation that the people of New Mexico gained in the matter of cleanliness. The "lower orders" would "quite coolly pick off vermin in the presence of visitors," one man remembered. Gibson was not surprised to find men, women and children sleeping in the street in front of their homes in Santa Fe, early one September, presumably because of infested homes.⁷⁹ Looking for something on which to compliment New Mexicans, however, Johnny Gringo often noted that they were universally polite and ceremonious—or even excessively so. Many men were taken aback by the *abrazo* or close embrace noted above, customary when friends met or parted, regardless of sex.

New Mexican men found it easier than their ladies to adopt American styles of clothing. On the other hand, men were often observed wearing only the breech-clout or, as Colonel Philip St. George Cooke expressed it, "center clothing."⁸⁰ But the majority wore less or more than these two extremes, as indicated by the following description:

The commonest class are generally dressed in cheap dyed goat-skin pantaloons, made of two different colors, which are dressed like our buckskins and are as soft; a coarse shirt, and a blanket of a quality according to the circumstances of the wearer; a palm-leaf hat generally completes the dress. Shoes are a luxury worn by those who can afford them, being replaced by those who cannot, with a piece of raw bullock's hide, tied on the sole of the foot.

Men who were more affluent, this description continues, wore cloth trousers with buttons, never fastened, along the out-

76. Gregg said the custom belonged to "the belles of the ranchos and villages." *Commerce*, pp. 153-54. Susan Magoffin believed the application was to bleach, not merely to protect from the sun. Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 102.

77. Abert, *Report*, pp. 445, 508; Jacob S. Robinson, *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition under Colonel Doniphan*, Carl L. Cannon, ed., (Princeton, 1932, reprinted from 1848 edition), p. 37; and Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 150.

78. Gregg, *Commerce*, p. 154; Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 102.

79. Elliott, *Notes*, p. 242; Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, p. 231.

80. Tyler, *Concise History*, p. 178.

side of each trouser-leg. A better key to the economic status of the wearer than trousers, however, was the quality of his *poncho*. *Ponchos* varied in value from one dollar to as much as two hundred dollars, and those of good quality were coveted by Johnny Gringo for his own use and for the folks at home.⁸¹ The picturesque, gaudily-embroidered costumes that found their way into pictures were, as a matter of fact, very rarely seen in New Mexico.⁸² All in all, Johnny Gringo tended to look with much greater appreciation and favor on the women of New Mexico than on the men, particularly with regard to their demeanor, hospitality and, as it seemed, intelligence.⁸³

Johnny Gringo's problem of communication with the *señoritas* was a difficult one, but far from being insuperable. Some men had a natural facility for speaking Spanish, and apparently Sergeant W. C. Kennerly was one of these. He recalled later that he had often served as an interpreter for his comrades, and he had taken roguish pleasure in bestowing unauthorized compliments on the *señoritas*. The published documents bearing on this period are usually dressed-up with regard to the spelling of New Mexico place-names, but in manuscripts one finds highly original orthography. Thus the "b'hoys" wrote such things are "purbelow" for pueblo, "Berlin" for Belen, "oadent" for *aguardiente*, "Erslettak" for Isleta and, perhaps the prize, one man wrote "Souckeneorus" instead of Socorro. It would certainly be highly interesting to see the "vocabulary of Spanish words" that some volunteers at Abiquiu got up for their own amusement in November 1846.⁸⁴

The Spanish language was important also as the chief medium of communication between the Americans and the Indians of New Mexico, and Johnny Gringo was very interested in these people. It was curious that, while he denounced the mixing of Spanish and Indian blood, and the New Mexicans thereby produced, Johnny had much praise for the

81. Edwards, *Campaign*, pp. 50-51.

82. Gregg, *Commerce*, pp. 149-151.

83. Cf. Richardson, *Journal*, p. 101.

84. Kennerly, *Recollections*, p. 8; James Pace, *Diary*, typescript, Brigham Young University Library, pp. 24, 25, 48, 68; Wiley, *Journal*, Nov. 9-16, 1847; and Richardson, *Journal*, p. 46.

pueblo Indians of New Mexico: "the most industrious part of the population," said one invader; "a better race than the Mexicans," another; "the most intelligent [*sic*] . . . and the most noble in appearance," a third.⁸⁵

One of the most-described incidents of this period involving Indians came soon after the arrival of the Army of the West in Santa Fe, when General Kearny made a quick trip down the Río Grande, taking a large part of his force with him in a show of strength. As they approached Santo Domingo the invaders were, in their turn, given an Indian show of strength, when a dashing group of horsemen made a sham charge—"one of the most thrilling exhibitions we witnessed," stated one man. Sergeant F. S. Edwards was interested in the Santo Domingans' "showy costumes," and described one in particular:

It was a coat, or rather shirt of bright blue and red cloth, half of each color; the division running down the chest and back—the coat, as well as the buckskin leggins, being trimmed with blue and white beads very handsomely. Although they evidently liked to be noticed, yet they did not move a muscle of their painted faces, as we handled their dresses.⁸⁶

Some invaders were also tremendously impressed by two scalp or war dances which they witnessed in the fall of 1846, the one at Laguna pueblo and the other by Utes near Abiquiu. The former lasted all night and was punctuated by "firing at the [four Navajo] scalps that [were] fastened to the top of a long pole held up by an old squaw." It was, in short, "worth all the sights at the Theatres and shows in St. Louis."⁸⁷

The multistoried Pueblo de Taos was of course an object of much attention by the Americans who visited that part of New Mexico—relatively few of the soldiers. Here and

85. Edwards, *Campaign*, p. 63; Bieber, ed., *Marching*, p. 323; Bliss, "Journal," 75. Gregg says: "They are, in short, a remarkably sober and industrious race, conspicuous for morality and honesty, and very little given to quarrelling or dissipation, except when they have had much familiar intercourse with the Hispano-Mexican population." *Commerce*, p. 187. See also Kendall, *Narrative*, I, pp. 375, 378-79.

86. Turner, *Diary*, p. 22. Edwards, *Campaign*, p. 61. See also his description of good-humored, picturesque pueblo women whom he observed several days later. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

87. M. B. Edwards to brother, Joseph, Oct. 7, 1846, Mexican War Envelope. See also Robinson, *Journal*, pp. 28-29; and Bieber, ed., *Marching*, pp. 183-84. On the Ute dance: Richardson, *Journal*, p. 39.

elsewhere they observed the unorthodox Indian mode of entry into their dwellings, via a ladder through the roof. They found that instead of making *tortillas* the pueblo women baked bread in thin, wafer-like sheets that were folded up and looked "like brown wrapping-paper."⁸⁸ This breadstuff was quite acceptable to Johnny Gringo, and some preferred it over the *tortilla*.

Bread, beef and beans; beef, beans and bread; beans, bread and beef—this was their "bill of fare" for three days of a typical week, wrote Private Richardson of his detachment at Abiquiu, "and so on to the end of the week." Even if quantities had been ample, which they were not, it is evident that in cases such as this Johnny Gringo suffered severely for lack of variety in his diet, and the fact is that such monotony was more the rule than the exception. Scurvy flourished among the soldiers in New Mexico, especially in the first year of the war, and no less in the capital than elsewhere. "Santa Fé is completely eaten out," complained Lieutenant Gibson in October 1846—"scarcely a red pepper is to be found in [the] market."⁸⁹

In addition to the often severe shortages of foods of all types, Johnny Gringo was confronted with other difficulties. He went unpaid for long periods of time, and then when the paymaster did arrive perhaps there wasn't money enough left for the privates, after paying the officers.⁹⁰ Thus the soldiers fell back on barter to supply their needs, a system in which brass buttons were a prime commodity, also pins, needles and bits of wire. Buttons and pins were replaced on the invaders' clothing by twigs and thorns.

When such conditions as these are taken into account, along with the extremely slack state of discipline or utter lack of it in some volunteer units, and also the oft-demonstrated

88. Bieber, ed., *Marching*, pp. 205-06.

89. Richardson, *Journal*, p. 41. Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, p. 252.

90. As in October 1846: Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, p. 245. Even the officers had special problems, for they found New Mexicans very reluctant to accept gold coins, much preferring silver. Abert, *Report*, p. 476. The economy of New Mexico was still so primitive that many of the people were probably not thoroughly accustomed to the use of money in everyday transactions. ". . . It was not until 1798 that money was seen first by the majority of the settlers. In compliance with government orders, it was necessary to introduce it in small amounts." Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, p. 97n.

thieving tendency of campaigning soldiers even in their own homelands and from each other, it will produce no surprise to remark that New Mexicans suffered grievously from Johnny Gringo's foraging or "pressing."⁹¹ Very often, the army bought supplies in a normal manner; often, the men having invaded a cornfield or slaughtered a sheep without authority, the army would pay a fair market price to the New Mexican owner; often, if the owner refused to sell, the needed articles were taken at a price determined by the military. In such instances of "pressing," the owner's reason for refusing to sell was usually considered to be opposition to United States authority, and the price-fixing officer could not often be accused of magnanimity toward such persons.⁹² Likewise, so-called requisitions were given to New Mexicans under circumstances which rendered it very unlikely that they would be presented for redemption, or honored if presented.

Finally, of course, were such activities as those described in a letter from Albuquerque, headed "1st Sunday in Decr [1847]—maybe you know the date—I dont":

Cochinos [hogs] are no where, the men issue on them every night. Gallinas [hens] are in bad luck. In fact the march from Santa Fe thus far, has been a perfect marauding expedition—at P San Dias [Sandía Pueblo], they caved in a man's face, ravished his wife & family appropriated some 5 blankets to themselves, Hogs & Chickens Tambien⁹³

Thieves, rapists and their ilk were frequently brought under military justice, and received fines, imprisonment and other forms of punishment, including drumming-out of the service. But the civil authorities were entirely ineffective in any affair involving a soldier, and were liable to be entirely disregarded by the military in any matter whatsoever.⁹⁴

91. Statements to the contrary notwithstanding, *e. g.*, Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, pp. 206, 254; Elliott, *Notes*, p. 233. Even so puritanical a man as Richardson, engaged in a "pressing" operation, wrote, "We were not disturbed in conscience in the least, being fully covered by the axiom, 'necessity knows no law.'" Richardson, *Journal*, p. 55.

92. The refusal to sell was often based on the New Mexican's concern over the feeding of his own family.

93. James V. A. Shields to Sgt. John V. Masten, [Dec. 5, 1847], Mexican War Envelope, Missouri Historical Society.

94. *E. g.*, "Grand Jury Report" in *Santa Fé Republican*, Oct. 30, 1847.

New Mexicans dealt with their persecutors in the ages-old style of guerrilla warfare. Numerous graves near Fort Marcy were filled by Americans "found dead beaten to death with rocks no one knows by whom." Petty measures of retaliation were most common, however, as a Mormon may have reflected when someone stole his pair of new shoes before he could even put them on.⁹⁵

Such things, of course, only increased the distrust and contempt for New Mexicans with which Johnny Gringo was already only too well-equipped when he came to New Mexico. Perhaps the greatest satisfaction one can obtain, upon looking back at this period of tribulation in New Mexico's history, is the reflection that we have come a long, long distance since that time, in every way.

95. Kribben to unnamed person, Oct. 20, 1846, Mexican War Envelope, Missouri Historical Society (*ibid.*, copy in J. H. Smith Papers, Vol. 13); Henry W. Bigler, *Diary*, p. 40, typescript copy in Brigham Young University Library.

(See Notes and Documents for figures on population compiled by Professor Bloom. Ed.)

Notes and Documents

William Gordon was born in Ohio in 1801. As a boy of twenty he left for the Rockies where he was employed by the Hudson Bay Company. Afterward he trapped independently, following the furs and hides—buffalo, beaver, etc.—on down the Continental Divide until he reached Taos (then Old Mexico) in 1825. He married a Spanish girl by the name of Lucerro, who my father said was Castilian.

My grandmother Coombs, daughter of the Gordon whom Lucerro married, was a very handsome woman. I remember her very well—soft spoken, with great big brown eyes. She never had a white hair and was vain as a peacock; always looked as if she just came out of a handbox.

All the Gordon children, including my grandmother Coombs, were born in Taos. Gordon trapped out of Taos along with many other prominent Rocky Mountain trappers—Kit Carson and others. In 1838 he, with two or three Indian boys, left Taos and came west with the idea of locating the various Spanish and American families then residing in Taos who wished to move west. I learned a great deal of the trip West from my uncle Joe Gordon, my grandmother's brother, with whom I used to spend a great deal of time. There were no covered wagons in those days on the Santa Fe Trail.

Gordon came to California to San Diego. He looked it over and did not like it. He back-tracked to the Colorado River where he met the rest of the caravan from Taos consisting of Vacca, Pina, Alexander, and others. Alexander married one of the Lucerro girls so that both the Gordon and Alexander families on one side at least were Spanish or Mexican, and citizens of Mexico, I assume. I state this fact for the reason that under Mexican law a foreigner could not take up real property in any of the Mexican provinces, or states, such as California, unless one of the spouses was a citizen of Mexico. The caravan of Alexander-Gordon-Pina-Vacca, et al., arrived in Napa in the Fall of 1840. I think the Indians called it Nappa, meaning fish river.

Yountville was a large stockade of Indians. Sometime during 1840, Sutter learned that Gordon was in Napa and that he was a good all-around mechanic. How he knew this fact the family never learned so far as I can find out. Anyway, at Sutter's request Gordon went to the Fort and made some grist wheels and some other machinery by which Sutter ground out his cornmeal, etc. In payment for the work Gordon received 25 cows, a bull, and a boy who was half Indian. Sutter located Gordon on Cache Creek in Yolo County which then was fertile trapping ground. You will notice in the two accounts, which are enclosed dated 1844 and 1845 respectively, were while Gordon was on Cache Creek. Through the Spanish part of the family Gordon was smart enough to secure a large grant which I think was the first one in what now is Yolo County.

My grandfather Coombs came from a Yankee family on Cape Cod, I believe the town was called Barnstable. He came west as far as Iowa with his parents, brothers and sisters, and then in 1844 he enlisted with an immigrant outfit as the game boy, meaning one who hunted ahead of the caravan for food. They came west over the Oregon Trail as far as Fort Laramie, Wyoming, and then took the northern route to Portland, Oregon. Coombs left the caravan at Portland, and with others came south down through southern Oregon into the Sacramento Valley to the Gordon Ranch. He then was either eighteen or nineteen years old.

Coombs immediately fell in love with Isabel Gordon, and the two youngsters rode horseback to Sutter's Fort, a distance I would judge of at least thirty miles, and were married by Sutter in 1844. They then back tracked to the Gordon Ranch arriving there about midnight where they had a wedding supper.

In 1846 Coombs and Gordon left Cache Creek and came to Napa County. They purchased all of what is now the southwest portion of Napa County, a portion of Capell, Wooden and all of Gordon Valleys. Senator Frank Gordon was born and reared on this grant, and passed away a couple of years ago at the age of eighty-six.

My grandfather Coombs was a member of the Legislature in 1944-1945, and he was followed by my father, and he by myself. So far as I know, I am the only member of the Legislature representing three generations in the same family.

10/17/58

NATHAN F. COOMBS

NOTE ON THE POPULATION OF NEW MEXICO, 1846-1849

The total population of New Mexico in this period, including Indians, was probably sixty to seventy thousand. Earlier estimates are: 28,558 in 1800; 40,000 (1803); 28,778 (1805); 34,205 (1810); 40,000-50,000 (1811); 35,840 (1819); 38,359 (1820); 40,000 (1822); 42,000 (1822); 43,433 (1827); 43,439 (1829); 50,000 (1831); 41,458 (1832); 57,176 (1833); 52,360 (1833); 57,026 (1839); 55,403 (1840); not more than 70,000 (1843); 99,204 (1844); and 70,000 (1846). The Seventh United States Census, in 1850, showed 61,547 plus [perhaps 10,000] Indians.¹

Santa Fé had a population of five thousand or less, apparently. Some estimates: 5000 (1804); 5759 (1827); 5275 (1832); 3000-6000 (1843); and 6000, 3000, 2000-4000, and 4000-5000 (1846-47).²

"Taos" commonly referred to the community also known as Don Fernando (de Taos) or Fernandez (San Fernandez de Taos). Nearby

1. Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, pp. 84, 87-89; Gregg, *Commerce*, p. 106; Bloom, "New Mexico," I, 28-30; and Hubert H. Bancroft, *Works*, Vol. XVII, *Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), pp. 300, 342, and citations on pp. 300n-301n, 342n-343n.

2. Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, pp. 27, 88, 84; Gregg, *Commerce*, p. 103; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 214; Ruxton, *Adventures*, p. 189; Emory, *Notes*, p. 60; and Bliss, "Journal," p. 75. See also Note 8, above.

were (are) Ranchos de Taos and the Pueblo of Taos, as well as scattered habitations in the Valley of Taos. Estimates available for this period vary widely: 3606 (Taos plus Picurís pueblo, 1827); 10,000 (entire valley, 1842); 6000-7000 (Taos plus Pueblo of Taos, 1846); 1500 (Taos and Ranchos de Taos, 1846); and 9000 (Taos and Pueblo of Taos, 1851).³

Estimates of the population of Albuquerque are: 2547 (1827); 800 (1846); "perhaps 2000" (1847); and "nearly as large as Santa Fe" (1851).⁴

Northern New Mexico towns: Embudo and Cañada, 300-400 each; Los Luceros, "of little importance."⁵

East of Santa Fe were: Las Vegas, estimated at 300 in 1846 and again in 1847;⁶ San Miguel, "larger"⁷ and 500;⁸ Anton Chico, earlier estimated at 200-300; and much earlier, in 1827, Vado and Pecos together had 2893.⁹

Below Santa Fe were Placeres with 200 (?), and Tuerto with 250 but reportedly much larger "in season"—winter, when mining was most actively carried on.¹⁰ Galisteo had 600 in 1851; farther south, east of the Manzano Mountains, Torreon had twenty houses but Manzano was larger in 1846.¹¹

Estimates were more numerous for communities down the Río Grande: Algodones, 1000, was "one of the handsomest towns in New Mexico"; Bernalillo, 500, had the "best-arranged vineyards in the whole department, and . . . houses [that] show a greater degree of wealth and comfort"; Sandía, 300; Peralta, 300; Valencia, "a large and handsome town"; Tomé, 800; and Socorro, 2000, "one of the largest towns we have yet seen, except Santa Fe."¹² At the close of this period a

3. Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, p. 88; Sage, *Scenes*, p. 173; Conard, *Wootton*, pp. 155-56; Abert, *Report* (by Lts. Peck and Warner), pp. 456-57; and Bennett, *Forts and Forays*, p. 22.

4. Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, p. 88; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 231; Wiley, *Journal*, Nov. 6, 1847; and Bennett, *Forts and Forays*, p. 27. Kendall praised the high degree of cultivation in the Albuquerque area and stated it was "the largest place in the province of New Mexico," but he did not visit Santa Fé or Taos. *Narrative*, I, pp. 380, 382.

5. Abert, *Report* (by Peck and Warner), pp. 458-460. In 1827 Abiquiu had an estimated 3557 and San Juan 2915. Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, p. 88. In 1852 a soldier reported: Abiquiu, 1500, and Ojo Caliente, 1000. Bennett, *Forts and Forays*, p. 42.

6. Bieber, ed., *Marching*, p. 153; Wiley, *Journal*, Sep. 7, 1847.

7. Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, p. 98; Bieber, ed., *Marching*, p. 156.

8. "A member of the Little Rock company," in *Arkansas State Democrat*, Aug. 31, 1849, cited in Bieber, ed., *Southern Trails*, p. 309. Kendall estimated San Miguel to have 200-300 able-bodied men in 1841. *Narrative*, I, p. 315.

9. Kendall, *Narrative*, I, p. 273; Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, p. 88.

10. Abert, *Report*, pp. 449, 451-52.

11. Bennett, *Forts and Forays*, p. 32; Abert, *Report*, pp. 484-85.

12. Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 229; *ibid.*, p. 230; *ibid.*; *ibid.*, p. 238; Edwards, *Campaign*, p. 62; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 234; and Abert, *Report*, p. 497.

forty-niner estimated Socorro at 500 and called it "a dirty, filthy place," while another found Joya to have "about a dozen Houses and a Church" and Joyeta was "much larger."¹³

To the west, two reports (or one repeated) assessed Laguna at 2000, but a more experienced observer's estimate was 700, with Moquino at 350.¹⁴

13. Letter of Feb. 6, 1850, in *Arkansas State Gazette and Democrat*, Apr. 26, 1850, cited in Bieber, ed., *Southern Trails*, p. 316; Hannum, ed., *Panchoast*, p. 223. A soldier in 1852 estimated Joya at 500. Bennett, *Forts and Forays*, p. 37. 1827 estimates gave Sandía plus San Felipe, 1328; Alameda, 1310; Cochiti plus Santo Domingo, 2062; Jémez plus Zía plus Santa Ana, 1357; Isleta, 1407; Tomé, 2043; Belen plus Sabinal, 1768; and Socorro, 1383. Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, p. 88.

14. Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 285; Robinson, *Journal*, p. 29; Abert, *Report*, p. 469; *ibid.*, p. 468. In 1851 Laguna was estimated at 850 and Cubero at 500. Bennett, *Forts and Forays*, pp. 28, 29. In 1827 Laguna plus Acoma had 1824 residents; and Zufi, 1172. Carroll and Haggard, trans., *New Mexico Chronicles*, p. 88.

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|------------|---------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Leighton | Colf Union | 8 Mar 90 | | Hampton W. Leighton | 21 Mar 94 | | Mail to Folsom |
| Lemitar | Soc | 10 Jan 66 | | Phillip Banguignon | 22 Apr 72 | | |
| | | 10 Feb 73 | | Phillip Banguignon | 24 Oct 77 | | |
| | | 6 Jan 80 | | Jacinto Sanchez | 1 June 80 | | |
| | | 26 Feb 83 | | Phillip Banguignon | 5 Feb 86 | | Mail to Socorro |
| | | 28 June 93 | | Clemente Castillo | | | |
| Leon | Mora Union | 27 Aug 92 | Vaur | Pedro L. Pinard | | | |
| | | 26 May 98 | | Milton Harrison | 12 Jan 95 | | Mail to Baca |
| Leopold | Grant | 14 Nov 04 | | George M. Sublett | 11 Sept 11 (1914) | | Mail to Bucyeros |
| Lesperance | S. M. | 3 Apr 90 | | Pedro Lesperance | 20 Mar 96 | Geronimo | |
| Levy | Mora | 3 July 08 | | Hervey J. Morton | | | |
| Lewis | Quay Curry | 6 May 07 | | John H. Lewis | 30 Sept 10 | | Mail to Jonesville |
| Lewiston | Roos | 3 June 07 | | Mrs. Nettie Lewis | 14 Oct 11 | | Mail to Elida |
| Leyba | S. M. | 13 Aug 08 | | Francisco S. Leyba | | | |
| Liberty | S. J. | 14 Feb 07 | | Albert F. Koehler | (1920) | | Formerly Jewett |
| Liberty | S. M. | 29 Nov 80 | | William Gillerman | 30 Apr 02 | | |
| Limitar | (See Lemitar) | | | | | | |
| Lincaln | Line | 19 Sept 73 | | John R. Bolton | | | |
| Liston | Chav | 22 June 07 | | Henry G. Liston | (1914) | | |
| Lisano | Taos | 15 July 98 | | Acorcino Martinez | | | |
| Lobo | Taos | 29 Apr 05 | Agua de Lobo | Ada C. Cutter | 15 Dec 11 | | Mail to Arroyo Seco |
| Lockney | Quay | 4 Sept 09 | Ahmego | William H. Rineshine | | | |
| Logan | Union | 31 Aug 01 | | John Burns | | | |
| | Quay | | | | | | |
| Loma Parda | Mora | 18 June 72 | | Samuel J. Seaman | 15 Dec 00 | | Mail to Watrous |
| Lone Pine | Soc | 14 Feb 82 | | Isham R. Holt | 2 Jan 83 (1920) | | Mail to Gila |
| Longs | Roos | 6 Mar 07 | | Thomas H. Long | | | |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------|-------|------------|-------------------------|--|------------|------------------------|
| Lookout | Linc | 13 Nov 83 | Charles C. Markham | | | |
| | Eddy | | | | 25 Apr 92 | Malaga |
| Looney | Quay | 7 Jan 08 | Henry G. Looney | | (1913) | Woodrow |
| Lopezville | S. M. | 20 June 81 | Felipe Delgado y Lucero | | 20 Nov 86 | Mail to Cabra Spring |
| Lordsburg | Grant | 17 Mar 81 | Mrs. M. J. Ounly | | | |
| Los Alamos | S. M. | 28 Mar 78 | Andres Sena | | (1914) | |
| Los Luceros | R. A. | 6 Nov 55 | James Barry | | 6 Jan 68 | |
| | | 14 Feb 68 | Lewis Clarke | | 19 Mar 77 | Plaza del Alcalde |
| Los Lunas | Val | 6 Nov 55 | Moses Sachs | | 2 Nov 57 | |
| | | 20 Nov 65 | E. D. Franz | | | |
| Los Ojitos | S. M. | 22 May 78 | Pablo Reaubien | | 14 Nov 81 | |
| Los Pinos | Val | 6 Feb 65 | William Brewtlinger | | 7 Mar 66 | |
| Los Tanos | Guad | 21 Nov 07 | Constance de Boisserie | | | |
| Louis | Mora | 1 June 92 | Louis R. Garcia | | | |
| | Union | | | | | |
| Loving | Eddy | 1 June 08 | Robert E. Tucker | | 16 Apr 96 | Mail to Clapham |
| Lovington | Eddy | 12 Sept 08 | James B. Love | | | |
| Lower Penasco | Linc | 11 Nov 84 | | | | |
| | Chav | | | | | |
| Loyd | Quay | 25 Aug 06 | John E. Erwin | | (1914) | |
| Lucas | Mora | 10 Nov 08 | Anna Lucas | | 30 June 11 | Mail to Roy |
| Lucero | Mora | 11 June 86 | John Burch | | | |
| Lucia | Torr | 3 Oct 08 | Lucy A. Pierce | | (1914) | Lucy |
| Lucille | Quay | 5 Sept 11 | Elijah A. Mauzy | | | |
| Lumberton | R. A. | 5 Feb 94 | George W. Kutz | | 15 July 10 | Mail to Abiqui |
| Lumbre | R. A. | 18 Mar 07 | Flyvio D. Trujillo | | | |
| Luna | Soc | 21 Jan 86 | James W. Watson | | 19 Feb 88 | Mail to Socorro |
| Luna | Val | 5 June 82 | Annie Casey | | Jan-May 10 | Mail to Velarde |
| Lyden | R. A. | 7 Nov 02 | Stewart Conover | | (1914) | |
| | | 7 Sept 10 | Ella H. Conover | | (1913) | |
| Lykins | Roos | 11 May 09 | Richard N. Lykins | | 14 May 10 | Mail to Wootten, Colo. |
| Lynn | Colf | 10 Jan 91 | William H. Brandenburg | | | |
| McAlister | Quay | 2 Aug 07 | Mrs. Mary C. McAlister | | | |
| McCarty | Val | 11 Mar 92 | Charles F. Rose | | 30 Nov 92 | Mail to Laguna |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

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|------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Mimbres | Grant | 20 July 08 | | Maggie Ward | 28 Oct 92 | | Mail to Georgetown |
| | | 10 June 86 | | Beno Rosenfeld | | | |
| | | 28 Apr 98 | | Charles Dennis | | | |
| Mimbres Hot Springs | Grant | 24 June 78 | | Richard Hudson | 28 Jan 79 | Hudson | |
| Mimco | Roos | 10 July 09 | | Odell C. Duncan | | Hot Springs | |
| Mineosa | Quay | 21 Mar 08 | | Grace Albertson | (1913) | | |
| Mineral City | S. M. | 29 Nov 81 | | John W. Barney | 3 Dec 83 | | Mail to Las Vegas |
| Mineral Hill | S. M. | 26 Aug 02 | Geronimo | Albert G. Adams | | | |
| Mineral Springs | Val | 27 Feb 77 | | William Wallace | 23 Sept 78 | | Mail to Casa Grande |
| Mishawaka | S.M. | 16 July 10 | | Herbie M. Sunday | 17 May 11 | | Mail to Bluewater |
| Mitchell | Bern | 24 May 92 | Chaves | Walter E. Warren | 24 June 96 | | |
| | | 16 Feb 98 | | Charles Shrader | 6 Apr 99 | Thoreau | Mail to Las Cruces |
| Modoc | D. A. | 8 Oct 01 | | John J. Keevil | 14 Dec 03 | | |
| Mogollon | Soc | 13 Sept 90 | | Motte C. Logan | | | |
| Monero | R. A. | 14 Jan 84 | | Wilmot E. Broad | 15 Feb 96 | | Mail to Lumberton |
| | | 6 July 96 | | George H. Tice | | | |
| Monica | Soc | 1 June 81 | | Robert H. Stapleton | 25 May 83 | | Mail to Socorro |
| Monticello | S'ra | 24 May 92 | Monticello | John W. Ellis | | | |
| Montecillo | Soc | 19 Sept 81 | | Aristide Bourquet | | | |
| Monterey | Otero | 18 June 09 | | Clarence R. Jafferis | 24 May 92 | Monticello | |
| Montezuma | Bern | 22 Dec 79 | | Henry G. Carson | 28 June 11 | West Tularosa | |
| Montezuma | Soc | 13 Jan 96 | | Antonio Campos | 15 Dec 80 | | |
| Montoya | Guad | 4 Nov 02 | Rountree | George W. Kohn | 15 Jan 00 | | Mail to Eastview |
| | Quay | | | | | | |
| Monument | Eddy | 19 Dec 00 | | James M. Cook | | | |
| Moore | Quay | 6 Nov 03 | | John A. Moore | (1912) | | |
| Mora | Taos | 23 Apr 64 | | C. A. Zimmerman | | | |
| | Mora | | | | | | |

| | | | |
|------------------|-------|------------|--------------------------------|
| Moriarty | S. F. | 30 June 02 | Dennis F. McDonald |
| Moses | Torr | | |
| Mosquero | Union | 20 Mar 09 | Frank Moses |
| Mountainair | Union | 21 Sept 08 | Flevia T. Brown |
| | Val | 27 Jan 03 | Hattie L. Hanlon |
| | Torr | | |
| Mountain Park | Otero | 21 Sept 04 | Edgar F. Cadwallader |
| Mountainview | Luna | 27 Dec 11 | Mary E. Hougland (1914) |
| Mount Dora | Union | 10 Apr 08 | Frank Shaw |
| Mount Vernon | Roos | 11 Feb 10 | Eva Kennedy (1913) |
| Mountview | Colf | 20 Apr 95 | Helen R. Dane 19 Apr 00 Dawson |
| Murdock | Quay | 23 Sept 07 | Caddie B. Smith (1917) |
| Murray | Soc | 14 June 09 | John P. Murray (1913) |
| Nadine | Eddy | 28 Mar 10 | James H. Hughes |
| Name | S. F. | 16 Apr 01 | Miguel Herrera (1922) |
| Narranjos | Mora | 18 Feb 86 | George H. Jones 3 Apr 88 |
| Nara Visa | Union | 2 Feb 02 | Charles B. Johnson |
| | Quay | | |
| Navajo | Taos | 6 Jan 80 | Livingston S. Welsh |
| Negra | Torr | 4 Sept 09 | Luther P. Walter |
| New Albuquerque | Bern | 10 Feb 81 | Fred H. Kent |
| Newhope | Chav | 16 Apr 10 | William J. Branham |
| Newkirk | Guad | 12 May 10 | Clarita R. Gallegos |
| Newman | Otero | 12 Feb 06 | Henry L. Newman |
| Newton | Grant | 26 Feb 83 | Josephas Crowley |
| Nobe | Roos | 22 Apr 07 | George H. Newcombe (1914) |
| Nogal | Linc | 9 May 82 | Thomas J. Moore |
| Nolan | Mora | 1 Oct 08 | Alice F. Smith |
| North Des Moines | Union | 27 Oct 09 | Juan C. Martinez |
| Northon | Quay | 9 May 07 | Michael J. Norton |
| Nutt | D. A. | 26 May 81 | John Bennett |
| | | 28 Jan 99 | Frank B. Hunt, Jr. |
| | Luna | 25 Sept 11 | Edmond A. Davis |
| | | | Mail to Ocate |
| | | | 26 July 81 |
| | | | 1 July 82 Albuquerque |
| | | | 23 Oct 83 |
| | | | Mail to Silver City |
| | | | (1914) |
| | | | (1915) |
| | | | 19 May 84 |
| | | | Mail to Deming |
| | | | ? (1909-11) |

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|-----------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Oakwood Springs | S. M. | 6 July 91 | | S. Oskar Scott | 17 Apr 93 | | M. to Lesperance |
| Obar | Quay | 9 Sept 08 | Ferry | Charles O. Eddy | 9 Aug 69 | | |
| Ocate | Mora | 2 Aug 66 | | Andrew J. Calhoun | 4 Mar 78 | | |
| | | 10 Jan 70 | | F. J. Ames | | | |
| | | 9 May 78 | | Adolph Block | (1913) | | |
| Ogle | Quay | 28 Dec 06 | | S. Granville Adamson | 3 July 73 | | |
| Ojo Caliente | R. A. | 21 Mar 71 | | G. H. Holcomb | | | |
| | | 19 Sept 73 | | William H. Baker | | | |
| | Taos | | | | | | |
| Old Albuquerque | Bern | 22 May 86 | Armijo | Theodore H. Wells | 13 Oct 03 | Kirtland | |
| Olio | R. A. | 7 Mar 84 | | David A. Stevens | | | |
| Olive | Chav | 8 May 09 | | William H. H. Cloppert | | | |
| Olquin | S. M. | 21 Dec 05 | | Juan B. Olquin | 30 June 11 | | M. to Anton Chico |
| Onava | S. M. | 8 Feb 02 | | Robert L. Bigelow | 9 May 06 | | Mail to Las Vegas |
| | | 19 Feb 08 | | Salem H. Ferguson | Jan-May 10 | | M. to East Las Vegas |
| | | 10 Mar 11 | | Harry T. Herring | ?(1911) | | |
| | | 18 Oct 11 | | Robert P. J. Gemrlicher | (1924) | | |
| Opal | Otero | 3 May 04 | | John B. Willis | 30 Nov 04 | | Mail to Cloudercroft |
| Optimo | Mora | 10 Apr 09 | | Minnie M. Thompson | | | |
| Oran | Otero | 6 June 04 | | John A. Ogdén | 23 Sept 07 | | Mail to Avis |
| Orange | Otero | 19 May 04 | | James Brownfield, Jr. | (1925) | | |
| Orchard Park | Chav | 20 May 07 | Alellen | Leonidas W. Gray | 23 Aug 95 | | M. to Las Cruces |
| Organ | D. A. | 14 Sept 81 | | Orlanda F. Guthrie | | | |
| | | 20 Jan 96 | | Elizabeth McCowan | (1916) | | |
| Oriental | Eddy | 29 July 10 | | Albert C. Jacobs | | | |
| Orogrande | Otero | 21 Feb 06 | Jarilla Junction | John Coleharp | 5 Sept 11 | Lucille | |
| Orton | Quay | 4 Jan 08 | | Johnson S. Poppino | 6 June 82 | | Mail to Socorro |
| Oscura | Soc | 6 Oct 81 | | John Collano | 15 Mar 07 | | Mail to Carrizozo |
| Oscuro | Linc | 28 Mar 01 | | George A. Gahucia | | | |
| | | 1 Nov 07 | | Elias G. Raffety | | | |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|-------|------------|------------------------|------------|-------------------|
| Osha | Colf | 5 Feb 94 | Francisco Gauna | 19 Feb 03 | Black Lake |
| Otero | Colf | 3 Feb 79 | Andrew B. Cauldwell | 13 Dec 80 | Raton |
| Otero | Val | 2 Sept 05 | Aniceto Gurule | 2 Apr 06 | Mail to Los Lunas |
| Otis | Eddy | 13 Oct 93 | Catherine M. Demerest | 28 Feb 01 | Mail to Carlsbad |
| Otto | S. F. | 4 June 07 | Otto H. E. Goetz | (1923) | |
| Ozanne | Soc | 18 Sept 06 | William Apperson | 30 Nov 09 | M. to San Antonio |
| Padillas | Bern | 26 May 03 | Joseph B. Lucero | (1917) | |
| Painter | Roos | 7 Oct 08 | William A. Painter | (1912) | |
| Pajarito | Bern | 28 Jan 68 | William H. H. Metzgar | 6 Mar 68 | |
| | | 31 Jan 71 | Patrick Weldon | 23 Oct 71 | |
| | | 24 June 74 | Thomas Scott | 29 Apr 75 | |
| | | 28 Mar 79 | Juan Chavez y Pena | 8 June 83 | M. to Albuquerque |
| | | 27 Jan 86 | Jose F. Hubbell | 21 May 86 | |
| | | 25 Mar 90 | Frank A. Hubbell | | |
| Palma | Bern | 16 May 03 | John Hirsch | | |
| | Torr | | | | |
| Palomas Springs | S'ra | 13 July 11 | William H. McMillan | (1914) | Hot Springs |
| Paquate | Val | 2 Sept 05 | John M. Chaves | 15 Oct 08 | Mail to Laguna |
| Paradise Plains | Guad | 12 Nov 09 | Ira A. Dobson | 31 Aug 10 | Mail to Potrillo |
| Paraje | Soc | 24 Sept 67 | Numa Raymond | 25 May 75 | |
| | | 22 July 75 | Edward C. Hall | 30 July 10 | Mail to Milligan |
| Park | Soc | 22 Apr 92 | Francisco Perea | 4 July 94 | Mail to Socorro |
| Parks | Grant | 27 Apr 82 | William J. Parks | 9 July 83 | Mail to Lordsburg |
| Park View | R. A. | 7 Feb 77 | William G. Thompson | 7 June 80 | |
| | | 19 July 80 | Miguel Chaves | | |
| Parsons | Line | 24 Jan 88 | Miss Sophia S. Dillard | (1926) | |
| Parton | Colf | 30 June 84 | Alfred P. Rogers | 29 May 86 | Mail to Raton |
| Pasamonte | Union | 18 Feb 99 | Carl Gilg | | |
| Paschal | Grant | 23 Jan 82 | John W. Fleming | 13 Nov 83 | M. to Silver City |
| Pastura | Guad | 21 Jan 03 | Philip Holzman | | |
| | L. W. | | | | |
| | Guad | | | | |
| Patterson | Soc | 7 Oct 84 | Richard C. Patterson | 12 Aug 87 | Mail to Joseph |
| Patterson | Soc | 1 June 92 | Richard C. Patterson | 31 Jan 06 | Mail to Joseph |

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|-----------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Oakwood Springs | S. M. | 6 July 91 | | S. Oskar Scott | 17 Apr 93 | | M. to Lesperance |
| Obar | Quay | 9 Sept 08 | Ferry | Charles O. Eddy | | | |
| Ocate | Mora | 2 Aug 66 | | Andrew J. Calhoun | 9 Aug 69 | | |
| | | 10 Jan 70 | | F. J. Arnes | 4 Mar 78 | | |
| | | 9 May 78 | | Adolph Block | (1913) | | |
| Ogle | Quay | 28 Dec 06 | | S. Granville Adamson | | | |
| Ojo Caliente | R. A. | 21 Mar 71 | | G. H. Holcomb | 3 July 73 | | |
| | | 19 Sept 73 | | William H. Baker | | | |
| | Taos | | | | | | |
| Old Albuquerque | Bern | 22 May 86 | Armijo | Theodore H. Wells | | | |
| Olio | R. A. | 7 Mar 84 | | David A. Stevens | 13 Oct 03 | Kirtland | |
| Olive | Chav | 8 May 09 | | William H. H. Cloppert | | | |
| Olquin | S. M. | 21 Dec 05 | | Juan B. Olquin | 30 June 11 | | M. to Anton Chico |
| Onava | S. M. | 8 Feb 02 | | Robert L. Bigelow | 9 May 06 | | Mail to Las Vegas |
| | | 19 Feb 08 | | Salem H. Ferguson | Jan-May 10 | | M. to East Las Vegas |
| | | 10 Mar 11 | | Harry T. Herring | 7 (1911) | | |
| | | 18 Oct 11 | | Robert P. J. Gemricher | (1924) | | |
| Opal | Otero | 3 May 04 | | John B. Willis | 30 Nov 04 | | Mail to Cloudfcroft |
| Optimo | Mora | 10 Apr 09 | | Minnie M. Thompson | | | |
| Oran | Otero | 6 June 04 | | John A. Ogden | 23 Sept 07 | | Mail to Avis |
| Orange | Otero | 19 May 04 | | James Brownfield, Jr. | (1925) | | |
| Orchard Park | Chav | 20 May 07 | Allen | Leonidas W. Gray | 23 Aug 95 | | M. to Las Cruces |
| Organ | D. A. | 14 Sept 81 | | Orlanda F. Guthrie | | | |
| | | 20 Jan 96 | | Elizabeth McCowan | (1916) | | |
| Oriental | Eddy | 29 July 10 | | Albert C. Jacobs | | | |
| Orogrande | Otero | 21 Feb 06 | Jarilla Junction | John Coleharb | 5 Sept 11 | Lucille | |
| Orton | Quay | 4 Jan 08 | | Johnson S. Poppino | 6 June 82 | | Mail to Socorro |
| Oscura | Soc | 6 Oct 81 | | John Collano | 15 Mar 07 | | Mail to Carrizozo |
| Oscuro | Linc | 28 Mar 01 | | George A. Galucia | | | |
| | | 1 Nov 07 | | Elias G. Raffety | | | |

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|--------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Patterson | Union | 2 Aug 10 | | Gertie Patterson | (1918) | | |
| Pearl | Eddy | 19 Sept 08 | | Mrs. Pearl Roberts | 16 Aug 11 | Benson | |
| Pearson | Roos | 29 Aug 07 | | John O. Benson | | | |
| Pecos | S. M. | 6 Mar 83 | | Atanacio Riobal | 11 Sept 88 | | Mail to Glorieta |
| | S. F. | | | | | | |
| | S. M. | 3 June 93 | | Transito Chavez | | | |
| | S. A. | 14 Mar 67 | | Samuel Ellison | 22 Oct 69 | | |
| | | 10 Aug 74 | | Amado C. DeBaca | 14 July 75 | | |
| Pena Blanca | Bern | 14 June 80 | | Andrew C. DeBaca | 20 July 81 | | |
| | | 5 Aug 86 | | Elizes Armijo | 15 Nov 95 | Thornton | |
| | Bern | 23 Mar 96 | | Charles Lowenberg | | | |
| Penablanca | Sand | | | | | | |
| Pena Flor | Colf | 23 Jan 88 | | Jose G. Vigil | 31 Jan 01 | | Mail to Catskill |
| Penasco | Taos | 10 Sept 74 | | M. Aaron Gold | 27 May 79 | | |
| | | 1 May 82 | | R. Sanchez | 19 Feb 83 | | |
| | | 15 Dec 85 | | Gregorio Griego | | | |
| Pendleton | S. J. | 12 Nov 03 | | Will L. Paddock | (1922) | | |
| Peralta | Val | 13 Aug 61 | | Vicente A. Otero | 6 Feb 65 | Los Pinos | |
| Peralta | Val | 12 June 66 | | William H. Lewis | 2 May 79 | | |
| | | 29 Apr 80 | | Joseph G. Lewis | | | |
| Percha | Grant | 7 Nov 82 | | John W. McCuiston | 23 Sept 83 | | Mail to Kingston |
| Pereha | Bern | 31 Jan 94 | Archuleta | Francisco Perea | | | |
| | Sand | | | | | | |
| Perico | Colf | 19 Nov 86 | | Homer E. Byler | 8 Oct 07 | Jemez Springs | |
| Perry | Quay | 29 July 07 | | Charles O. Eddy | 23 Mar 88 | Clayton | |
| Perryville | Colf | 8 May 94 | | James Phillips | 9 Sept 08 | Obar | |
| Petaca | R. A. | 7 Apr 00 | | Buenaventura Martinez | 20 Mar 95 | | M. to Elizabethtown |
| Phillipsburg | S'ra | 5 Mar 04 | Grafton | George W. Weber | 15 Nov 06 | | M. to Fair View |
| Picacho | Linc | 11 June 91 | | Charles P. Fritz | 25 Aug 92 | | Mail to Lincoln |
| | | 31 Mar 94 | | Robert H. Parsons | 12 Oct 99 | | Mail to Lincoln |

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|-------------------|-------|------------|---------------------|--|-------------|---------------------|
| Pima Village | D. A. | 4 Apr 00 | Martin Chaves | | | |
| Pina | Taos | 21 June 59 | Silas St. John | | | Cont'd in Arizona |
| | | 15 Feb 00 | Florentino Gallegos | | 15 Dec 02 | Mail to Costilla |
| | | 15 Feb 03 | Florentino Gallegos | | June-Dec 11 | |
| Pine Forest | D. A. | 20 Sept 60 | Isaac Langston | | 31 Jan 61 | |
| Pines | Sand | 29 Aug 07 | John C. Hoheimer | | (1913) | |
| Pine Spring | Linc | 3 Apr 90 | Margaret Holden | | 22 Aug 95 | Pinespring |
| Pinespring | Linc | 22 Aug 95 | Francis M. Evans | | | |
| | Otero | | | | 31 Dec 02 | Mail to Cloudfcroft |
| Pinkerton | Mora | 12 Aug 81 | Henry D. Reinken | | 27 Apr 82 | Wagon Mound |
| Pinson | Otero | 19 Jan 07 | Caleb J. Chronister | | | |
| Pinos Altos | D. A. | 4 Oct 67 | John A. Miller | | | |
| | Grant | | | | | |
| Pinos Wells | Val | 29 Sept 84 | William J. Spence | | 20 Dec 94 | Pinoswells |
| Pinoswells | Val | 20 Dec 94 | Anna Dow | | | |
| | Torr | | | | | |
| Pinoville | Soc | 24 Oct 05 | Jose M. Baca | | 20 Nov 09 | Mangas |
| Pintada | Guad | 25 Aug 99 | Eliceo Gauna | | | |
| | L. W. | | | | | |
| | Guad | | | | | |
| Pioneer | Chav | 8 Feb 10 | John B. Harris | | 5 June 11 | M. to Bronco, Tex. |
| Placitas | Bern | 18 Apr 01 | Hermenegildo Chavez | | | |
| | Sand | | | | | |
| Plain | Quay | 25 June 07 | Julia Stevens | | | |
| Plainview | Chav | 7 June 07 | Florence Hodge | | | |
| Plateau | Roos | 13 Sept 06 | Lewis F. Harvey | | 11 June 10 | Kermit |
| Plaza | Quay | 1 Aug 08 | Joseph H. Loving | | 30 June 11 | |
| Plaza Del Alcalda | R. A. | 19 Mar 77 | Adolph Breckelmann | | 6 Jan 82 | M. to Tucumcari |
| Pleano | Quay | 10 May 07 | Edward O. Davis | | (1914) | |
| | Soc | 13 Nov 82 | A. Danell | | 29 Apr 86 | Mail to Alma |
| Pleasanton | Soc | 8 Feb 02 | Matthew Kirchen | | 30 Sept 02 | M. to Las Cruces |
| Plomo | D. A. | 8 Feb 70 | John Bouquet | | | |
| Pojuaque | S. F. | 25 Feb 70 | Benjamin Sanchez | | 10 Jan 98 | M. to San Acacia |
| Polvadera | Soc | 2 Apr 95 | Sostero Aragon | | 5 Dec 01 | M. to San Acacia |
| | | 18 Mar 98 | Clemente Chavez | | | |
| | | 8 Jan 02 | | | | |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

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|----------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Potradero | Soc | 2 Nov 81 | | Alex S. McDonald | 9 Apr 83 | | Mail to Socorro |
| Ponil | Colf | 25 Nov 79 | | George B. Hendricks | 26 July 80 | | |
| | | 21 July 88 | | John E. Lane | (1913) | | |
| Portales | Chav | 9 Apr 99 | | Seth A. Morrison | | | |
| | Ross | | | | | | |
| Porter | R. A. | 7 Dec 81 | Bloomfield | William B. Haines | 17 May 82 | Bloomfield | |
| Porter | Quay | 4 May 08 | | Mary Porter | (1915) | | |
| Porvenir | S. M. | 26 Mar 96 | | Margarita Romero | 11 Jan 99 | | M. to San Ignacio |
| | | Jan-May 08 | | ? | | | |
| Potrillo | Guad | 1 Aug 08 | | James W. Nicholson | (1914) | | |
| Prairie View | Quay | 4 May 08 | | Manley C. Hodges | (1915) | | |
| Pratt | Grant | 13 Oct 05 | | Orrin M. Ziegler | (1913) | | |
| Preston | Quay | 7 June 07 | | Edna King | | | |
| Pritchard | Curry | 7 May 07 | | Samuel C. Fry | 31 Oct 10 | | M. to Legansville |
| | Quay | | | | | | |
| | Ross | | | | | | |
| Progreso | Val | 24 Aug 94 | | Diego Romero | 30 June 08 | | Mail to Texico |
| | | 4 Jan 04 | | Charles W. Fulkerson | 15 Mar 01 | | M. to Pinoswells |
| Progreso | Torr | 4 Sept 09 | | Charles W. Boone | 30 June 04 | | Mail to Torrence |
| Publicos | Val | 29 Dec 02 | | Charles Mann | | | |
| Puertecito | Soc | 3 Apr 03 | | Federico Giron | 15 Oct 06 | Field | Mail to Jarales |
| Puerto | Guad | 16 Nov 01 | | Fred Walther | (1930) | | |
| | Quay | | | | (1918) | | |
| Puerto De Luna | S. M. | 20 June 73 | | Manuel Chaves | | | |
| | Guad | | | | | | |
| | L. W. | | | | | | |
| Punta | Val | 27 Aug 94 | | John G. Dow | 31 Dec 97 | | Mail to Eastview |
| | | 20 May 99 | | Cristino Chavez | 31 July 01 | | Mail to Eastview |
| | Torr | 6 Apr 04 | | Rayos Sanchez de Romero | (1913) | | |

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|-----------------|-------|------------|-------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|
| Punta De Agua | Val | 25 Mar 90 | | Roman Garcia | 9 Jan 93 | Mail to Manzano |
| Putnam | S. J. | 12 Apr 01 | | Richard Wetherill | June-Dec 11 | Mail to Thoreau |
| Putney | Sand | 9 Dec 07 | Jemes | John N. Hilliard | 21 Feb 08 | |
| Pyramid | Grant | 9 Nov 82 | | John R. Phillips | 25 Aug 84 | Mail to Lordsburg |
| | | 18 June 91 | | Fred U. Alger | 24 Dec 97 | Mail to Lordsburg |
| Quay | Quay | 23 Feb 04 | | Simon G. Adamson | | |
| Queen | Eddy | 20 Nov 05 | | James W. Tulk | (1920) | |
| Quemado | Val | 26 Jan 86 | | Manfor Romero | | |
| | Soc | | | John V. Morrison | 29 July 96 | Mail to Datil |
| Questa | Taos | 13 Dec 01 | | Leander F. Hamblin | | |
| | | 12 Mar 83 | | | | |
| Rabenton | Linc | 28 June 10 | | Agustin Chaves | | |
| Rael | Colf | 28 Aug 01 | | Rosendo Gonzales | 15 Mar 02 | Mail to Springer |
| Ragland | Quay | 6 June 08 | | Maud Ragland | (1917) | |
| Ralston | Grant | 8 Dec 70 | | Henry O. Rogers | 3 Oct 71 | |
| Ramah | Val | 14 Sept 84 | | Frihoff G. Nelson | | |
| | McK | | | | | |
| Ramon | Union | 18 Nov 11 | | Benito Cordova | (1914) | Terr. Operation ? |
| Rana | Quay | 16 Apr 08 | | James E. Johnson | (1925) | |
| Ranches of Taos | Taos | 3 Feb 75 | | Alexander GUSDORF | | |
| Ranchitos | R. A. | 16 Nov 05 | | George Anton | | |
| Ranger Lake | Chav | 23 July 08 | | Octavus Hodge | 31 Aug 07 | Mail to Espanola |
| Raton | Colf | 13 Dec 80 | Otero | William F. Tompkins | | |
| Raventon | Linc | 26 Feb 96 | | David H. Lueras | | |
| Rayado | Colf | 14 Sept 81 | Ryado | Charles Abreu | 15 Mar 00 | Mail to White Oaks |
| | | 30 Jan 00 | | Sifia B. Abreu | 19 Feb 83 | Mail to Cimarron |
| Real De Dolores | S. F. | 1 Mar 69 | | William H. Roberts | 15 Nov 07 | Mail to Springer |
| Red Canon | Soc | 19 June 86 | | Ralph H. Hills | 25 Mar 70 | |
| Red Cloud | Linc | 30 Mar 82 | | Maggie Thompson | 13 Sept 88 | Mail to White Oaks |
| Red Cloud | Val | 6 Aug 04 | | Jose D. Ballejos | 11 Dec 90 | Mail to Pinos Wells |
| | Torr | | | | | |
| Redlake | Roos | 10 Apr 07 | | Charles C. Price | 31 Jan 06 | Mail to Mountainair |
| Redland | Roos | 27 Sept 07 | | Carl S. Turner | (1929) | |
| | | | | | (1917) | Emzy |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Red River | Taos | 25 Sept 95 | | Gerson Gusdorf | | | |
| Red River Springs | S. M. | 6 May 78 | | Margaret Lackey | 6 Oct 84 | Hogadero | |
| Redrock | Grant | 14 Feb 96 | | Henry B. Tucker | | | |
| Reed's Ranch | D. A. | 4 Feb 79 | | C. S. Tibbetts | 26 May 79 | | |
| Regina | Sand | 15 July 11 | | Wesley F. Fish | | | |
| Rehoboth | McK | 26 Aug 10 | | Ethel C. Sipe | | | |
| Reserve | Soc | 9 Sept 01 | | Gustav L. Hood | | | |
| Revelto | Guad | 18 Dec 97 | | Florencio Martinez | (1916) | | |
| | Quay | | | | (1918) | | |
| Reyes | Union | 6 Apr 10 | | Elmer Elkins | | | |
| Ribera | S. M. | 3 May 94 | | Roman Ortiz | | | |
| Ricardo | Guad | 21 Mar 08 | | Okie Zimmerman | | | |
| Rice | Quay | 4 June 07 | | Clara S. Rice | 6 June 08 | Hudson | |
| Richardson | Linc | 3 Apr 95 | | Andrew McRichardson | (1912) | | |
| Richland | Chav | 2 June 08 | | T. Lee Beeman | | | |
| | Roos | | | | | | |
| Richmond | Grant | 13 Dec 75 | | George W. Arnold | 5 May 84 | | Mail to Lordsburg |
| Ricolite | Grant | 7 June 90 | | James M. Harper | 8 Aug 91 | | Mail to Lordsburg |
| Riddle | Guad | 27 Feb 09 | | Isaac A. Bynam | (1920) | | |
| Riley | Soc | 30 Jan 92 | | Perfrio Sanchez | 28 July 98 | | Mail to San Acacia |
| | | 11 July 99 | | Perfrio Sanchez | 15 Oct 02 | | Mail to Magdalena |
| Riley | Roos | 12 May 06 | | William H. Palmer | 11 Apr 07 | Clovis | |
| Rincon | D. A. | 20 Feb 83 | Thorne | Hugo B. Kohl | | | |
| Rincon | S. M. | 1 Feb 75 | Tecolote | Minhor Rudolph | 8 Feb 83 | Rociada | |
| Rinconada | R. A. | 9 Apr 80 | | Albino Lopez | 28 Sept 81 | | |
| Rinconada | R. A. | 9 Jan 89 | Durazno | Thomas McQuiston | (1918) | | |
| Rio Colorado | Taos | 7 Aug 71 | | Francisco A. Montoya | 26 Sept 72 | | |
| | | 27 Nov 77 | | William Clark | 11 Nov 78 | | |
| Rio Mimbres | D. A. | 11 Oct 66 | | Richard A. Sarle | | | |
| | Grant | | | | 3 June 75 | | |

| | | | | | |
|----------------|-------|------------|------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|
| Rio Pueblo | Taos | 26 Aug 10 | Benito A. Romero | (1914) | |
| Riverside | S. J. | 10 Oct 05 | Perley A. George | | |
| Roanoke | Chav | 23 Mar 08 | Schuyler A. Ward | | Mail to Elkins |
| Roberts | Eddy | 18 Feb 03 | James D. Roberts | 31 Jan 11 | |
| Robinson | Soc | 3 Feb 82 | John Sturgis | 28 Mar 10 | Mail to Fairview |
| Rocitada | S. M. | 8 Feb 83 | Emilie Pendaries | 29 Jan 83 | |
| Rock Island | Quay | 1 Mar 09 | Sylvia New | (1915) | Glenrio |
| Rodeo | Grant | 21 Apr 03 | Nancy E. Bond | (1927) | |
| Rodey | D. A. | 22 Mar 04 | Meyer Hirsch | | |
| Rogers | Roos | 10 Apr 08 | Andrew J. Maxwell | | |
| Romero | S. F. | 4 Apr 95 | Carlos Romero | 29 Sept 00 | Mail to Santa Fe |
| Romero | S. M. | 15 Dec 04 | William T. Brown | 15 Oct 08 | Mail to East Las Vegas |
| Romeroville | S. M. | 29 Oct 77 | Francisco C. DeBaca | 18 July 80 | |
| Roosevelt | Quay | 30 Oct 06 | William H. Campbell | (1919) | |
| Rosa | R. A. | 15 Feb 88 | Santiago Candelaria | 14 Oct 99 | Mail to Arboles, Colo. |
| Rosebud | Union | 19 Sept 00 | Bidal A. Candelaria | | |
| Rosedale | Soc | 27 Nov 09 | Mark T. Nix | | |
| Rosing | S. J. | 25 Aug 99 | Nellie Parrish | (1919) | |
| Roswell | Linc | 18 Dec 09 | Finette McKinley | | |
| | Chav | 20 Aug 73 | Van C. Smith | | |
| Round Mountain | Soc | 29 May 78 | Henry G. Toussaint | 2 July 79 | |
| Rountree | Guad | 8 Oct 01 | Henry K. Rountree | 4 Nov 02 | Montoya |
| Rowe | S. M. | 7 Feb 84 | Samuel Dean | | |
| Roy | Mora | 11 May 01 | Frank A. Roy | | |
| Rudolph | Linc | 4 Nov 78 | Milnor Rudolph | 2 Dec 78 | Sunnyside (in San Miguel Co.) |
| Rudolph | Quay | 8 June 08 | Carolina Rudolph | 2 Aug 10 | Castleberry |
| Ruidoso | Linc | 22 May 82 | Frank Lesnet | | |
| | D. A. | | | 16 July 90 | Mail to Mescalero |
| | Linc | 23 Jan 91 | Charles W. Wingfield | | |
| Russia | Otero | 8 Feb 04 | Abraham J. Smith | 30 Nov 06 | Mail to Clondcroft |
| Ruth | Guad | 24 May 05 | Benjamin F. McLaughlin | (1917) | |
| Ryado | Colf | 2 June 73 | Jesus G. Abreu | 14 Sept 81 | Rayado |
| Sabinal | Soc | 12 June 66 | William Borchert | 22 Mar 71 | |

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|---------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| | | 12 July 80 | | Eugenio Munsch | 20 June 81 | | |
| | | 28 Apr 82 | | Felipe Levy | 27 Nov 02 | | Mail to Bernardo |
| Saint Patrick | S. M. | 31 Jan 05 | | Gregorio Abeyta | 31 Oct 07 | | Mail to Bernardo |
| Saint Vrain | Roos | 27 June 92 | | Manuel A. Sanchez | 4 May 94 | | Mail to Las Vegas |
| | Curry | 2 July 07 | | James L. Hines | | | |
| Salado | Guad | 30 Mar 92 | | Leandro Casaus | 18 Apr 99 | | Mail to Fort Sumner |
| | L. W. | 16 June 99 | | Juan T. Martinez | | | |
| | Guad | | | | (1912) | | |
| Salem | D. A. | 22 Jan 08 | | John N. Novial | | Three Rivers | |
| Salinas | Otero | 22 Jan 02 | | Charles R. Gumm | (1912) | | |
| Salt Lake | Soc | 29 Mar 02 | | William E. Irvine | | | |
| San Acacia | Soc | 17 Nov 81 | | Jose M. Gallegos | | | |
| San Antonio | Soc | 24 Aug 70 | | John Ward | 16 Apr 73 | | |
| | | 16 Mar 74 | | Otto F. Gentz | | | |
| San Antonio | Taos | 28 Oct 67 | | John D. Bohn | 3 Aug 68 | | |
| San Augustine | D. A. | 9 May 76 | | Benjamin E. Davies | 20 Aug 88 | | Mail to Organ |
| San Carlos | Soc | 26 Feb 75 | | Charles Frielaff | 2 Oct 76 | | |
| | | 11 Apr 77 | | Philip Bourquignon | 21 Jan 78 | | |
| Sanchez | S. M. | 22 June 98 | | Manuel A. Sanchez | 14 Dec 07 | | Mail to Trementina |
| | | 11 Oct 09 | | Placido Beltrau | | | |
| Sandia | Bern | 16 Dec 92 | | Alexander Rogers | 2 Oct 95 | | Mail to San Pedro |
| Sandoval | Bern | 22 June 99 | Corrales | Ignacio Gutierrez | | | |
| San Elizario | Soc | 17 Apr 51 | | William Smith | | | |
| San Francisco | Soc | 6 Oct 79 | | Louis M. Baca | 12 Mar 52 | | Actually in Texas |
| San Hilario | S. M. | 28 Mar 78 | | Jesus Maria Gallegos | 17 May 82 | | Mail to Horse Springs |
| San Ignacio | Guad | 14 Aug 08 | | Severo Chavez | 12 Oct 86 | | Mail to La Cinta |
| San Ignacio | S. M. | 27 Jan 86 | | Jose y Lujan | 15 Sept 10 | | Mail to Pastura |
| San Isidro | Sand | 21 Mar 10 | | Lucinda G. Garcia | 30 Nov 01 | | Mail to Sapello |
| | | | | | (1912) | | |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|-------|------------|----------------------|------------|------------------|
| San Jon | Quay | 12 May 06 | Willis D. Bennett | | |
| San Jose | S. M. | 3 July 58 | Prudentia Lopes | 29 Nov 58 | |
| | | 16 Oct 65 | Nelson A. Fairchild | 22 Mar 66 | |
| | | 12 June 66 | Henry Becker | 1 May 68 | |
| | | 29 June 68 | Henry Becker | 21 Nov 79 | |
| | | 9 Dec 79 | Roman Ortiz | 7 May 80 | |
| | | 20 Mar 00 | Aflario F. Ulibarri | | |
| San Jose | Soc | 9 Apr 92 | Jose N. Romero | 18 June 96 | Mail to Sabinal |
| San Juan | R. A. | 25 Feb 70 | Nathan Eldodt | 27 Jan 81 | Chamita |
| San Lorenzo | Grant | 26 Jan 86 | N. Y. Auchetta | 3 May 88 | |
| | | 26 Feb 08 | Josephine R. Anthony | | |
| San Lorenzo | S. M. | 15 May 76 | Felipe Lopez | 14 Mar 77 | |
| San Marcial | Soc | 31 Dec 69 | Teofilo Chaves | 2 Oct 72 | |
| | | 26 May 79 | Ferdinand Fischer | 23 Apr 80 | |
| | | 24 Aug 80 | Mrs. P. Jacoby | | |
| San Mateo | Val | 19 Dec 76 | Roman A. Baca | | |
| San Miguel | S. M. | 16 Aug 51 | Peak Senical | 7 June 52 | |
| | | 3 July 58 | Francis O. Kihlberg | 18 Aug 59 | |
| | | 22 Mar 65 | J. B. Vaur | 12 Oct 65 | |
| | | 2 July 80 | George W. Hartman | 15 Dec 10 | Mail to Ribera |
| San Patricio | Linc | 18 June 04 | Ignacio Olquin | | |
| San Pedro | S. F. | 16 May 81 | David L. Sammis | 4 Feb 84 | Mail to Golden |
| | | 14 Mar 88 | George B. Chittenden | (1918) | |
| | | 21 Mar 81 | Rafael Chavez | 20 July 81 | |
| | Val | 22 Dec 81 | Rafael Chavez | 9 Apr 83 | Mail to Grant |
| | | 3 June 93 | Casimiro S. Lucero | 19 May 99 | Mail to Grant |
| | | 11 Oct 99 | Nabor Mirabal | | |
| Santa Clara | Mora | 8 Dec 76 | Fernando Nolan | 6 July 77 | |
| Santa Cruz | R. A. | 5 Sept 78 | Cesaria Remuzon | 31 May 82 | Mail to Santa Fe |
| | | 21 June 86 | Jacob M. Auranndt | | |
| | S. F. | | | | |
| Santa Fe | S. F. | 1 Oct 49 | William S. McKnight | | |
| Santa Rita | Grant | 8 Dec 81 | Benno Rosenfeld | | |
| Santa Rosa | Guad | 30 Oct 99 | Celso Baca | | |
| | L. W. | | | | |
| | | | | | Eden |

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| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster or re-estab. | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|-----------------|-------|-----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Sulphur Springs | Sand | 29 Apr 09 | | Edwin D. Fluke | (1913) | | |
| Sunnyside | S. M. | 2 Dec 78 | Rudolph | Milnor Rudolph | 6 Nov 82 | Fort Summer | Mail to Fort Stanton |
| | Guad | 2 Sept 05 | | Lorenzo R. Labadie | 7 Feb 10 | | |
| Swamp | Eddy | 1 May 94 | | Thomas C. Estes | 11 July 95 | | Mail to Eddy |
| Swarts | Grant | 27 Sept 87 | | Edward J. Swartz | 10 Sept 92 | | Mail to Hudson |
| | Colf | 9 June 93 | | Edward J. Swartz | (1919) | | |
| Sweet Water | Colf | 6 May 78 | | Frederick P. Bernard | 9 Oct 82 | | Mail to Springer |
| Sylvanite | Grant | 13 Nov 08 | | Edwin J. Clark | (1913) | | |
| Taft | Guad | 27 Feb 09 | | Andrew J. Wilmeth | | | |
| Taiban | Roos | 26 May 06 | | Bertha B. Zellner | | | |
| Tajique | Val | 28 Jan 85 | | John G. Dow | | | |
| Tajon | Torr | | | | | | |
| Tajon | S. M. | 18 Sept 89 | | Manuel A. Sanchez | 2 Mar 92 | | Mail to Bell Ranch |
| Talpa | Taos | 4 Jan 04 | | Pablo D. de Baca | (1923) | | |
| Tandy | Roos | 13 June 08 | | Albert M. Tandy | 31 May 09 | | Mail to Melrose |
| Taos | Taos | 9 Mar 85 | Fernandez de Taos | | | | |
| Tatum | Chav | 9 Dec 09 | | Jacob U. Shade | | | |
| Taylor | Colf | 21 Sept 05 | | Mattie G. Tatum | | | |
| Taylor Springs | Colf | 18 Dec 09 | Taylor | John C. Taylor | 18 Dec 09 | Taylor Springs | |
| Teconote | S. M. | 16 Aug 51 | | William H. Moore | 18 Oct 72 | | |
| | | 27 Jan 79 | | D. Winternitz | 2 June 80 | | |
| | | 24 Mar 88 | | Jose Lovato | (1923) | | |
| Teconote | S. M. | 24 June 74 | | Milnor Rudolph | 1 Feb 75 | Rincon | |
| Teel | Grant | 8 Oct 01 | | Alma E. Teel | | | |
| Telesfora | Union | 23 Apr 01 | | Adelaido Romero | 28 Feb 03 | | Mail to Miera |
| Telles | D. A. | 31 July 94 | | Thomas P. Falconer | 3 June 97 | | Mail to Earlham |
| | | 26 Oct 06 | | Eugenio E. Moreno | (1917) | | |
| Tequesquite | Mora | 23 July 79 | | Jose M. Gonzales | 30 June 90 | Albert | |

| | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------|---|--|
| Texico | Chav Roos | 9 Sept 02 | William M. Franklin | |
| Thomas | Curry | | | |
| Thoreau | Union Bern McK | 13 Sept 07 6 Apr 99 | Laura F. Thomas Claudia P. Duran Mitchell | |
| Thorne | D. A. | 15 June 81 | James M. Hoy | 20 Feb 83 Rincon (1915) |
| Thornham | Chav | 1 June 10 | Henry Scott | |
| Thornton | Bern Sand | 15 Nov 95 | Stephen H. Bogardus Pena Blanca | |
| Three Rivers | Linc | 2 Apr 83 | Charles H. Armijo | |
| Threerivers | Otero | 1 Oct 00 | Walter C. Hyde | Mail to White Oaks |
| Tierra Amarilla | R. A. | 2 Oct 66 | Henry Mercure | |
| | | 7 Oct 70 | Jesus Maria Cordoba | |
| Tierra Blanca | S'ra | 21 Jan 92 | W. Guy Beals | |
| Tijeras | Bern | 29 Aug 88 | Francisco Somora | Mail to Lake Valley |
| Tinnie | Linc | 5 Apr 09 | Oney Ramond Analla | |
| Tipton | Quay | 13 Mar 09 | William C. Turner | |
| Tiptonville | Mora | 22 June 76 | Charles Ilfeld | Mail to Watrous |
| Toboggan | Otero | 5 July 99 | Albert Walker | Mail to Cloudercroft |
| Tohatchi | Bern McK | 1 Oct 98 | Emma H. DeVore | |
| Tolar | Roos | 18 Aug 05 | John W. Coleman | |
| Tome | Val | 5 Dec 81 | Joseph A. Gingras | Mail to Belen |
| | | 21 Jan 88 | Manuel S. y Otero | |
| Torrance | Linc | 13 June 02 | Joseph O. Saint | |
| Torreón | Torr Val | 1 June 95 21 Sept 05 | Juan C. Jaramillo Juan C. Jaramillo | Mail to Corona Mail to Tajique Mail to Tajique |
| | | 2 Jan 12 | Jose T. Varela | |
| Towner | Mora | 17 Dec 77 | John C. Towner | |
| | Colf | | | |
| Tracy | Curry | 16 June 10 | William H. Miller | 26 Aug 78 (1912) |
| Trampas | Taos | 2 Aug 98 | Jesus M. Medina | |
| Trampetas | Mora | 26 Sept 79 | Thomas O. Boggs | 1 June 92 Louis |

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|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Travesilla | Colf Union | 8 Feb 92 | | Lydia G. Doran | 21 Mar 94 | | Mail to Veda |
| Tremontina | S. M. | 12 Apr 01 | | Martin Gurule | 30 Jan 08 | | Mail to Hollene |
| Trenton | Quay | 25 June 07 | | Lloyd D. Trent | 11 Nov 80 | | |
| Tres Piedras | Taos | 27 May 80 | | John B. Thompson | 14 Aug 84 | | Mail to Barranca |
| | | 17 May 82 | | Andrew J. Foose | | | |
| | | 23 Oct 84 | | Mary J. Berry | | | |
| Trinchara | Colf | 17 Jan 82 | | Romulo Padilla | 8 June 83 | | Mail to Madison |
| Troyburgh | Colf | 8 Apr 78 | | Daniel Troy | 30 June 84 | Parton | |
| Truchas | R. A. | 31 Mar 94 | | Jose de la Luz Duran | | | |
| Tubac | D. A. | 21 Feb 59 | | Frederick Hulseman | 24 Oct 60 | | |
| | | 2 Jan 61 | | Theodore Mohruian | 14 Feb 63 | | |
| Tucson | D. A. | 4 Dec 56 | | Elias Prevoort | 5 June 57 | Fort Buchanan | Cont'd in Arizona |
| Tucson | D. A. | 11 Nov 57 | | Mark Aldrich | | | |
| Tucumcari | Guad Quay | 27 Jan 02 | Douglas | John Q. Adams | | | |
| Tularosa | D. A. | 9 Apr 68 | | George W. Nesmith | 22 Oct 69 | | |
| | | 17 Dec 73 | | Perficta Armijo | | | |
| Turley | Otero | 26 Dec 06 | | Urna B. Turley | | | |
| Turner | Roos | 9 Apr 08 | | Thomas H. Golden | 15 Mar 11 | | Mail to Eiland |
| Turquesa | S. F. | 5 Apr 80 | | Olivas V. Avy | 12 May 99 | | Mail to Cerrillos |
| Turquoise | Mora | 2 Nov 10 | | Nicholas Bellino | (1913) | | |
| Tusas | R. A. | 16 Apr 98 | | William H. Hudson | | | |
| Twining | Taos | 18 Jan 02 | | William Fraser | 31 Jan 10 | | Mail to Valdez |
| Tyrone | Grant | 15 Oct 06 | | Olaus G. Myhre | | | |
| Una De Gato | Colf | 15 Apr 80 | | Francis M. Darling | 14 July 81 | | Mail to Raton |
| | | 15 Aug 81 | | Joe W. Dwyer | 12 Oct 82 | | Mail to Santa Rita |
| Upper Mimbres | Grant | 12 Nov 77 | | William Lee Thompson | 25 Oct 82 | | |

| Upper Mora | Mora | 14 Apr 68 | James Thomas | 1 July 68 | |
|---------------|-------|------------|------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| Upper Penasco | Linc | 25 Aug 84 | John T. Edwards | | |
| | D. A. | | | | |
| | Linc | | | | |
| | Otero | | | 14 Mar 02 | Mayhill |
| Upton | Roos | 30 Apr 07 | Albert B. Crane | | |
| Urton | Chav | 10 July 06 | Anna E. Graham | 21 Feb 07 | Kenna |
| Ute Creek | Mora | 26 Aug 68 | Orson K. Chittenden | 22 Oct 69 | |
| | Colf | 16 Nov 69 | Isaac J. Stevens | 5 Jan 74 | |
| | Colf | 26 Sept 76 | Andrew J. Howell | 23 Aug 95 | Mail to Baldy |
| Ute Park | Colf | 22 Sept 08 | Rodney Atmore | | |
| Vado | D. A. | 28 Aug 11 | Florence A. Hutchins | 30 Dec 11 | Mail to Berino |
| Valdez | Taos | 21 May 95 | Eufracia DeHerrera | 4 May 99 | Mail to Arroyo Hondo |
| | | 21 Oct 99 | Justa Valdez | | |
| Valencia | Val | 27 Oct 84 | Jose E. Chavez | 13 Sept 90 | Mail to Los Lunas |
| | | 11 Aug 94 | Jesus H. Sanchez | 24 Dec 97 | Mail to Los Lunas |
| | | 18 Apr 99 | Felix Gurule | 13 Feb 04 | Mail to Los Lunas |
| Vallecitos | R. A. | 5 Feb 86 | Jesus M. Giron | | |
| Valley | Union | 29 Oct 03 | Mary Smith | (1926) | |
| Valley Ranch | S. M. | 14 Jan 08 | Robert H. Sims | | |
| Valley View | Chav | 6 Dec 11 | William W. Bracken | | |
| Vance | Union | 27 Oct 08 | William H. Vance | (1920) | |
| Vanderitas | Colf | 11 Aug 06 | G. H. McCartney | 15 Apr 07 | Mail to Aurora |
| Vanderitos | Mora | 27 May 86 | Thomas Tindall | 21 Sept 87 | Hall's Peak |
| Van Houten | Colf | 2 Dec 02 | William Pratt | | |
| Variadero | S. M. | 19 Jan 07 | Sixto Martinez | | |
| Vaud | Eddy | 29 May 93 | Mrs. Alma B. Phillips | 5 Feb 94 | |
| | | 26 June 94 | Benjamin Fisher | 6 Sept 94 | Florence |
| Vaughn | Guad | 27 Feb 07 | Robert L. Lovick | | |
| Vaur | Mora | 26 Apr 89 | Pedro L. Pinard | | |
| Veda | Colf | 17 May 90 | Benjamin F. McLaughlin | 27 Aug 92 | Leon |
| | Union | | | | |
| Velarde | R. A. | 5 Mar 00 | Jesse A. Adamson | 20 Sept 98 | Mail to Spring Hill |
| | | 26 Aug 85 | David Velarde | 29 Jan 07 | Mail to Corrumpa |

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|--------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Venus | S. F. | 10 Feb 09 | | George N. Meltabarger | | | |
| Vera Cruz | Line | 5 July 81 | | Fletcher A. Blake | 25 June 88 | | Mail to Nogal |
| Vermejo | Colf | 26 Oct 74 | | Tony Meloche | 28 Feb 83 | Cimilorio | |
| Vermejo | Colf | 11 June 02 | | Harry W. Adams | 24 Oct 07 | Vermejo Park | |
| Vermejo Park | Colf | 24 Oct 07 | Vermejo | Harry W. Adams | | | |
| Vernon | Colf | 27 Jan 11 | | Clyde C. Brown | (1917) | | |
| Victor | Val | 18 Aug 10 | | Arcadio Sais | (1914) | | |
| Victoria | D. A. | 8 Nov 80 | | Eugenio Moreno | 4 May 08 | La Mesa | |
| Vigil | S. M. | 21 Apr 82 | | Nepomeno Martinez | 17 July 82 | | Mail to Fort Bascom |
| Vigil | Union | 23 Apr 94 | | Miguel G. Tixier | 10 Dec 94 | | Mail to Baca |
| Villanueva | S. M. | 14 Jan 95 | | Paula T. de Vigil | 31 May 98 | Bueyeros | |
| Virginia | Taos | 23 May 90 | | Juan Gallegos | | | |
| | Mora | 9 Apr 68 | | Jacob S. Taylor | | | |
| | Colf | | | | | | |
| Virsylvania | Taos | 29 Sept 09 | | I. N. Woodman | 22 Oct 69 | | |
| Vocant | Chav | 16 July 08 | | Rudolph Hofer | (1914) | | |
| | | | | | (1913) | | |
| Wagner | Torr | 7 Mar 08 | | Dora E. Wager | June-Dec 08 | | Mail to Mountainair |
| Wagon Mound | Mora | 27 Apr 82 | Pinkerton | Henry D. Reinken | | | |
| Wallace | Bern | 9 May 82 | Annville | L. W. McIlvane | 19 Feb 87 | | Mail to Cerrillos |
| | | 27 July 88 | | Donaciano Gallegos | 20 July 95 | | Mail to Pena Blanca |
| Wallace | Taos | 30 Apr 79 | | John A. Roff | 12 Aug 81 | | |
| Wanette | Union | 30 Nov 10 | | Bonnie L. Carpenter | (1916) | | |
| Watercanon | Soc | 9 Jan 99 | | C. T. Brown | 30 Sept 99 | | Mail to Socorro |
| Water Canyon | Soc | 14 June 87 | | Mrs. Lucy Radcliff | 5 July 88 | | Mail to Socorro |
| Waterloo | Luna | 6 Dec 11 | | John L. Harris | (1922) | | |
| Watrous | Mora | 31 July 79 | La Junta | George W. Gregg | | | |
| Weber | Mora | 13 Jan 98 | | Esteban H. Biernbaum | 14 Jan 05 | | Mail to La Cueva |

(To be continued)

Book Reviews

The Mescalero Apaches. By C. L. Sonnichsen. Norman, Oklahoma; University of Oklahoma Press, c., 1958. Pp. xii, 303. Bibliography, index, 2 maps, 22 illustrations. \$5.75.

Since white contact with the Apache people in 1541, a grim struggle has taken place. First the Spaniards, then the Mexicans, and last, the people of the United States have tried to subdue by military action the resisting Indians of the Southwest to a status of subservience. Efforts have been made to force the Apaches to become agriculturalists or stock raisers instead of huntsmen and warriors. Through education and Christianity well-intentioned humanitarians have endeavored to change the culture of the Apaches, but success has been indifferent.

The Mescaleros are a band of Apaches with their traditional homeland in the southern New Mexico mountains between the Pecos and Rio Grande rivers. Their reservation, consisting of a half million acres of land, lies in the northeast corner of Otero County, New Mexico.

For over two centuries, the Apaches, including the Mescaleros, warred with their neighbors, not only the Spaniards and Americans, but also the Comanches and Navahos. Professor Sonnichsen's work is largely an account of this incessant struggle. The old generalization that this Indian group was less war-like than other bands of Apaches is not supported by the documented narrative encompassing twelve of the fifteen chapters in the volume under review. From the 1650's to the surrender of Geronimo in 1886, the Mescaleros were afforded only brief periods of respite in their struggle to defend their lands and their way of life, an effort which ultimately ended in a defeat and a reservation, set aside for them by presidential proclamation in 1873.

One episode reflects the administrative bungling of Indian affairs by officials of the United States. When some Mescaleros persisted in attacks upon American routes of communication during the early years of the Civil War, General James

Henry Carleton, commander of the California Column, ordered Kit Carson to kill all Mescalero warriors "whenever and wherever you find them" (p. 98). Cadete, the spokesman for the Mescaleros, asked for peace, but Carleton's conditions required the removal of the whole band to Bosque Redondo where Fort Sumner was erected. By March, 1863, four of the five hundred Mescaleros were at the reservation. During the following fall, General Carleton also decided to concentrate the Navahos at Bosque Redondo, thus adding nine thousand of those people to the Mescaleros already on the lands. Bosque Redondo might have supported the Mescaleros, but there was no hope of providing food for the Navahos. Disease, famine, lack of shelter, insufficient clothing, and the Navahos, hereditary enemies of the Mescaleros, were more than these Apaches could endure. On the night of November 3, 1865, the Mescaleros vanished into their mountain homes, terminating their acceptance of Carleton's senseless concentration system. Although Professor Sonnichsen has employed little new evidence, his critical evaluation of Carleton's Indian policies is much sounder than that found in Aurora Hunt's recent biography of General Carleton.

After 1865, Santana, Cadete, and Roman, the leading chiefs of the Mescaleros, endeavored to prohibit their young warriors from joining the Apache hostiles. Although largely successful, these chiefs could not prevent a small fraction of their band from joining Victorio, Nana, and Geronimo. The author thus has some justification for recounting again the well-known Apache campaigns of Crook and Miles. Since these events have been so thoroughly discussed in other works, however, a briefer synthesis could have been written so greater attention could have been devoted to the problems of the Mescaleros in their efforts to adjust to reservation life. The reviewer is of the opinion that Professor Sonnichsen's volume is out of balance. The resources are certainly available for the post-1880 period of Mescalero history, an era of their life with which the scholar and the reading public are largely unacquainted. Research in depth in the records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other record groups in the National Archives would have enabled the author to detail

the problems of the Mescaleros in recent times. Such an effort still remains to be done by some scholar who will supplement this first history of the Mescalero Apaches. However, these observations are a matter of judgment and the fact remains that *The Mescalero Apaches* is skillfully written, its narrative unblemished by faulty prose. This volume will be read by many with great pleasure.

Norman, Oklahoma

DONALD J. BERTHRONG

Strands From The Weaving. By Lucretia Garfield Comer.
New York: Vantage Press. 1959. Pp. x, 73. \$2.95.

The picturesque title aptly describes what President Garfield's granddaughter has done with her family's history. She has brought together an impressionistic series of vignettes gleaned from memory, family letters, and numerous diaries. The Garfields were avid diarists. Contrary to a subtitle printed on the dust jacket (but not on the title page) this is not "The Life of Harry A. Garfield," Mrs. Comer's father, although some of the information presented in this little volume would be indispensable to a complete biography of Harry A. Garfield whose interesting and distinguished career amply merits such a study. For Harry Garfield was more than a president's son. In his own right he became a prominent Ohio lawyer before he was called by Woodrow Wilson to become a distinguished professor of government of Princeton during the early years of the twentieth century; afterward (from 1908 to 1934) he was president of Williams College, Federal Fuel Administrator during World War I, and the founder of the International Institute of Politics at Williamstown which brought together scholars from around the world for summer conferences during the 1920's.

Mrs. Comer unfortunately crowds her pages with many trivial details of family life which should have been relegated to a family album. There are, however, extremely interesting if brief accounts of General Garfield's life at his Mentor, Ohio, farm preceding his election in 1880, incidents of Harry Garfield's student days at St. Paul's private school in New Hampshire and at Williams College, a vivid election-night

scene in the Garfield family home, a description of the Garfields' attempt to adjust to life in the White House during the few months they lived there (Mrs. Garfield was suffering from malaria most of that time), a graphic description of the attack upon President Garfield in the Washington railway station, a portrait of the Harry Garfield family "at home" in the Berkshires during the summer of the Spanish American War, the opinions of Harry Garfield and others on imperialism and the Philippines presented at the Saratoga Conference where Carl Schurz was the principal speaker, some highly revealing comments on the professorial life at Princeton during the Wilson regime there, a few pages on the experiences of Harry Garfield and his wife when they were "trapped" in Europe by the outbreak of World War I in August, 1914, and, finally some rather didactic references to Harry Garfield's profound distrust of the Russians revealed to his daughter in the year of his death (1942).

This small volume has no documentation, bibliography, or other scholarly apparatus, but Mrs. Comer (wife of John P. Comer, Professor Emeritus of Political Science at Williams College) has presented some very interesting, at times unique, insights.

University of New Mexico

G. W. SMITH

Who Rush to Glory: The Cowboy Volunteers of 1898—Grigsby's Cowboys, Roosevelt's Rough Riders, Torrey's Rocky Mountain Riders. By Clifford P. Westermeier. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1958. Pp. 272. Illustrations, notes, bibliography, and index. \$6.00.

To assess this book judiciously, one must consider it on two levels. As a popular account of the so-called Cowboy Volunteer Cavalry regiments in the Spanish-American War, it probably will satisfy the less discriminating reader and those concerned with Western memorabilia. New Mexicans in particular will be interested in recruitment of territorial volunteers for Roosevelt's "Rough Riders." As a scholarly monograph, "Who Rush to Glory" is something else again. Woven together in its 261 pages of text are hundreds of bits

and scraps of information gleaned from contemporary newspaper sources. In more general works such historical bric-a-brac would either be relegated to footnotes or be completely ignored. If this study contains anything that is significantly new or historically important, it is not readily discernible.

Heroes are made, not born, and Professor Westermeier seeks to create heroes out of his "immortal" cowboy warriors. "Brief though their glory," he writes, "the Cowboy Volunteers of 1898 ride in the annals of American history as gallant heroes, stalwarts of their Western heritage." Ringing words indeed, but to "what annals of American history" does Professor Westermeier refer? If he is talking about the type of filio-pietistic history dispensed to our children on the grade school level, then he is probably right. But if he is discussing history written for sophisticated adults, then he is essentially guilty of perpetuating a "patriotic" myth. For the simple truth of the matter is that there wasn't very much that was either excessively heroic or immortal about the "Cowboy Volunteers of 1898."

There is no reason to delude ourselves any longer regarding the nature of the Spanish-American War which was a disgraceful episode from its very inception. The war was politically and morally indefensible and militarily it demonstrated only incredible American military incompetence. The Cuban campaign, in which but a small part of the Cowboy Volunteers was involved, added little luster to the military annals of the United States and actually proved nothing insofar as the alleged superior fighting qualities of the Westerners were concerned. In point of truth, the campaign in Cuba, to which Professor Westermeier for some inexplicable reason gives short shrift, was almost a complete fiasco bordering on tragedy. Only the ineptitude of the Spaniards allowed the triumph of the equally inept American forces. One shudders to think what would have been the fate of the latter if confronted by more formidable opponents. It can be argued, I think, that the real heroes of the war were those brave Spaniards who fought to the death in the face of hopeless odds.

Professor Westermeier's account tells essentially of the

recruitment and training of the First, Second and Third United States volunteer regiments. These were commanded respectively by three Colonels: Theodore Roosevelt (who succeeded Leonard Wood), Jay L. Torrey, and Melvin Grigsby. Roosevelt's Rough Riders were the only Cowboy cavalry volunteers to get in on the military action. In large measure, this was due to his audacity in commandeering a troop transport at Tampa, a fantastic episode which goes undescribed in this book. The Second regiment, "Torrey's Terrors," came East from Cheyenne and sat out the war in complete frustration at Jacksonville, while the men of Grigsby's Third regiment, which was recruited at Sioux Falls, were among the victims of the various diseases that swept through the improvised and pestilential army camp at Chicamagua Park, Georgia.

In retrospect, one wonders why the organization of cowboy cavalry regiments was even considered. The least amount of military common sense—and the war was conducted on this basis—would have indicated their absolute uselessness in a Cuban campaign. The Rough Riders, having left their horses behind at Tampa, fought as infantry men and by and large were not much better nor worse nor more heroic than their fellow soldiers. But unfortunately for the latter, they had no political fugleman for their leader nor have they had a historian to perpetrate and romanticize their limited exploits.

Boulder, Colorado

HOWARD H. QUINT

The West Is for Us: the Reminiscences of Mary A. Blankenship. Edited by Seymour V. Connor; Introduction and Illustrations by Mrs. Doyle Thornhill. Lubbock: West Texas Museum Association, 1958. Pp. 125.

Andrew Wesley Blankenship and Mary Almor Perritt exchanged their marriage vows in a "buggy wedding" on December 15, 1895, in Erath County, Texas. On the day after Christmas, 1901, with their first child, they stowed their household essentials—coffee grinder to Family Bible—in a covered wagon and joined another wagon bound for Tahoka Lakes, a day's horseback ride from Lubbock, Texas. Eight

days and a gap of civilization later, they were "nesters" on the wide-flung prairie, its expanse broken only by the scattered windmills with their precious water, "landmarks and stepping stones on these great plains."

Mrs. Blankenship's record tells the simple story: from tent to half dug-out, to ranch house, to a home in Lubbock; from ranching and farming, and finally to family businesses and the establishment of the Town and Country Shopping Center, "a good neighbor" to the Texas Technological College. The detail of the early years wrenches us back into another age, the struggle with land and weather and loneliness never dimming the concern for school and church, for the close-knit neighborliness of these men and women as they shared the work of round-up and cattle trail and the homemade fun of games and dances and country gatherings. Nothing about this record is pretentious. It is direct and straightforward, written with life itself in a pattern from which boredom, softness, and sophistication are happily absent.

Mrs. Blankenship's story brings these short sixty years and the last of the pioneers astonishingly close, emphasizes once more the shock of our twentieth century leap into technological terror. More hearteningly, though, it reminds us that the old values are still close, too: "Courage and honor and hope and pride and compassion and pity and sacrifice which have been the glory of his past," as William Faulkner reminded the Nobel audience not so long ago. A fulfilled desire of Mrs. Blankenship's last years was a pilgrimage to hear Billy Graham. Perhaps it would not be amiss to suggest that a pilgrimage to the world of the Blankenships, a view once again of faith with works, is also a source of spiritual sustenance.

University of New Mexico

KATHERINE SIMONS

The Confederate Invasion of New Mexico and Arizona 1861-1862. By Robert Lee Kerby. Los Angeles 41: Westernlore Press, 1958. Pp. xix, 136. Bibliography, index. \$7.50.

Originally submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a master of arts degree at the University of Notre

Dame, this is a creditable work and the best printed summary of the Civil War in New Mexico. The author places the military operations in a background of grand Confederate strategy to seize the Southwest for immediate possession of military materiel and ultimate expansion to the Pacific coast. However, the study contains a number of questionable judgments and a few peccadillos.

Mr. Kerby presents the view that the Confederate campaign in New Mexico was significant, and that if successful the necessary resources might have been won to assure Confederate victory in the War. Furthermore, this western campaign was bound more closely to slavery expansion "than any other operation of the Rebellion. . . . It was not a mere sideshow." Since the author is not a native of the Southwest, but was born in New York City, he cannot be accused of too much local pride, which makes his judgment more deserving of respect, but the fate of the Southwest and the Confederacy rested upon the eastern battleground, not on what happened in New Mexico; the industrial strength of the North was more important in the long run than a supply of gold from the Far West or possession of west coast ports.

The New Mexico legislature did not have a "propensity for concentrating troops around the capital" at Santa Fe (p. 25) because troop movements were dictated by the United States War Department and, in reality, the soldiers were scattered among many posts from Tucson to Santa Fe and downstream from El Paso.

Canby was not isolated in a desert without funds and military resources (p. 37). The Santa Fe trail was open, Fort Union was a main supply depot, and he was able to draw upon the resources of New Mexico and Colorado. The author contradicts his own statement on p. 46.

California events were to measurably assist the Union cause in the Southwest (p. 40) is not a sound statement. Canby had triumphed over the Confederates before California assistance arrived in New Mexico.

The reader might compare the discussion of Reily's diplomatic mission to Chihuahua and Sonora with the account

by Hall in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, July, 1956. The definitive account of the battle of Val Verde remains to be written. The moot point is responsibility for the loss of McRae's battery which the author has not explored sufficiently.

Territorial government for New Mexico was established in 1851 (p. 75). Jornado should read Jornada.

Mr. Kerby's story reads well and is a welcome addition to southwestern history.

F. D. R.

University of the Northern Plains: A History of the University of North Dakota. By Louis G. Geiger. The University of North Dakota Press, Grand Forks, 1958. Pp. 491. \$5.00.

"On October 2, 1883, a group of dignitaries of Dakota Territory gathered on the windy, chilly prairie more than a mile west of the boom town of Grand Forks to lay the cornerstone of the first building of the University of North Dakota." The Grand Forks *Herald* described the occasion by saying that one of the "brightest, crispest, freshest, most palpably wholesome days of the most glorious autumn that even Dakota ever saw crowned the object of the day's proceedings with an approving and sunlit smile." As one reads the book, it soon becomes evident that not all was "sunlit smile" and "glorious autumn" for North Dakota's first and only state university. For during the next seventy-five years after its founding, this school faced and overcame about every kind of trouble a university can possibly experience: lack of adequate financial support; political maneuvering; absence and abuse of academic freedom; tornado and fire; meddling alumni; unwholesome competition among institutions of higher education within the state; overemphasis on varsity athletics; and incompetent administration.

The author's style holds the interest of the reader exceedingly well, even though he quotes frequently from well-documented sources, and notwithstanding the fact that seventy-five full years of educational history in North Dakota are covered in this book. One gets the impression and is

constantly reminded that at Grand Forks there is a real school—with real human beings struggling industriously as its administrators and teachers.

The circumstances surrounding the beginning of this university were meager. Indeed they were pathetic. "The nearest trees were the giant cottonwoods fringing the Red River, nearly three miles to the east," the author relates. He also mentions that the Territorial Assembly made the initial effort to begin the university by approving a bond issue "authorizing \$30,000 for construction of a building." And yet enthusiasm and optimism were unlimited at the same time. Territorial Governor Nehemiah Ordway, in his speech at the dedication ceremony, said "the people of this valley would rise up and call those who had laid the foundation of this institution today, blessed." And David Kiehle, in giving the main address of the occasion, outlined the conditions upon which the institution would prosper: (1) "pure and intelligent administration; one that will not allow its plan and aim to be disturbed by diverting influence, personal, political, or sectarian." (2) "its curriculum should be broad and generous, in that it shall provide the culture that will promote scholarship in every department that affects human happiness." (3) "that which deserves the rank of university must recognize man in his widest relations as a social and religious being, and cultivate intelligence which shall fit him for his highest good here, and, at least, be in harmony with his great future lying just beyond the horizon of mortal vision."

Local reporters called it a large crowd at this laying of the cornerstone, "but a photograph of the gathering reveals less the crowd they professed to see than the vast emptiness of the Dakota prairie."

The author seems to have a good understanding of the frontier—of the agricultural, political, and economic development of the Dakota territory. The reader is constantly aware of the expert way in which Mr. Geiger relates the progress of the University to the setting in which it is found. This is done factually and yet with an ease of expression that is not without its humor. For example, his description of some Grand Forks happenings in the 1880's livens up the

first chapter. "Life in such an atmosphere," the author tells us, "furnished its excitement and its contrasts. The newspapers regularly reported events from the rough side of the community: a hair pulling brawl over the distribution of fees at the establishment of 'Big Kate,' the best known madam in town, an after-midnight wedding at one of the 'houses' witnessed by a large gathering of the 'fast and fancy' set, the suicide of the 'frail but beautiful' Mrs. Burdick, a 'private courtesan,' a lynching off the Red River bridge, the discovery on a doorstep of the dead body of a 'victim of dissipation,' and the drunkenly hilarious drenching of a half-breed's hair and beard with kerosene and setting it ablaze in a saloon."

"Yet Grand Forks also possessed a solid core of permanent citizens," we are told by the author. "The six churches were full. More than 300 children were reported enrolled in the city schools in February, 1882. . . . The Masonic Lodge came in 1880, a chamber of commerce was formed in 1881, and a racing association laid out a track in 1882. . . . The Pioneer Club, also founded in 1879, was restricted to a hundred members possessing the proper qualifications of money or manners. . . . They were also the town's civic and cultural leaders. Most of these people were small scale *nouveau riche* who had made good in the boom, but included also was an unusually large number of well-educated and gently reared men and women, among them three of the first Board of Regents of the University, Twamley, Collins, and Teel."

Though meager the beginning and rough the long road for the next seventy-five years, this University of North Dakota has emerged, Mr. Geiger asserts, into a reputable institution of higher education which serves its state well.

At first there were only a college of liberal arts and letters and a normal college. Later, these two units were changed and renamed, and other schools and colleges were added. Science, Literature and Arts, Engineering, Medicine,¹ Law, and Education were organized between 1899 and 1905, while

1. It is interesting to note that when the legislature first established the medical school, it appropriated a total of \$1,000 for its support!

the College of Business and Public Administration was added later to complete the organization of a full-scale university.

William Blackburn, a clergyman from Ohio, was the University's first president, and he was followed by eight more presidents during the first seventy-five years, George W. Starcher being the last of these and currently in office at the time of Mr. Geiger's writing in 1958.

This brief review cannot include details of the administrations of these men. It might be helpful to point out, however, that after its first three presidents (Blackburn, Montgomery, and Sprague) the University settled down somewhat in 1891 and during the next eighteen years under Pres. Webster Merrifield made its greatest growth and progress. It was during this period that it blossomed into a full-fledged university, modeled chiefly after the University of Wisconsin and Cornell University. Much of this was accomplished under Merrifield despite severe money troubles during the early and middle 1890's. In fact, in 1895, the school was about to be closed—at least temporarily—because of inadequate financial support, when Governor Allin took special and drastic steps to keep it open.

Supporting Merrifield and giving much of his time, money and talent to the University was William (Billy) Budge, a trustee from 1891 to 1907. A consideration of the school at the turn of the century would be most incomplete without including Budge's many contributions under Merrifield. The author devotes much time to the "team of Merrifield and Budge," and rightly so, because these two men were certainly stalwarts in the development of the University.

Following Merrifield in 1907 as president was Frank L. McVey, who later (in 1917) became president of the University of Kentucky (1917-1941). McVey's contributions were mainly to raise academic standards and to reorganize the University for more efficient and effective operation. According to the author, the faculty and students were indeed sorry to lose McVey, the scholar, in 1917.

An interesting part of the University's development was the change in modes of transportation between Grand Forks and the campus, about a mile and a half apart. First walking

and then bicycling; then an omnibus, "Black Maria," in 1899; and then a trolley line, begun in September, 1904. "The trolley and the sewer," Mr. Geiger declares, "were major factors in the residential development that presently began in the University neighborhood."

The University underwent its most tempestuous times during the administration of Pres. Thomas F. Kane, who succeeded McVey in 1917. Well educated and highly recommended when he was employed, Kane soon came into disfavor with his faculty. In fact, it was during his regime that the matter of academic freedom was most bitterly debated. Geiger tells in a vivid and exciting way how the faculty rose up and defied Kane. He was at the point of being dismissed on several occasions. Feelings were high and words were sharp. Kane himself accused the board of regents of political maneuvering, and he severely criticized certain faculty members in public. Geiger says of this man, "Worst of all, the president was more than a little careless with the truth, or told it only incompletely." Totten and Muir (regents at the time—1920) "appeared on the campus, briefly investigated charges formally filed by a faculty group, and . . . then asked Kane to resign, all within a few hours." A group of faculty members shortly afterward issued a 12 page document of severe criticism of the president. This paper was entitled, "Memoranda of the Unfortunate Happenings at the University of North Dakota." It was never published, however, and it has now disappeared from the Board's records.

Kane survived the many storms and continued as the school's controversial president until 1933, when he was forced to resign. But it is Geiger's conclusion that little progress and few changes were made during his administration.

The rest of this very well written book deals with many aspects of campus life under Pres. John West and Pres. George Starcher. Successes and failures in varsity athletics are discussed by the author, but in a very balanced way. Alumni activities (good and bad) are also included, as the author describes the frequent and persistent pressures which were brought to bear on the school's administrators and faculty. The reader who is aware of today's pressures on such

institutions will cringe with understanding, and yet will enjoy Geiger's account of these things at North Dakota. In fact, in the last paragraph of the book, one finds the author (presently a member of the University's History Department faculty) still saying (in 1958) "Many problems loom ahead," but he also goes on to say that the "future [of the University] seems bright indeed."

Here is a well-written history of a great school. It should be enjoyed by scholar and layman alike. Congratulations to its author, Mr. Louis Geiger, for a job well done.

University of New Mexico

CHESTER C. TRAVELSTEAD

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JOINT STATEHOOD: 1906

By DONALD D. LEOPARD*

THE desirability of statehood is evidenced by the intensity of feeling that Territorial citizens display when admission is granted, but in the annals of American History there exists at least one case where the blessing of statehood was dismissed because the terms for admission were unacceptable to two of the Territories in question. Such an incident occurred in the early 1900's when a plan was formulated to fuse the four remaining Western Territories and admit them as two separate and equal states.

The national election of 1900 had seen the triumph of the Republican Party. Among the many planks in that Party's platform one called for the inclusion of the remaining Territories of Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma and Indian Territory in the Federal Union. Preliminary to the fulfillment of this pledge, an investigating team headed by Senator Beveridge of Illinois visited these areas intent on discovering the political and economic maturation level of these Western Territories. After completing its junket in 1902, Beveridge's committee submitted the majority report calling for the immediate admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one state and recommended that Arizona and New Mexico continue as Territories for an indefinite period.

This pronouncement against Arizona and New Mexico proved unacceptable to most parties and eventually a compromise proposal, which Beveridge came to look on as his own, was advanced calling for the fusion of the four Western

* Based on Leopard, *Joint Statehood: 1906*. University of New Mexico, Master of Arts Thesis in History, 1958.

Territories into two states. Although this proposal seemed satisfactory to various congressional leaders, it far from pleased the citizens of two of the Territories in question. The leading political parties of both Arizona and New Mexico went on record in opposition to the measure and much ill will toward consolidation was generated in the various Territorial newspapers. The seemingly inalterable distaste for joint statehood evidenced by the majority of sources in Arizona and New Mexico contrasts sharply with the pleased acquiescence that marked the feeling of Oklahoma and Indian Territory to a similar proposal. Eventually the policy of consolidation gained official sanction from President Theodore Roosevelt and in December 1905 joint statehood bills were introduced in both the House and Senate and were quickly referred to the Committee on Territories.

After deliberation the Committee brought forth what was known as the Hamilton Joint Statehood Bill. The Hamilton measure called for the consolidation of the four Western Territories into two states. Oklahoma and Indian Territory were to be united into one state to be named Oklahoma, its capital to be Guthrie and the new state was to receive two sections in each township and \$5,000,000 cash grant for the establishment of schools. Arizona and New Mexico were to be united as the state of Arizona with the capital located at Santa Fe. Arizona, because of the aridity of the soil, was to receive four such sections plus the \$5,000,000 for the establishment and maintenance of its schools.

The generosity of the Hamilton plan did not impress New Mexicans who felt that the location of the capital was poor compensation for the loss of the Territorial name. Republican Santa Feans looked in horror to the possibility that they might eventually lose the proposed capital site to the more favorable situated city of Albuquerque and, worse still, see the political power go to the emergent Democratic Party of that city. To the more thoughtful citizenry the fear of Democratic hegemony, the loss of the Territorial name and the internal strife and jealousy concerning the location of the capital were only incidental to the basic problems that consolidation would bring. The real issue was one of uniting an

agricultural, predominantly Spanish-speaking people with an area dedicated to mining and industrial pursuits. Some New Mexico spokesmen felt that such a marriage would mean the virtual disfranchisement of the agricultural population by the industrial interests of Arizona, while Arizona business and industrial leaders direly prophesied that such a union would make for the insecurity of property and the stifling of progress.

The two Territories' obvious dissatisfaction regarding joint statehood prompted Senator Foraker of Ohio to introduce an amendment to the Hamilton Bill. The amendment called for the unreserved unification of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, but stipulated that Arizona and New Mexico should be allowed to decide their proposed union by a popular vote. A negative pronouncement by either Territorial electorate would block consolidation for both but would not affect Oklahoma's statehood chances.

With the passage of this amendment much of the opposition was removed from the Hamilton Bill and on June 19, 1906 the plan became law. Before the passage of the Foraker Amendment the New Mexico press, along with her Arizona brethren, had bitterly fought the unification scheme, but when it became evident that the amended Hamilton Bill would be passed by Congress, an abrupt change occurred in the editorial policy of New Mexico's leading Republican newspaper.

Ample evidence exists to show that this editorial reversal instituted by the *Santa Fe New Mexican* resulted from an agreement among stockholders and leading Territorial Republican politicians that joint statehood should become a plank in that Party's platform. The sanctioning of the Hamilton proposal was unofficial since the Territorial Republican Party was on record in opposition to consolidation, but its endorsement by leading dignitaries such as Holm O. Bursum, Chairman of the New Mexican Republican Central Committee, W. H. Andrews, Republican delegate to Congress, Solomon Luna, a prominent politician and business man and Max Frost, a leading Republican figure and editor and Publisher of the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, greatly enhanced the possi-

bility of its ultimate acceptability by the bulk of the Party faithful.

In public and private articles and correspondence these supporters of joint statehood developed a series of convincing arguments to show that the plan could be a great asset to the Territory if it were accepted by New Mexico voters. The protagonists argued that joint statehood was officially endorsed and approved by the national administration, and by supporting the proposal as a Party measure New Mexico might possibly gain much needed favor from the administration. It seemed doubtful, they argued, since Arizona still actively opposed consolidation, that a union would be effected, but New Mexico's support might cause her to receive special consideration for future statehood plans while Arizona would have to bear the full onus of guilt and resulting disfavor for her refusal to loyally uphold administration policy. If, however, Arizona became reconciled to joint statehood and gave accedence to the plan at the polls, the possibility existed that the unified state could enact a constitutional provision allowing for the division of the properly consolidated state of Arizona into two separate states. This possibility was further elucidated by Bursum who argued that though Arizona and New Mexico would officially be one state, by various duplications of offices the two areas could enjoy virtual local autonomy. This system of local autonomy would greatly facilitate the division of Arizona into two separate states when it became practicable to do so.

Party funds were utilized in an attempt to advertize the necessity of supporting joint statehood. Free newspapers advocating consolidation were sent throughout New Mexico and Arizona, pamphlets and circular letters printed in Spanish and English were widely distributed and New Mexico's Republican press worked closely with those few Arizona editors who supported the Hamilton proposal. These efforts and expenditures in support of unification were insufficient to counter the well financed and widely disseminated comments against the measure that emanated from Arizona Territory. Early in the campaign, New Mexico's pro-consolidation press

stopped circulating its literature to Arizona and concentrated in winning support within the Territorial confines of New Mexico.

This was no mean task since the bulk of voters seemed apathetic to joint statehood while many prominent Territorial citizens bitterly opposed it. Thomas B. Catron, a prominent New Mexican lawyer, landowner and statesman, and Manuel A. Otero, ex-Territorial Governor were the leading Republican antagonists of the measure in the Territory. Endorsement of the Hamilton plan was further complicated by a split in Republican ranks over leadership of the Party.

H. J. Hagerman, President Theodore Roosevelt's newly appointed Governor of New Mexico, fomented Party dissent by his insistent policy of replacing appointed hold-overs from the previous Republican administration. Though acting on a *carte blanche* from the President, Hagerman created much antagonism by the manner in which he operated. He deposed Party Chairman Bursum from his position as Superintendent of the Territorial Penitentiary, and contested Bursum's leadership by instituting proceedings against him for supposed mishandling of Territorial funds while Superintendent. An investigating body exonerated Bursum of the charge, but in the interim period his position as Chairman of the Republican Central Committee was vigorously assailed by Hagerman and his supporters. This dissent complicated the issue since official Party support of the Bursum endorsed joint statehood plan was necessary in order for the various strategems postulated to be effective. To this end the Chairman and his cohorts labored, carefully spelling out the various advantages accruing to the Territory, its municipalities and corporations that would directly or indirectly result from the espousal of the joint statehood plan. Bursum successfully weathered the assault on his leadership and received almost unanimous endorsement of his policies at the Committee convention in Albuquerque in September, 1906. By the endorsement of Bursum and Andrews, the Committee by implication at least, virtually assured that the statehood plan would be a plank in the Republican platform in the forthcoming Republican Territorial Convention.

This Convention, held in Las Vegas, New Mexico, officially endorsed joint statehood as a Party plank. The Democrats likewise favored joint statehood. With both parties in agreement on this issue, the campaign became more intensely involved in the difficult job of gaining votes for individual candidates. The race for the delegate position became one of the main topics of concern with W. H. Andrews, the Republican incumbent, vigorously opposed by O. A. Larrazola, the Democratic aspirant.

The results of the November 6th election showed the Republican Party in majority control of the federal, Territorial and local offices. In the delegate race Andrews drew 4,817 votes while Larrazola tallied 4,447 votes. The small margin of victory afforded Andrews brought a protest from the Democratic camp but contesting proceedings were eventually dropped.

As predicted the joint statehood measure was accepted by New Mexico citizens only to meet resounding defeat at the Arizona polls. Arizona citizens cast 16,265 votes against the measure and only 3,141 votes for joint statehood. In New Mexico 14,735 votes were cast against consolidation while 26,195 votes were tallied for the Hamilton plan. The northern New Mexico counties of Mora, Rio Arriba, Santa Fe, Taos and Union opposed the measure while the remaining counties loyally supported the jointure proposal.

In analyzing the statistics of the New Mexico election a disparity is noted between the vote cast for the delegate race, a total of 9,264, as compared to the 41,930 votes cast for and against joint statehood. These figures seem to belie the statements of various politically prominent people in the Territory that joint statehood was indifferently viewed by the majority of New Mexico's citizenry. The evident apathy of the voters toward the measure suggests other reasons to explain the great disparity in the total vote cast for the supposedly hotly contested delegate position and the indifferently received statehood proposal.

The election post mortem brought to light many incidents of the campaign; political treachery, armed intimidation and general malpractices were reported from various sources.

The most interesting side light concerned the joint statehood ballots. These ballots, separate from the party ballot, were to be handed to the voters with the regular ticket. In two instances election officials stated that the statehood ballots were pre-marked in favor of statehood before being passed to the voters. If the voters were indifferent to statehood perhaps the registered citizenry might have accepted such ballots without comment. This is possible since by November 6, 1906, no doubt remained that Arizona would effectively kill the statehood measure. Two instances of pre-marking do not prove that the practice was widespread but such procedure might, in part, explain the tremendous total gained for the Hamilton measure in the New Mexico Territory.

Joint statehood was only another unsuccessful attempt at securing admittance into the Union, and with its demise the two remaining Southwestern Territories renewed their efforts to secure the recognition they felt was their due. In 1912, under the auspices of Republican President William Howard Taft, Arizona and New Mexico were admitted as equal and separate states in the Federal Union.

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE MIDDLE RIO PUERCO VALLEY, NEW MEXICO

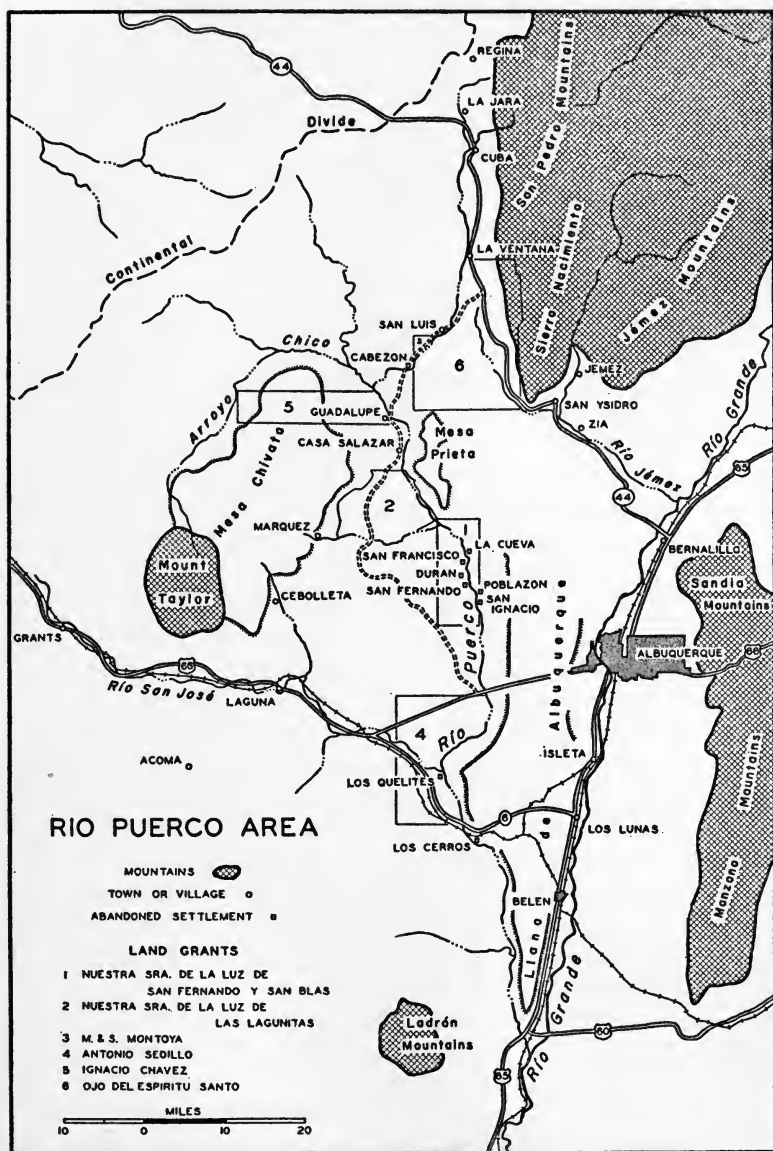
By JEROLD GWAYN WIDDISON *

TO survive in any part of the world, man "must form a workable connection with the resources of the land."¹ In some areas it is relatively easy to establish such a "connection," for many parts of the world offer abundant resources and hospitable environments; and in these regions man is able to choose and develop within wide limits his characteristics of occupancy and land use. The arid Rio Puerco valley of New Mexico, however, offers very few resources; and man is closely limited in his occupancy by adverse conditions of climate, vegetation, topography, and soils. In this region man must necessarily adapt his way of life to a few basic economic activities permitted by the physical environment. Relatively few variations are possible in carrying out these activities, and such variations depend in large measure on the technical abilities of the peoples who inhabit the land.

The watershed of the Rio Puerco is an area of about 6,000 square miles in northwestern New Mexico. Most of the land is stream-dissected plain and plateau country and has an altitude between 5,000 and 7,000 feet. The only mountains in the watershed are the isolated Mount Taylor and Ladrón Mountains and, along the northeastern margin, the San Pedro Mountains. Except in the mountain areas, the climate of the watershed is arid and semi-arid. Precipitation is meager and its effectiveness for plant growth is lessened by high surface runoff. The pattern of natural vegetation is largely a reflection of the climate and its local variations: there are extremes of mountain forest and meadow on the one hand, and expanses of barren soil on the other. Much of the watershed is covered by a thin forest of piñon pine and juniper species, but in the lower areas grasses and desert shrubs are domi-

* Excerpts from a Master of Arts thesis, Department of Geology, University of Colorado. The author's home address: 3333 Wilway Dr., NE, Albuquerque, N. M. See Notes and Documents.

1. P. E. James, *A Geography of Man* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1949), p. vii.



nant. As another expression of the climate, almost the entire watershed is drained by intermittent streams; a few small creeks in the higher elevations of Mount Taylor and the San Pedro Mountains are the only permanent streams. The Rio Puerco itself and its two main tributaries, the Rio San José and the Arroyo Chico, are the largest streams in the watershed; but they have only occasional flows of water in their channels. The San José and the Chico rise in the high plateau country in the western part of the watershed—along the continental divide—and they flow eastward to join the Rio Puerco, which is located quite near the eastern margin of the watershed. The Puerco has its headwaters on the slopes of the San Pedro Mountains and flows southward from those mountains to its junction with the Rio Grande.

Natural supplies of water throughout the Puerco watershed are few and undependable, and this lack causes the most basic restrictions on man's occupancy of the area. Population has always been small and located in those places where water can most easily be made available. A number of widely scattered ranches, trading posts, and Indian settlements are supplied by springs and wells; but the major area of settlement is the immediate valley of the Rio Puerco. In the upper part of this valley, near the headwaters of the river, there is sufficient stream water available for both domestic and agricultural use to support a population of more than 2,000 persons. Farther south in the valley the supply is much more limited, but—originally at least—there was enough to support a scattered population of a few hundred people. Even these few, nevertheless, were closely limited in their occupancy by the severity of the environment. All elements of the natural landscape combine into a harsh environment in which life is a daily struggle for existence.

The Rio Puerco is about 150 miles long and, with the exception of the Pecos River, is the longest New Mexico tributary to the Rio Grande.² Several short streams from the western slopes of the San Pedro join along the front of the

2. The Rio Puerco of this thesis is also known as the Rio Puerco of the East. It is thus distinguished from (1) the Rio Puerco of the West, a stream of New Mexico and Arizona that joins the Little Colorado River, and (2) a smaller Rio Puerco that is tributary to the Chama River in New Mexico.

mountains to create the Puerco. These small streams are fairly permanent in their mountain valleys, but often dry up as they near the base of the range. The stream beds become gullies, and what little water flows in them is lost by seepage in the sandy bottoms. As a result, the Rio Puerco itself is a dry gully almost from its beginning. The newly created river "flows" away from the base of the mountains and enters the plain and plateau country. This country becomes more arid toward the south, and through it the Puerco flows almost directly southward. If for this reason alone, flow of water in the river tends to disappear long before it reaches the mouth.

A trickle of water can usually be found in the Puerco river bed as far south as La Ventana, and the river may be called perennial to about that point. Below La Ventana, however, the Puerco must necessarily be termed intermittent and ephemeral. The stream bed may be completely dry for several weeks at a time, save an occasional "water hole" where water is protected from rapid evaporation by the shade of the river bank.³ During the spring there is a period when the mountain streams that create the Puerco furnish the river with a small but fairly steady flow. Even this water, however, may completely evaporate and seep into the ground before reaching La Ventana. In brief, waterflow in the middle and lower parts of the Rio Puerco is not dependent on the headwaters. The source of water for these sections of the river is precipitation that falls directly on the middle and lower parts of the watershed.

The Rio Puerco and its tributaries all have occasional flows of large quantities of water—"flash floods" that result from high surface runoff. An account written in 1897 accurately describes these floods and the streamflow of the Rio Puerco as follows: "This river drains a large area of country, but on all of it . . . the rainfall comes principally in sudden heavy downpours, so that the Puerco is a torrential stream when in flood, but is dry nine-tenths of the time."⁴ More re-

3. Carle H. Dane, "The La Ventana-Chacra Mesa Coal Field," part 3 of *Geology and Fuel Resources of the Southern Part of the San Juan Basin, New Mexico*, U. S. Department of Interior, Geological Survey, Bulletin 860-C, 1936, p. 86.

4. U. S. Congress, Senate, *Equitable Distribution of the Waters of the Rio Grande*, 55th Cong., 2d Sess., Doc. 229, 1897-98, p. 53.

cently it has been recognized that two types of flash floods occur on streams such as the Rio Puerco. Local thunderstorms cause small-volume floods in those arroyos and streams beneath the storms; large-volume floods are produced by general rainfall over all or much of the watershed.⁵ Small volume floods are the more common type. Within the last century a decrease in the vegetative cover of the Puerco watershed has promoted larger flash floods by permitting increased surface runoff. The large quantities of silt carried in the flood waters of the Puerco are the source of the river's name, which means "Dirty River."

Such streams as the Rio Puerco must be viewed in larger context as they affect the Rio Grande. Many of the tributaries to the upper Rio Grande are ephemeral streams that give only a little water to the main stream, but contribute a great deal of silt. In this regard the Puerco is the worst offender in either Colorado or New Mexico. Of the measured sediment entering the Rio Grande above Elephant Butte Dam, forty-five percent is contributed by the Rio Puerco. The same river, however, produces less than eight percent of the water inflow.⁶ The huge quantities of sediment provided by this and other streams are the source of several water problems of the Rio Grande valley, but only a beginning has been made to reduce the sediment loads of these streams.⁷

From the base of the mountains to its mouth, the Rio Puerco flows in a long narrow valley bordered by sharp-edged mesas and cuervas and partially filled with alluvium.⁸ This valley varies in width from less than a mile to three miles.

5. E. J. Dortignac, *Watershed Resources and Problems of the Upper Rio Grande Basin*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Rocky Mountain Forest and Range Experiment Station (Fort Collins, Colorado, 1956), p. 34.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

7. John C. Thompson, "Conditions on Irrigated Sections of the Middle Rio Grande in New Mexico," *Problems of the Upper Rio Grande*, U. S. Commission for Arid Resource Improvement and Development Publication No. 1, 1957, pp. 28-29.

8. The mesas and cuervas constitute the natural physical boundaries of the Rio Puerco valley. "Cultural boundaries" of the valley, i.e. the outer limits of occupancy, are located at greater distances from the river and are less exact: it is true that the settlements of the valley are located near the stream; but livestock are allowed to graze the country several miles back from the river on either side, and settlers of past times used timber from mountains and mesas located several miles from the valley. For simplicity the term "Rio Puerco valley" is used in this thesis to mean the natural, or physical valley of the river, though discussion of the cultural geography cannot always be limited to such a narrow area.

The floor of the valley was formerly a flood plain for the river, but with the last seventy-five years the river has entrenched itself into the alluvium to depths as great as fifty feet; and only here and there has it reached bedrock. Even the largest flash floods of the Puerco are now confined to the deep channel which the river has cut. No longer can flood waters inundate the old flood plain, which is essentially "a terrace above the present stream grade."⁹ This entrenchment of the river is one of the major changes that has taken place in the physical landscape of the Rio Puerco valley. It has greatly influenced the success of settlement in the valley, since the "settlement capability" of the land is based to a great degree on the river and the ease with which irrigation water may be diverted from it.

Aside from its effects on stream flow, climate is another factor that restricts occupation of the Puerco valley. The climate of the valley is arid and semi-arid, with an average annual precipitation that varies from about nine inches at the mouth of the river to more than 18 inches at the base of the headwater mountains. Most of the valley receives between nine and fourteen inches annually.¹⁰ The period of maximum precipitation is summer: during June, July, August, and September the valley receives about seventy-five percent of its annual rainfall. The summer rain comes mainly from thunderstorms, which are very localized in their occurrence but from which rainfall is very heavy. Preceding the rainy season are two or three months in the spring when high winds and duststorms are common.

Temperatures in the Puerco valley are not as high as those of some other arid regions in the southwestern United States, since the area is at both a high altitude and a fairly high latitude. Average annual temperatures range from 55° in the south to about 47° at the base of the San Pedro Mountains. Despite these moderate figures, however, summer tempera-

9. Kirk Bryan, "Historic Evidence on Changes in the Channel of the Rio Puerco, a Tributary of the Rio Grande in New Mexico," *Journal of Geology*, XXXVI (1928), 266.

10. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Survey Report, Flood Control, Rio Puerco Watershed, New Mexico*, 1941, Map 16; B. C. Renick, *Geology and Ground-Water Resources of Western Sandoval County, New Mexico*, U. S. Department of Interior, Geological Survey, Water Supply Paper 620, 1931, p. 6ff.

tures may become unbearably warm. During the daylight hours in summer, air and surface temperatures become extremely high, while at night the heat is lost rapidly and the air becomes uncomfortably cool. Winter temperatures, in contrast, are comparatively low throughout the 24-hour day. Both temperature and precipitation exhibit moderate and fairly even latitudinal gradients, the temperatures decreasing from south to north and the precipitation increasing from south to north.

Climatic conditions greatly affect the vegetation of the Puerco valley, for the scanty precipitation—and including here its spotty distribution and extreme variability—is the main hindrance to plant growth. In addition, the high temperatures and generally low humidity of the air in summer permit a large amount of transpiration and evaporation from plants and the ground. Therefore, all natural vegetation is xerophytic; and other plants introduced as agricultural crops can thrive only when artificially irrigated. But since the occupants of the valley developed irrigation imperfectly, and since there was little water with which to irrigate, introduced plants were small, seeds poorly developed, and yields meager. In contrast to summer conditions, the cool temperatures of fall, winter, and spring are not hazardous to either agriculture or grazing—the two dominant types of land use. The growing season is at least 110 days everywhere in the valley, and there is never enough snow to interfere with grazing.

The greater part of the valley is underlain by essentially horizontal sedimentaries, mostly Cretaceous sandstones and shales.¹¹ Considerable thicknesses of these strata are exposed in the mesas, cuestas, and hills on either side of the Puerco valley. The steep, often vertical, slopes of these uplands limit access to the valley from either side and help keep it isolated from other areas of settlement. Above the edges of the cliffs and scarps most of the land extending away from the valley in either direction is fairly level, but is rough and rocky. Soils on these uplands are thin and stony, and this, together with

11. Renick, *op. cit.*, p. 5; Dane, *op. cit.*, p. 91; Herbert E. Wright, Jr., "Tertiary and Quaternary Geology of the Lower Rio Puerco Area, New Mexico," *Bulletin of the Geological Society of America*, LVII (May, 1946), 392ff.

lack of water and the impossibility of irrigation, makes the land useless for agriculture. Grazing is its only suitable use, and even grazing capacity is limited by the steep slopes and rocky surfaces of the land.

Standing above the general level of the middle valley are two large mesas capped by basalt flows: Mesa Chivato and Mesa Prieta. The two were probably once joined, but the Puerco now flows between them.¹² Associated with these two mesas as part of the Mount Taylor volcanic region are a large number of volcanic necks—the most striking geomorphic features of the Puerco valley. These necks, in various stages of exposure, are widely scattered in the middle part of the valley. The largest neck is Cerro Cabezón (“big head”), a name also given to one of the settlements in the valley.¹³ These landforms are important only in that their steep slopes increase the difficulty of grazing.

A final noteworthy topographic feature is the Llano de Albuquerque, a long narrow upland separating the valley of the Puerco from that of the Rio Grande. The west side of this flat, mesa-like feature borders the lower Puerco valley and presents a continuous scarp for a distance of about seventy miles; the scarp is known as the Ceja del Puerco (“eyebrow of the Puerco”).¹⁴

Soils in the Puerco valley are developed from the alluvium of the valley, which is composed of material both deposited by the river and washed into the valley from the uplands on either side. At least fifty feet deep in places, this alluvium is well displayed in the vertical banks of the Puerco trench, but there is a noticeable lack of soil profiles. On the other hand, the entire thickness of the alluvium may be termed soil, since it is fine material that was transported in Quaternary time from upstream. There are few gravel-sized, or larger, particles contained in the alluvium; in most places it is a heavy-textured material from the surface downward.

12. Renick, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

13. Douglas W. Johnson, “Volcanic Necks of the Mount Taylor Region, New Mexico,” *Bulletin of the Geological Society of America*, XVIII (July 16, 1907), 305.

14. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 387, 399, 439.

The present soil at the surface is sandy to silty in texture. This soil "holds" water fairly well, but not so well as the still heavier soil of the Rio Grande valley. In the opinion of local residents this makes the Puerco land more suitable for agriculture than is the Rio Grande valley. The soil is very easily eroded, however. Cracks develop readily due to the expansion and contraction that accompanies alternate wetting and drying. These cracks

permit penetration and concentration of water, and thus contribute to gulying and sloughing of vertical arroyo banks. Gullies are commonly subterranean "piping holes" and may travel underground for long distances before entering the lower entrenched drainages. Gully erosion, including bank caving, probably constitutes the principal source of silt to the Rio Puerco.¹⁵

The valley soil has usually been described as fertile and productive of crops. Soil productivity depends chiefly, however, on such factors as types of crops and methods of cultivation. In all parts of the valley, for example, irrigation is essential for the production of even small yields. Dry farming has been attempted in the upper valley, but with only slight success.¹⁶ A comment written in 1856 summarizes the situation adequately: "the soil looks rich, but is barren for want of moisture. If it could be irrigated by artesian wells, as the geologist believes to be practicable, or by reservoirs for the surplus water of the rainy season, this region would be worthy of cultivation."¹⁷ As it is, soil characteristics in the Puerco valley and surrounding area play a minor role in determining land capability for agriculture or grazing, compared with such factors as water availability and range management.

Of all the elements of the natural landscape, vegetation is the most obvious indicator of the use capabilities of the

15. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Survey Report . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

17. U. S. Congress, Senate, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean*, 33d Cong., 2d Sess., Ex. Doc. 78, 1856, p. 58 of the Itinerary, A. Whipple's Report.

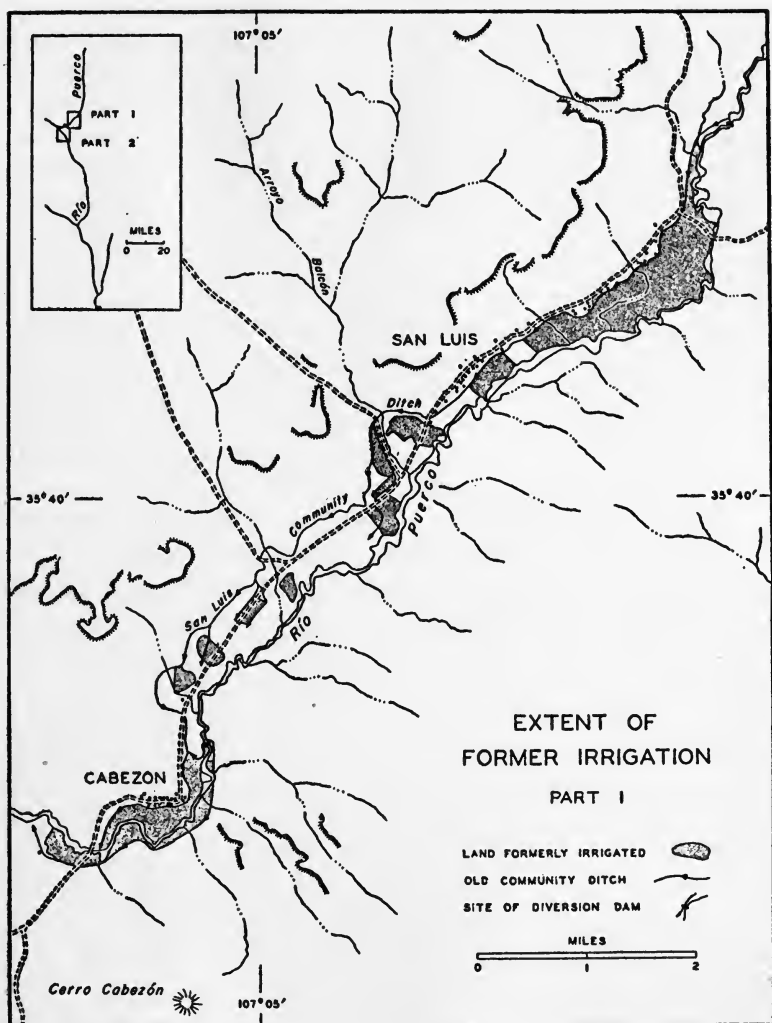


Fig. 16

land. The xerophytic vegetation of the Puerco area is evidence to the most casual observer that here is a land naturally suited only for grazing as an economic activity. Semi-desert grasses and shrubs cover the valley and much of the upland adjacent to it. The grasses do not form a complete sod cover, except in a few small locations at the mouths of arroyos. The shrubs are mostly greasewood (*Sarcobatus vermiculatus*), saltbush (*Atriplex* sp.), sagebrush (*Artemisia* sp.), and snakeweed (*Gutierrezia* sp.), all plants of low grazing value. Several species of cacti are also found in the area. These and the shrubs are scattered throughout the grassland in greater or lesser abundance, depending on local conditions.¹⁸ The grass cover of many large areas has been ruined by overgrazing and replaced by Russian-thistle (*Salosa kalitenufolia*). In some areas a weed known as pingue (*Actinea richardsoni*) has also become well established. This plant has toxic effects on livestock.¹⁹

Natural vegetation in and near the Puerco valley was extremely varied even before the entrance of white settlers. Nineteenth century travelers reported dense stands of sagebrush in some areas and "good grazing" in others.²⁰ It is also apparent, however, that there have been changes and variations in natural vegetation of the valley due to the use of the land by settlers. For example, there were once several locations of the valley floor where native grass was sufficiently thick and tall to be cut for hay.²¹ Cottonwood trees and willows commonly grew along the river banks. Today the tall grass has completely disappeared and many of the trees are dead. Some of the flood plain is now completely bare. There can be little doubt that vegetation in the Puerco area has decreased in quantity and quality in the historic past, with resultant increases in erosion and surface runoff. The "most serious conditions of vegetation depletion and erosion on the

18. Dortignac, *op. cit.*, p. 6, Fig. 2; Renick . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 9.

19. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Survey Report . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

20. Luna B. Leopold, "Vegetation of Southwestern Watersheds in the Nineteenth Century," *Geographical Review*, XLI (April, 1951), 301-305.

21. Bryan, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

Rio Grande watershed [above El Paso] are encountered on the Rio Puerco watershed."²²

The streams, climate, topography, soils, and vegetation of the Rio Puerco valley all combine to create a natural landscape in which human settlement can barely exist. Even the most complete and ingenious use of the valley's resources cannot raise occupancy above the subsistence level, a level at which poverty and hardship are characteristics of everyday life. And even under these conditions, only a few people can be supported by the land. The inherent paucity of resources has made it impossible for a large population to live in the valley, and will probably continue to make it impossible.

Settlers have occupied the middle Rio Puerco valley twice within the last 200 years. The first of their periods of settlement was short-lived and ended abruptly; the second was longer and came to a gradual end through many years of population decline.²³ The two periods were separated by almost a century, during which there were no settlements anywhere in the valley; yet the characteristics of the occupancy of these people were much the same in each period, so that in describing the occupancy the two periods may be considered without differentiation.

In the 1870's, small farms and villages were again established along the flood plain of the river, and this time even alongside the little creeks that flow out of the mountains to create the Puerco. There were probably a few more settlers in the upper and middle parts of the valley this time, but the lower valley, as before, remained unoccupied. Resettlement of the valley took place quickly, largely because the Indian danger had been suddenly removed.

Most of the new villages were built in the same locations as the old ones and, in some instances at least, the settlers were heirs of the original settlers. A survey map of 1877 shows four villages in the old Montaña grant. One of these

22. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Survey Report . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 8; also Leopold, *op. cit.*, pp. 295, 305.

23. By 1950 the middle valley was almost deserted, bringing the second period of settlement to an end. But in the upper valley, where the environment is more favorable to settlement, there still exists a considerable population.

was La Cueva, doubtless located on the site of La Cueva of the first period of settlement. The three others were San Francisco, Durán, and San Ignacio.²⁴

Farther south, Los Quelites was re-established at the mouth of the San José, and still farther south was a new village known as Los Cerros. It was located a little way downstream from the present railroad crossing of the Puerco and was the southernmost of all settlements in the valley.²⁵

North of the Montaña grant there were established the villages of Casa Salazar, Guadalupe, Cabezón, San Luis, La Ventana, and Cuba. Casa Salazar may be at the site of the old Lagunitas, San Luis is at the location of the old Ranchos de los Mestas, and Cuba is at the site of Nacimiento. The others have the same names as in the first period of settlement.

Above Cuba the settlers and their farms were widely scattered along the watercourses at the base of the mountains. There was lacking here the village type of organization characteristic of the middle valley; La Jara and Regina had only slight semblance of being villages.

Both the physical environment and the historical necessities of the people shaped the areal pattern of settlement in the middle Puerco valley. The physical environment, on the one hand, made desirable a pattern of scattered settlement, whereas such centuries-long characteristics as common use of rangeland, community irrigation systems and defense against Indians tended to bind the settlers into compact village units. Taken as a whole, the pattern of settlement illustrates a series of compromises between these opposing forces.

Population of the Puerco villages, a first consideration in the pattern of settlement, was always quite small. Limited by the dearth of natural resources, probably none of the vil-

24. Kirk Bryan, "Historic Evidence on Changes in the Channel of the Rio Puerco, A Tributary of the Rio Grande in New Mexico," *Journal of Geology*, XXXVI (1928), 275-276. The New Mexico Principal Meridian, located near the Puerco valley, was surveyed in 1855; and the notes of this and later surveys were used by Bryan in investigating these villages. One of these surveys noted the ruins of an additional town in the Montaña Grant, San Fernando; but apparently the old town of San Fernando was not re-established in the second period of settlement, and the ruins were those of the original village.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

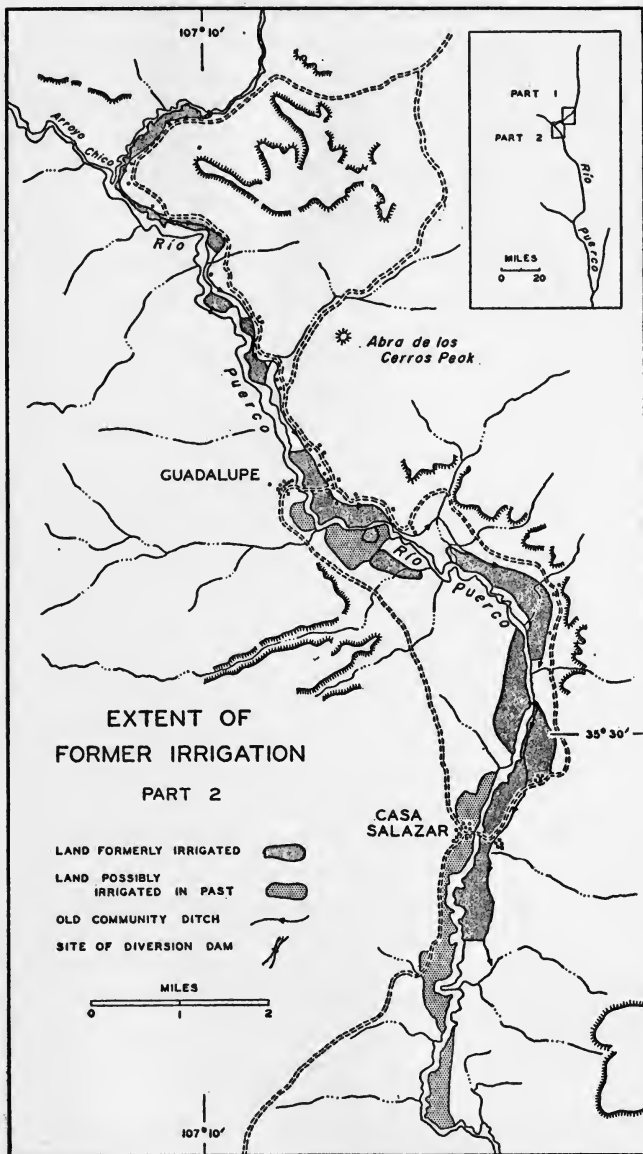


Fig. 17

lages in the middle valley ever contained more than about 200 persons.²⁶ In 1877 the population was estimated to be 100 at San Francisco and 150 at San Ignacio. La Cueva and Durán were still smaller, as there were reported to be only three occupied houses in each of these villages. At that time, however, both these villages were already past their peaks. San Francisco and San Ignacio, in contrast, may have grown a little larger, as indicated by the number of ruins visible in 1909 and at present [1957].²⁷ The village of Los Cerros was reported to have a population of 50-60 persons in 1881.²⁸ More recent population figures for the villages of San Luis, Cabezón, Guadalupe, and Casa Salazar reveal a decline from a total of 411 in 1930 to 20 in 1957.

Cabezón was the largest town in the middle valley, and is said to have once had four stores, four saloons, and three "dance halls." Cabezón, San Luis, Guadalupe, and Casa Salazar, at least, each had a small school and church, and there was long a post office at Cabezón and another at Guadalupe.

Each settlement consisted of little clusters, groups, or strings of adobe buildings. Some of the villages were quite compact, such as San Francisco and Guadalupe, while in others a row of houses extended two or three miles along a main irrigation ditch, as at San Luis. Topography of the valley and the land use associated with it made desirable a "stringing out" of the villages. The main factor in the layout as well as the location of each village was the presence of easily irrigated bottom land. Such land was found only here and there, and usually in narrow strips adjacent to the river. Where there were several hundred acres of this irrigable land, there was likely to be a village. Houses were often scattered along the upslope edge of the irrigated area, located as near as possible to the fields.

This distribution of houses and its variations are easily seen in the village layouts of Casa Salazar, Guadalupe, Cabezón, and San Luis. At Casa Salazar, the farthest south of these four villages, there were houses and fields on both sides

26. No census information about the valley is available except for the last few decades, and only a few estimates were previously made.

27. Bryan, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-276.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

of the river. Some of the houses were grouped into a small nucleus of settlement, but many others were widespread in the valley. This distribution was made possible primarily by considerable areas of land suitable for agriculture on each side of the river. It was also possible for the people to construct irrigation ditches on both sides of the stream. Houses were built alongside the ditches, adjacent to the individual fields. Usually the houses stood on one side of the main ditch and the fields lay on the other. A close grouping of the villages was thus sacrificed for the convenience of living near the family croplands.

At Guadalupe the layout was somewhat different. Here most of the houses were on the west side of the river, clustered around a little spring. In this case it was more important to the settlers to be near the supply of domestic water than to be near their fields, though most of these were also within easy walking distance. A few other settlers were scattered throughout this part of the valley where there were small patches of irrigable flood plain.

Cabezón, largest and most important of the middle Puerco villages, was located at the foot of a high bluff overlooking the valley on the west. The buildings were closely hemmed in between the bluff and the community's main irrigation ditch, for there was little space to be wasted in this section. High ground pinched out the flood plain just above and below Cabezón; and this limitation on cropland made necessary the close spacing of the buildings. At one time there were also some houses on the east side of the river at Cabezón, but some of these were destroyed by widening of the river channel; today the only buildings left standing are those on the west side.

San Luis was the least compact of the villages described. Houses were scattered along the community's main ditch for a distance of more than three miles, located wherever the flood plain seemed most suitable for cultivation. In this area the flood plain on the west side of the river was comparatively wide and uninterrupted, so that the settlement was not as restricted in area as was Cabezón. On the other hand, houses and fields at San Luis were all limited to one side of the river ;

a slightly elevated area on the opposite side broke the flatness of the valley floor and made ditches and fields impracticable.

Though the population and villages of the middle Puerco area were seemingly thinly scattered, actually most of the valley land suitable for agriculture was occupied. Comparatively short distances separated the settlements from each other; and, for the most part, the unoccupied bottom land between villages was too sloping, too rocky, or too narrow for irrigation and crop raising. In brief, the settlers occupied the valley to almost the maximum physical extent possible.

The presence or lack of good sources of domestic water was a minor factor in the location of the Puerco villages. The main settlement of Guadalupe had the advantage of being located at a spring, but the other villages had no such convenient water supply. In the early days at least, some water for domestic use was obtained from wells, and even river-water was used. Later, after the entrenchment of the river—and consequent lowering of the water table below the depth of most wells—the people used rainwater drained off corrugated metal roofs and stored in barrels and cisterns. Sometimes it was necessary to haul water in barrels from the spring at Guadalupe or from the Espíritu Santo spring several miles east of the valley.

At all the villages the houses and other buildings were constructed of adobe and stones, with either earth or metal roofs. A few refinements such as glass windows were the only major contrast with the eighteenth century period. Most of the old houses are presently in ruins, and they lend an aspect of desolation to the valley. This impression is heightened by the old croplands, now slowly returning to brush and native grass.

Livestock grazing and irrigation farming were the two basic economic activities of the settlers. Grazing was probably secondary in importance, but much more land was used for this activity than was devoted to agriculture. Large numbers of cattle, sheep, goats, and horses were fed on both the unplowed lands of the valley and on the crop fields themselves after harvest. In addition, the upland range was used for miles on either side of the river.

In the early days fences were few or non-existent, and the range was used in common by all the settlers. There was nothing to prevent each farmer from grazing his cattle wherever he wished. The flocks of sheep and goats, while kept under closer watch than cattle, were also pastured anywhere and everywhere on the watershed.²⁹ Grazing was thus unrestricted, yet the Puerco settlers were careful to cooperate with each other. Likely they pooled not only the range but their efforts in herding and managing their stock. A few riders and herders would have been sufficient to control the stock of each community, leaving the majority of the population engaged in farming. This was only one of the ways in which the settlers cooperated among themselves to make their occupancy of the middle valley more secure.

Livestock were watered from puddles in the river bottom and from a number of earthen reservoirs. These reservoirs, which were also more or less common property, were constructed by damming small drainage ways wherever it was convenient—often where they entered the flood plain from the surrounding uplands. The more favorably located of the reservoirs still collect small permanent pools of water, but many others were failures. Usually the unsuccessful ones did not collect the drainage from large enough areas, so that they dried up in the summer. Much of the water was also lost by seepage unless considerable efforts were made to give the reservoirs impermeable bottoms.

In recent years several wells with windmills have been drilled into the alluvium of the valley floor, and these, together with the river and the old reservoirs, adequately supply the present livestock.

The history of stocking by the Rio Puerco settlers followed closely that of the entire Rio Grande watershed above El Paso. Numbers of livestock reached a peak about 1900, after which there was an almost steady decrease until the present. In the Rio Grande watershed cattle decreased almost sixty percent between 1900 and 1935.³⁰ Perhaps the most im-

29. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Survey Report . . .*, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-150.

30. Based on information from U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Survey Report . . .*, *op. cit.*

portant factor accounting for this decrease was the depletion of range vegetation. This factor must have been important in the Puerco valley as well, but probably more significant here was the decrease in available rangeland.

The animals and their products were used by the settlers themselves and also were sold in the Rio Grande valley, thus giving the people some cash income. But commercial marketing of livestock was not important enough to overcome the basic subsistence economy. The only notable exception to this economy was Mr. Richard Heller. He was one of the most influential citizens of Cabezón (1889-1949) and is said to have once owned 10,000 sheep and 2,000 cattle. He regularly took stock to market in Albuquerque,³¹ and probably also served as an agent for other settlers of the middle valley.

The crop land of the middle valley, in contrast to the range, was controlled by the head of each family. The holdings of each family, however, were very small, usually little odd-shaped tracts less than fifteen acres in size. Nevertheless, these patches of irrigable valley bottom were the fundamental land resources upon which settlement of the valley was based. On these lands the folk grew their staple foods of corn, beans, chili, and wheat, and secondary crops of alfalfa, oats, and vegetables. In addition, there were a few orchard fruits—apples, pears, plums, and cherries. For the most part these were all subsistence and forage crops used locally, but some of the wheat was hauled to market in Albuquerque. In this regard it is reported that the Puerco valley was once known as the "bread basket of New Mexico,"³² but it is unlikely that such a poor area farmed by so few people could fully warrant the title. At one time a small flour mill at Cabezón served the local area, but it disappeared so long ago as to be almost forgotten.

Tall native grasses were another commercial product of the middle valley. At a number of locations along the river, especially at the mouths of certain tributary arroyos, wild

31. Henry T. Gurley, "A Town out of the Past," *New Mexico Magazine*, XXXV (April, 1957), 51.

32. Quoted by Mr. Richard Strong, Soil Conservation Service, Albuquerque. Also see article by Mr. Strong in *Albuquerque Tribune*, September 11, 1957.

grasses once grew two to three feet or more in height. The grass was cut annually in these comparatively well-watered places, and was sold in Albuquerque as "wild hay."

All planted crops in the middle valley were grown under irrigation, but not the Indian type of flood-water farming. No evidence exists that the settlers practiced this primitive type of irrigation. On the contrary, they irrigated their crops with water diverted directly from the Rio Puerco—though the Puerco was always a poor stream for such a purpose. The occasional flow of water in the river meant that crops could be irrigated only occasionally. However, it was possible, in time of summer flashflood in the river, to give the fields a good soaking, and one that would last until the next flood. No estimate can be made of the amount of water that was actually delivered, in an average year, to the crop lands. For maximum yields, however, the land would have needed about 1.5 to 3 acre-feet per acre per year.³³ This optimum was probably rarely achieved.

In the years before the river had entrenched itself deeply, it was relatively simple to divert water for irrigation. Many farmers built small dams and ditches of their own. A settler at San Ignacio stated that "low brush dams were thrown across the channel during later phases of the flood, and the water was diverted into ditches or simply warped over the land."³⁴ Also, when there were unusually large flash floods, the water left the river channel and inundated large areas of the valley floor. Apparently this flooding was gentle enough that there was little destruction of crops. When the floods occurred, according to one investigator, the soil became so saturated that crops grew with no further irrigation during the year.³⁵

Despite the ease of irrigating the land, most of the irrigation carried on in the middle valley was not done by the farmers as individuals, but by community effort. Probably from earliest times the settlers used "community ditch systems,"

33. U. S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Division of Land Economics, Water Utilization Section, *Water Facilities Area Plan for Upper Rio Puerco Watershed, Sandoval and Rio Arriba Counties, New Mexico*, 1939, pp. 44-46.

34. Kirk Bryan, "Flood-water Farming," *Geographical Review*, XIX (1929), 454.

35. *Ibid.*

which were common features of New Mexico. In establishing these systems each community (sometimes two adjacent communities) constructed one or two large irrigation ditches. Water was diverted from the river into these ditches by dams located short distances upstream from the settlements. Both dams and ditches were community property. From the ditches each farmer was allowed to take water to irrigate his fields, and in return was required to help keep the dams and ditches in repair. Each ditch system was governed by a commission of three men and an executive major-domo who were elected annually. Duties of these men were to apportion the water and see to it that every water-user contributed the necessary amount of labor to the upkeep of the ditch and dam.⁸⁶

Though the community ditch system did not originate in the Puerco valley, it may be viewed as definitely an adaptation of the occupance to the environment of the valley, for it made the most economical and efficient use of the river water that could be devised. In a wider view the system also illustrates the community efforts found necessary by the Spanish in settling the arid parts of America.

But despite their utility and comparative efficiency, the community ditch systems were still much less than perfect. The first trouble was that the community dams were not made to hold water in storage for any length of time, but only to divert it when the river ran. This was because the settlers had neither materials, finances, nor, perhaps, ability to construct water-tight structures. Even further beyond their conception were large reservoirs capable of watering crops through an entire season. What was possible to build, on the contrary, were small log and stone structures that could divert only a fraction of the ephemeral floodwaters. At first these structures were very small, but as the river channel enlarged they necessarily became larger also. Eventually they were structures of considerable size and major importance.

A second trouble with the ditch systems was that irrigation methods were always very poor. Even now, in the few

86. New Mexico, *Eighth Biennial Report of the State Engineer of New Mexico*, 1928, pp. 227-237.

systems still in use in the upper valley, water is usually applied to crops in a wasteful and inefficient manner. "Irrigation systems are poorly laid out, land has not been properly leveled or terraced, and substantial quantities of water are lost down road ditches and natural drainage-ways."³⁷ The ditches were usually built without being properly surveyed, and were of uneven grade and cross-section. Perhaps as much as 50 percent of the water carried in them was lost in one way or another before it could be delivered to the fields.³⁸

Each of the community ditches in the middle valley extended more or less parallel to the river channel for several miles, but was located near the upper edge of the flood plain. The ditches quite closely followed the contour of the land where the floodplain begins to steepen toward the base of the *cuestas* and uplands. Most of the agricultural fields were located between the ditch and the river, so that irrigation water would flow by gravity across the land and drain into the river. Most of the old fields and sections of the ditches are still visible and give an indication of the life and activity that once pervaded the valley.

Transportation routes in the Puerco valley in the 19th and early 20th centuries were of minor importance, as there was relatively little travel or trade among the villages or with the "outside." The routes that did exist were only wagon-track roads or trails. In the valley these ran almost parallel to the river, connecting the villages one with another. There were also several roads that led eastward out of the valley toward the Rio Grande valley. On the opposite side a road or two led westward to Marquez (Juan Tafoya) and the mountains and mesas from which wood was obtained.

Several routes of travel extended entirely across the middle Puerco valley. The best known of these were the ones followed today by highways 6 and 66 and one that crossed the river at Cabezón—the latter a route from Santa Fe to Fort Wingate (Fort Wingate was near present-day Gallup). U. S. Army troops and a stage line used the Cabezón route, and

37. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Survey Report . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

38. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Water Facilities Area Plan . . .*, *op. cit.* p. 46.

Cabezón village was important as a way station and watering stop. Even a temporary army post was set up at the village in the last decade of the century.³⁹ Other advantages of this route were a bridge near the settlement, which existed until at least 1882,⁴⁰ and the Cerro Cabezón, a landmark visible for miles. The Santa Fe railroad was built west from the Rio Grande valley in 1880. The railroad and the wagon roads from Los Lunas and Albuquerque began to carry most of the traffic across the valley, and the route through Cabezón began to dwindle and disappear.

But the disappearance of this route was only a minor change in comparison to others about to take place. The entire population of the middle Puerco valley soon began to feel changes occurring in both the landscape around them and in the nearby Rio Grande valley. Soon it became apparent that irrigation and grazing, as the settlers practiced them, were insufficient for gaining a livelihood in the middle valley, and they began to desert the area for the second and final time.

The people of the settlements farthest downstream were first to find they could not make a living in the valley, for they deserted their little communities as early as the 1880's and '90's. At the villages of San Luis, Cabezón, Guadalupe, and Casa Salazar, the settlers were more successful for a time, but eventually the majority of them were also forced to move. Guadalupe and Cabezón were abandoned only a few years ago. San Luis and Casa Salazar are still occupied, but only by a few families [1957]. The four villages of this area either met or are meeting the fate of the lower villages—it has only taken longer. Yet all during the twentieth century these villages were declining in prosperity. At least one man moved away from Cabezón as early as 1900 because, according to him, he could no longer farm successfully and the town was not prosperous.⁴¹

Yet only the villages and their associated croplands were deserted; the rangeland on all sides is still used for grazing. At the downstream settlements, the land passed into private

39. Gurley, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

40. Bryan, *Historic Evidence . . .*, pp. 273-274.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 274.



Entrenchment near La Ventana, approximately 50'; 1870's about 8'

or government ownership and is now grazed by stockmen who live far from the valley. Similar conditions exist in the San Luis-Casa Salazar area except for the few remaining settlers, who also graze a few animals—the last remnant of the old occupance.

The basic changes in the occupance of the middle valley have been, therefore, not only the abandonment of villages, but a shift from the dual economy of irrigation agriculture and stock-raising to stock-raising alone. The significance of this second change is that grazing as a single economy is incapable of supporting a resident population within the valley. The few settlers who still remain are only partially supported by their livestock, and they will probably all leave the valley soon. The outsiders, those who have taken over the use of the land, find no necessity for living in the valley. Briefly, then, except for the villages and croplands, the middle valley has not been deserted, but only given over to the use of non-resident graziers.

Among the several causal factors for the change, the most fundamental was the harsh desert environment in which the settlements were placed. The type of occupance and land use practiced was extremely hazardous under the most favorable natural and economic conditions. But the period of settlement was not a time in which conditions remained always favorable. Considering only such minor factors as annual variations in rainfall and flash floods, it is probably correct to surmise that the occupance was most closely adjusted to the "wet" years and was very imperfectly related to the "dry" ones.

In the larger view, a series of adverse changes occurred in both the physical environment and in economic conditions that encroached on the settlers. Each of these changes contributed in some degree to the abandonment of the valley, yet the relative importance of each change can only be estimated. The alterations in the physical environment were those of severe injury and deterioration of land resources, with a resulting decrease in productive capacity of the land. The economic changes were the growth and development of the

Rio Grande settlements and other nearby communities, so that the Puerco valley was left an area of relative as well as absolute poverty.

One of the most serious changes in the land base of the middle Rio Puerco area was the impoverishment of its vegetative cover. Vegetation depletion has been general on almost the entire New Mexico watershed of the Rio Grande—grazing capacity has decreased 40 to 50 percent—but the most pronounced conditions of range depletion within this area are found in and near the Rio Puerco valley.⁴² Some areas are more badly deteriorated than others. The most severely injured rangelands are located between Cuba and La Ventana, and between Cabezón and Casa Salazar. “Intermediately deteriorated” and “slightly deteriorated” plant cover is found throughout the remainder of the valley.⁴³

Depletion of the range was caused by overgrazing: it is estimated that as early as 1890 the rangeland surrounding the middle valley was overstocked.⁴⁴ Deterioration of plant cover followed promptly, and probably continued little abated until almost the present day. The blame for overgrazing must be shared by both the Rio Puerco settlers and by other graziers who brought animals into the area beginning in the 1880's. The animal population was so large, near the turn of the century, that the range grasses were eaten down almost to ground level, many of the plants died, and few new ones became established. In some locations grasses were replaced by hardy cactus, Russian-thistle, snakeweed, and other plants of low grazing value.

A small part of the range adjacent to the valley has a grazing capacity of one animal unit per year for each 50-80 acres. Capacity for most of the range is one animal unit for every 80-130 acres, and another small area has a capacity of one animal unit for every 130-210 acres. In almost every case, however, the past use of the range has exceeded grazing capacity. On some of the land, for example, less than 50 acres

42. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Survey Report . . . , op. cit.*, p. 8.

43. *Ibid.*, from a map based on field surveys of range conditions, overlay on Map 6. Criteria not stated.

44. *Ibid.*

have been allotted per animal unit, whereas 80-130 acres were needed.⁴⁵

No correlation is apparent between the various degrees of overgrazing from place to place and the history of abandonment, yet overgrazing and vegetation depletion were important in both decreasing present grazing capacity and in their effects on erosion.

The natural grass cover of the middle Puerco area was the principal control over the rate of runoff and soil erosion. With much of its cover destroyed by overgrazing, the land became more subject to both water and wind erosion, of which water erosion was by far the most serious. The two types of water erosion, sheet and gullying, are both found in the area; but sheet erosion, which is most active in reducing the topsoil, has proceeded to only a slight degree. The entire valley and closely adjacent area as far south as the Montaña grant have suffered "slight" sheet erosion, but much gullying. Farther back from the valley on either side, there has been a greater amount of sheet erosion ("moderate") with less frequent gullies, and the entire lower section of the valley has suffered slight sheet erosion. In the terminology of the Soil Conservation Service, "slight sheet erosion" signifies a removal of less than 25% of the topsoil, and "moderate sheet erosion" signifies removal of 25% to 75%.⁴⁶ Generally speaking, it appears that sheet erosion has been one of the less important factors in the decline of the Puerco settlements, but the same cannot be said of gully erosion.

Accelerated gully erosion, including the entrenchment of the Rio Puerco, was the most significant and striking change in the physical environment of the middle valley. The alluvial sediments of the old flood plain have been scarred and grooved by countless deep erosion channels, of which the Puerco channel is the largest. Thousands of tons of unconsolidated material have been eaten away, slumped off, and carried downstream by the river and all its tributary arroyos. Not only has this erosion removed and ruined considerable areas of useful land, but it has also made natural floods im-

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*, p. 207 and Map 12.

possible, has resulted in lowering of the water table, in silting of irrigation systems, and has made more difficult the construction of diversion dams. Each of these associated factors, in turn, and especially the last, has been significant to some degree in the decline of settlement.

Accelerated gullying and channel erosion began in the 1880's, thus coinciding with overgrazing and depletion of the range. Overgrazing must be considered the primary causal factor in the entrenchment of the Rio Puerco and its tributaries. For this reason overgrazing is one of the basic causes of the valley's decline.⁴⁷

The channel of the Rio Puerco, created by the tremendous erosional abilities of flash flood waters, is perhaps the largest "gully" of its kind in New Mexico. As flash floods increased in volume with the increased runoff on the watershed, the river channel deepened and widened rapidly. At several locations in the lower part of the valley, for example, the channel increased in width from an average of 75 feet in 1881 to 790 feet in 1939.⁴⁸ In 1927 the remains of an old dam were found at the site of Los Cerros; the base of the remnants was 22 feet above the bottom of the channel, indicating a deepening of that many feet since the dam was used in 1887.⁴⁹ At La Ventana the channel was only about eight feet deep in the 1870's, whereas it is now approximately 50 feet in depth.⁵⁰

As the channel deepened and widened, the settlers had an ever-increasing task in the construction and maintenance of their diversion dams. At first the dams were only flimsy struc-

47. Bryan has found some evidence that long term fluctuations in climate may be the ultimate cause of arroyo entrenchment in southwestern United States. He agrees, however, that overgrazing on the Rio Puerco watershed was the immediate, if not the ultimate, cause of the rapid entrenchment of the river. See Bryan, *op. cit.*, p. 281; Bryan, "Pre-Columbian Agriculture in the Southwest, as Conditioned by Periods of Alluviation," *Annals of Association of American Geographers*, XXXI (December, 1941), pp. 232-236; and Bryan, "Change in Plant Associations by Change in Ground Water Level," *Ecology*, IX (1928), p. 477.

48. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Survey Report . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

49. Bryan, "Historic Evidence . . .," *op. cit.*, p. 277.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 275. Local baselevel for the Rio Puerco is the elevation of the Rio Grande at the point where it is joined by the Puerco. This baselevel is actually rising slightly because the Rio Grande is aggrading its bed. A part of the lower Puerco, in response to this change, appears to have ceased downcutting. Farther up, the Puerco is still well above its local baselevel and is able to continue downcutting unabated.

tures of logs, brush, and stones and were easily destroyed by flash floods. When the river channel increased in size, the dams had to be larger and stronger, and these in turn were more costly to build and required more frequent repairs. Finally, when even their most carefully constructed dams were washed out, the people—already discouraged and impoverished by the other changes that were taking place around them—found it easier to abandon their villages than to replace the dams once more.

That the downstream settlements in the valley were abandoned first was probably partially due to the headward deepening of the river channel, which affected these settlements first. The old dams, croplands, and ditches of these downstream villages have all disappeared, and little remains of the villages themselves, with the exception of San Francisco. Though deserted sixty years ago, many of the stone and adobe walls of this village are still standing. Following the abandonment of the settlements in this area, and even before San Ignacio was totally deserted, two commercial companies attempted to irrigate part of the valley in the Montaña grant. The plans and efforts of these companies soon failed—for much the same reasons that private settlement failed—but not before considerable expenditures had been made.⁵¹

The history of community ditch systems in the San Luis-Casa Salazar area is somewhat confused, yet it aids an understanding of the importance to this area of the entrenchment of the Rio Puerco. According to one report "an irrigation system of considerable extent was put into operation at Cabezón in 1865."⁵² a date previous to that believed to mark the beginning of the second period of settlement. But according to an early investigation, all the ditches in the area were constructed in 1872, which date seems to coincide with the

51. Kirk Bryan, "Historic Evidence . . ." *op. cit.*, p. 276; New Mexico, *First Report of the State Engineer of New Mexico*, 1914, pp. 52, 34-39; New Mexico, *Second Biennial Report of the Territorial Engineer to the Governor of New Mexico*, 1910, see "Rio Puerco Irrigation Co." and "H. A. Jastro" in table opposite p. 70; New Mexico, *Fifth Biennial Report of the State Engineer of New Mexico*, 1922, same names, in table following p. 77.

52. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Water Facilities Area Plan . . .*, p. 40.

founding of the settlements.⁵³ The ditches and dams at that time were probably in about the same locations as those most recently used. The northernmost dam was one above San Luis that diverted water into a long ditch on the west side of the river. Perhaps San Luis was also served, at one time in the nineteenth century, by a ditch that began at La Ventana, about twelve miles upstream.⁵⁴ Just above Cabezón a dam marked the beginning of two ditches, one on either side of the river, that irrigated the farms of this community. A short distance below Cabezón a dam diverted water into a ditch on the east side of the river. Another short distance downstream, and below the mouth of Arroyo Chico, was a dam from which ditches extended on both sides of the river. These two ditches, which were those of the Abra de los Cerros system, are believed to have extended all the way to Guadalupe and Casa Salazar. In addition there was yet another diversion above Casa Salazar from which a ditch on the east side began.

Although the diversion dams were easily destroyed by large flash floods, they were almost as easily replaced in the early days of settlement. There is a record of dam failures, for example, at both Cabezón and San Luis in about 1877.⁵⁵ The San Luis barrier, then "a very small affair of brush and poles," was soon rebuilt, as was the Cabezón dam. But by 1880 the latter structure must have been destroyed again, for the San Luis ditch was extended south to serve Cabezón. Later, however, each town seems again to have had a separate ditch. One local resident said that the Cabezón dam was washed out for the last time in about 1922 (a very few remnants of it may yet be seen), and apparently the San Luis ditch was then extended to Cabezón again. Somewhat later, in 1936, the last diversion to serve Guadalupe and Casa Salazar was washed out,⁵⁶ and not since that year has irrigation farming been practiced at either community.

Meanwhile the dam at San Luis was destroyed again in

53. U. S. Congress, Senate, *Equitable Distribution of the Waters of the Rio Grande*, 55th Cong., 2d Sess., Doc. 229, 1897-98, p. 167.

54. Information from Soil Conservation Service file on San Luis Community Ditch.

55. Bryan, "Historic Evidence . . .," p. 273.

56. Soil Conservation Service file, *op. cit.*



San Luis Dam 1938



Ruins of San Luis Dam

1926 or 1927.⁵⁷ Soon thereafter the people requested the state engineer's office to investigate a new site for it. In 1928 a location was selected about one-half mile above the site of the destroyed barrier, and an appropriate structure was recommended.⁵⁸ Apparently the local people were planning to build the dam themselves, as in the past; but the structure was not begun until 1934, when construction was aided by federal funds. In 1936 the new structure was completed by the Soil Conservation Service, working with the local people. In 1939 and 1940 the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Soil Conservation Service made a few repairs and relocated the heading of the ditch. Diverted waters served only San Luis and not Cabezón.

The San Luis Community Ditch system was the only one in the middle Puerco valley ever to receive government assistance. For all repair and construction work, the local residents furnished the labor, and the government provided materials, equipment, and supervision. But no great expenditures of public money were ever made. Total cost to the government for work done in 1939, for example, was estimated at \$3,697.⁵⁹

San Luis dam was also the only one in the Puerco valley built according to recommendations of qualified engineers. All the others were haphazard contrivances wedged into narrow sections of the river channel. Usually there was no bedrock on which to build, and the unconsolidated alluvium of the valley made very unsound footing. Poor construction and poor foundation conditions, in addition to the pressures of floodwaters, were the most important factors in destruction of the dams. Even the one at San Luis, though better engineered and constructed than the others, was not proof against summer flash floods. It was destroyed by a large flood on July 24-25, 1951. This was the last dam in existence in the middle Puerco valley, and with its destruction one of the basic eco-

57. *Ibid.*

58. New Mexico, *Eighth Biennial Report of the State Engineer of New Mexico*, 1928, p. 58.

59. Soil Conservation Service file, *op. cit.*

conomic activities of the Puerco settlers, irrigation agriculture, became a practical impossibility.

Little information exists concerning crop yields in the Puerco valley, but it may be assumed that productivity was always low. In the drier middle valley, the yields were probably somewhat lower than those of farther upstream. Dry farming was attempted in the middle valley when irrigation became impossible, but without success. Dry-farm corn ("unimproved native corn") yielded only five bushels per acre at San Luis, but much of the acreage that was planted failed completely.⁶⁰

The low crop yields were not so much a product of the destruction of land resources as they were of the natural poverty of the land. Lack of water was the major difficulty—there was never enough rain and often not enough irrigation water. Soil quality was less important, even when the soils were somewhat eroded by sheet wash. Nevertheless, yields probably did decrease somewhat as a result of the removal of top soil.

Periodic drouth was a contributing factor to the decline of the middle valley that had a special effect on crop yields. Sometimes drouth took the form of local "dry spots" and sometimes it was general over the entire valley. If in any year or series of years there happened to be insufficient rain, and thus insufficient floods, there was probably a high percentage of crop failure. Then the people had to depend mostly on their livestock. Although there has been no agriculture in most of the middle valley for over a decade, the prolonged drouth of that period has adversely affected the range vegetation.

Not long after resettlement of the Puerco valley in the 1870's, the open rangeland available to the settlers became more and more restricted. In Spanish times unoccupied and ungranted land between settlements had been considered to be for the use of anyone, but the Americans put into practice the idea that all land was to be under some definite ownership. At the beginning of the American period (1846), most

60. Soil Conservation Service file, *op. cit.*

of the land of New Mexico was placed under federal government ownership as public domain. In time much of it passed into private ownership, and non-resident livestock operators gained control of large tracts on either side of the Rio Puerco valley; the Puerco settlers were deprived of the range they had used so freely. At first they were probably unaware of what was happening. Later they were financially unable to acquire their own rangelands.

More recently the available range has dwindled still further due to such measures as the creation of national forest (in the San Pedro Mountains), purchase of land by the government for Indian use, and control of the public range under the Taylor Act.⁶¹ Thus public land that once was parcelled out to private owners is now being returned to government ownership or control. This trend results from both a desire to safeguard the resources of the Puerco area and from nationwide federal conservation policies.

Even the old land grants, except the crop fields in the valley bottom, have long since passed out of private hands, so that the range lands of these grants are no longer freely available. The federal government now owns the Ignacio Chávez, Ojo del Espíritu Santo, M. and S. Montoya, Montaña, and Sedillo grants. Resident and non-resident graziers of the valley are allowed to use some of this land, but much of it is reserved exclusively for Indians of nearby pueblos. At the present time only a few dozen animals are owned by the remaining settlers in the valley. Their stock is restricted to small areas for which grazing rights have been acquired and to the old croplands in the valley.

From outside the Puerco valley came a number of economic influences on the settlers, in addition to range restriction. While the middle valley remained in a state of semi-isolation, New Mexico as a whole became "Americanized." This meant such things to the settlers of the valley as property taxes, military service, and need for larger cash incomes. These new conditions tended to disrupt both the isolation and especially the self-sufficiency of the valley.

61. Ralph Charles, "Land of Mañana," *Land Policy Review*, I (November-December, 1938), 10.

That the middle Puerco valley could not supply the new wants and necessities was especially obvious to young men returning from the world wars—the valley offered them little or nothing in comparison to what was offered elsewhere. Most of them were attracted by opportunities for wage labor in Albuquerque and other nearby cities and towns. Those who remained on the land in the Puerco valley also found it necessary to supplement their incomes with part time wage labor outside the valley. In short, there was so much greater economic opportunity in other areas that few felt they could afford to remain in the valley. A subsistence economy had little appeal in the midst of modern economic conditions.

A final agent in population decline and abandonment of the villages was the fact that each farmer had a very small acreage of cropland. At San Luis, for example, there was a total irrigable area of 546 acres, which was divided into 28 different land holdings; the largest holding of any individual was 71 acres and the smallest was 3 acres. Average size of the holdings was 19.5 acres, but most of them were smaller than this average. Obviously most of these farm units were too small to support the settlers at other than subsistence levels.⁶³

The crop fields were of irregular shape, due mostly to the exigencies of the topography, and bore no relation to the grid system of land subdivision which they long antedated. Most of them were long and narrow, with one end at the community ditch and the other at the river bank. This was in part due to the necessity of having each field supplied by the community ditch, and in part a result of land inheritance. The original farm lands were subdivided lengthwise among heirs, so the subdivided tracts came to form the long narrow strips.⁶⁴ On the whole, however, the small size of the crop fields was not so much the result of change through the years

63. Only at San Luis was a contemporary survey made of the irrigated land and its subdivision, but a similar pattern of land holdings probably existed at each of the other communities in the middle valley. Irrigated acreage at these other settlements cannot be accurately determined at present because much of the crop land is now indistinguishable. A rough comparison may be made, however, between the irrigated acreage at San Luis and that at nearby areas as shown in Figures 16, 17.

64. Soil Conservation Service file, *op. cit.*



The last of the inhabitants abandoned Cabezón in 1950

as it was a characteristic of the occupation from the beginning; there was always a comparatively small amount of cropland in relation to the population.

With the single exception of field size, the causal factors in the decline of the Spanish-American settlements were all changes in the physical and cultural setting. Most of these changes may be traced, in turn, directly or indirectly to the overuse and injury of land resources. When coupled with the fact that these resources were meager initially, it is not surprising that a major change took place in the occupation of the Puerco valley. Basically this change represented a lessening in the intensity of land use, and it may be viewed as a compensation for the overuse of the land that preceded it.

During the declining years of the villages there was a heavy dependence on public assistance as a source of income. A census taken in 1939 at San Luis showed that of 44 families in the community only two were without some form of government welfare aid. Twenty-six families were subsidized by Farm Security Administration grants, nine families had members on WPA projects, six were assisted by the state department of public welfare, and one had a member working for the state highway department.⁶⁵ The population at San Luis has now decreased to two families, and these still depend on livestock, wage work, and subsidation.

Travel into and within the middle valley is very difficult at present, as the roads are almost impassable. Countless detours must be made around headward-eroding gullies, collapsed bridges, and mudholes. Three high and rickety bridges on the "main" road through the valley—two across the Puerco and one crossing Arroyo Balcón—are much in need of repair or replacement. At Guadalupe this same road fords the river and is always impassable at this spot during the rainy season. In the summer of 1957 a section of the road north of Guadalupe was completely washed away by flash flood waters, cutting off that village from all motor travel.

Not only are the roads neglected, but the entire area is generally forgotten. The middle valley is located in the west-

65. Soil Conservation Service file, *op. cit.*

ern parts of Sandoval and Bernalillo counties, and each of these counties, with an orientation toward centers of population along the Rio Grande, can spare little attention to such remote and slightly populated areas as the middle Puerco valley. In short, the middle valley has lost all influence in New Mexico, just as it will probably soon lose the last of its inhabitants.

The physical and cultural environment of the upper valley has also changed, but not so greatly as in the middle valley. The settlers of the upper valley have made a re-adjustment to the changed environment. Crop agriculture, though not entirely disappeared, is much less important than it once was. Approximately twenty community ditch systems were constructed in this area, but few of them are still in use. Farming ceased at La Ventana long ago, even before 1910; and just south of Cuba, irrigation has been impossible for the last ten to fifteen years. A few remaining families in the latter area make some attempt at dry farming, but with little success.

All the presently irrigated acreage is far upstream, in the mountain valleys from which the Puerco originates. Here the water supply is more constant and there is less danger of large flash floods. Erosion and gulying are problems locally, but the streams do not have deeply eroded flood plains and channels like those in the middle Puerco. The main problem in these valleys is the usual drying up of the streams and ditches in the summer, when the water requirements are greatest.⁶⁶ For this reason, together with all the factors indicated for the decline of the middle valley, the amount of farmed and irrigated land in the upper valley has decreased greatly. In 1939 more than 5,500 acres in the area were irrigated by a total of seventeen ditch systems, but now much of the acreage and most of the ditches have been abandoned.⁶⁷

Meanwhile there have been other economic developments in the upper valley and, in comparison with these, the remaining crop agriculture is no longer an important factor in the

66. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Water Facilities Area Plan op. cit.*, pp. 33, 43f.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

total economy of the area. The new developments have also increased the population of the area from less than a thousand to about 2,000 persons.

Of these new American economies, commercial cattle raising is most important, though it came about indirectly. In the 1920's a number of new settlers moved into the upper valley west of Cuba and attempted to dry farm some of the lands. Failing in this because of the climate, they were soon forced to leave the area or switch to cattle raising. Their cattle industry now provides these people a fair living, but it is not as successful as the same industry in more humid areas.

Two other new developments are lumbering and copper mining. Lumbering is carried on in some of the forested areas near Cuba, and there is a sawmill southwest of the town. Copper mining was formerly important in the mountains just east of town, and mining activity may resume shortly.

For many years there have been a number of coal mines in operation in the region between Cuba and La Ventana. Only a few tons of coal are now produced per year, but there was a considerable production in the past. During the 1920's the coal was transported to the Rio Grande valley on a railroad that extended into the Puerco valley at La Ventana, but mining production declined with the depression, and the railroad went out of business. The small amount of coal presently mined is taken by truck to local markets in Bernalillo and Albuquerque.

The larger coal mines were located near La Ventana, which became the hub of mining activity. In 1930, about the peak of the village's importance, it had two general stores, a hotel, a post office, and a school.⁶⁸ Today there is a trading post surrounded by ruined buildings.

Like the agriculture of the earlier settlers, all the activities introduced into the upper valley by the newcomers have been only partially successful. Attempts at farming, as formerly, were limited by the physical environment. And in

68. Carle H. Dane, "The La Ventana-Chacra Mesa Coal Field," part 3 of *Geology and Fuel Resources of the Southern Part of the San Juan Basin, New Mexico*, U. S. Department of Interior, Geological Survey, Bulletin 860-C, 1936, p. 87.

other activities, because of their closer ties to the external economy, they were even more limited than were the original settlers by the cultural environment. Most noticeable in this regard was the decline of mining, which was intimately linked to the economy of the Rio Grande valley.

And yet, despite the decline of occupation, the total population of the upper valley has not decreased within the last years. In fact, there has been a notable increase, from a population of about 1,000 in 1930 to 2,000 at the present. But the increase is due only to the success of one settlement, the town of Cuba. Long ago Cuba became the trade center of the entire upper valley, and one might reasonably expect that the town would have declined in size and importance just as did all the settlements it served. On the contrary, Cuba has become more important and prosperous than ever before. Most of its prosperity, however, results not from the life of the Puerco valley, but from the highway that passes through the town. This highway (State Road 44), though paved less than ten years, is the only direct transportation route between two of the most well developed regions of New Mexico, the Rio Grande and San Juan River valleys. Cuba is about midway between the two valleys and is the only town of notable size on the 160 mile route. Much of its business is in supplying the needs of travelers passing through on the highway.

Cuba is the only un-characteristic settlement in the entire Rio Puerco valley. All other villages, whether in ruins or still occupied by a few families, are visible evidences of deterioration and change that have taken place in the occupation of the valley. Every hillside and gully presents similar evidence of deterioration and change in the physical environment. What further changes may occur, whether of improvement or further deterioration, await only the future.

COLONEL DON FERNANDO DE LA CONCHA
DIARY, 1788

Edited by ADLAI FEATHER ✓

Historical Background

DON Fernando de la Concha succeeded Lieut.-Col. Juan Bautista de Anza as governor on November 10, 1787. The wise policy of his predecessor, both military and political, had given the province greater security against the hostile tribes than any which it had previously enjoyed. The Utes and Comanches were at peace with each other and with the Spaniards. The eastern Apaches were kept from the borders by the intervention of the Comanches, to whom the governor had given arms and horses. The Navajos were kept in a state of truce, if not absolute friendliness, by a policy which included bribery, cajolery, threats and flattery. Under the circumstances, with no danger threatening from other quarters, Concha was able to get together one of the most formidable expeditions ever led against the Gila and Mimbres Apaches.

These Indians were by far the most formidable enemies which the Spaniards had encountered. The northern advance of the frontiers of Mexico had brought contact before the middle of the eighteenth century. At first, the superiority of Spanish arms had given them some advantage but the techniques of the Apaches soon improved sufficiently to nullify the superiority which the use of firearms and horses had previously afforded. The situation worsened each year and between 1748 and 1772, more than four thousand individuals had died at the hands of the Indians who drove off thousands of horses and mules from the settlements and destroyed millions of pesos worth of property. In 1776, an inspection of the Spanish defenses was ordered by the king and resulted in strong measures being taken to curb the menace. The best military men available were placed in command on the frontier. A line of garrisoned fortresses was placed at strategic locations. The northern provinces, including New Mexico, were formed into a Commandance-General administered directly from Madrid. At intervals, strong expeditions were

sent out to harass the Indians on their own terrain. A general war of attrition along the entire frontier caused the Indians some loss in personnel but failed to result in anything approaching subjugation.

The general plan of these expeditions was one of extreme caution. The main body of the forces and the supply train moved as rapidly as possible, keeping to the open country as far as possible. Detachments were sent ahead to scour the foothills of the mountains in an attempt to surprise small groups or rancherias and destroy them before they could seek refuge in the rough canyons. It was not considered advisable to penetrate deeply into the mountains since the Apaches were experts in the arts of concealment and ambush. This mode of warfare was continued by the Spaniards as long as they were in command of the frontier and guided Concha in his plan of action. His determination to cross the Gila Mountains may have been preconceived but was probably decided on the spot in view of the meagre success of his expedition on the northern side of the range. It was then obvious that the Apaches were well aware of the expedition well in advance and had taken refuge in the rough country. The greater part of the pay of both friendly Indians and settlers was to consist in spoils taken in battle and sale of prisoners. The danger of the mountains was probably preferable to the debacle of a return empty-handed.

The interest which Governor Concha showed in the location of the San Francisco River was one which was shared by officials and citizens of New Mexico. The fabulous placers San Ildefonso de la Cieneguilla had been discovered in 1779. These were situated in Western Sonora at no great distance south of the present Arizona border. As soon as the news had spread, numerous New Mexican settlers left the province without seeking the necessary permission and hastened to join the thousands of gold-seekers already assembled. Those who had no intention of deserting the state saw an improved market for their goods and labor. Governor Anza had attempted to form a combined military and trading caravan to Sonora by way of the San Francisco river but found conditions unfavorable. The only Spaniards who had led expeditions by that

route were Don Bernardo Miera y Pacheco who went from Zuñi to the Gila in 1747. This journey was made before the hostility of the Apaches had become solidified. Both reported finding sedentary Indians who cultivated maize in the vicinity of the present day towns of Alma and Pleasanton. Their statements that the river bed formed a short and easy road to Sonora was highly optimistic. It would have shortened the distance by almost half but later exploration showed that no road through the region could be called easy.

Concha had no guide available and apparently made no special effort to locate the San Francisco river, otherwise he would have proceeded to a point much nearer Zuñi. His conjecture that he may have stumbled upon it by accident was wrong; at no time was he even within its drainage basin.

The Expedition

The number of men whom Concha had in his command is nowhere stated. Ninety men left Santa Fe with him but no accounting is made of the numbers who joined him en route and at Laguna. There he selected twenty Navajos from among numerous volunteers. Later in his narrative he mentions the presence of Indians from Taos, Zia, Santa Ana and Jemez. There may have been natives from other Pueblos also.

Anza had been advised, eight years before, not to attempt the trip with less than five hundred persons. Judging from the numbers of men whom he was able to detach his command, he had not less than that number and more than twice that many horses.

The settlers were obliged to furnish horses for themselves and their servants. The Santa Fe garrison also possessed their own. The King's herd was destined to furnish mounts for the Indian allies, as had previously been done for the Comanches in their war against the Jicarilla Apaches. A herd of this size was undoubtedly unwieldy in rough or timbered country. When the train was sent to await the Governor at Fra Cristobal, the escort may have been small or so encumbered by the animals that they were able only to defend themselves from the Indians who harassed them without feeling capable of taking the offensive.

The Route

His route is easy to trace even though there are many obvious errors in his distances and the direction of his marches. The stopping places mentioned on his way from Santa Fe to Acoma are still well known and the distances correct. From that Pueblo, his first day's journey took him to Cebolla Spring, still so-called, thirty-one miles away near the foot of Cebolleta Mesa. His next stop was made in the open plain where he found water. Evidently the season had been one of normal rain or more since he never encountered difficulty in finding sufficient water for his horse herd. His third stop was near the site known at present as Tres Lagunas. The name of San Bartolome by which he designates the place is not to be found on maps of any period and is not used in the locality. The alternate name of El Presidio probably owes its origin to the appearance of a nearby peak, westernmost of the Sawtooth Range. Its vertical sides and flat top resemble a fortress, even from near at hand. He encamped at the lake a short distance to the northwest.

He was now traveling through piñon and juniper country which made a more or less circuitous route necessary because of the low-growing branches. Since these grow densely on the ridges and sparsely or not at all in the heavier soil of the valleys, it is likely that he rounded the west end of the Sawtooth Mountains and followed two opposite valleys, one of which leads downward into the flat land and opens into another which ascends toward the foot of Allegros Mountain where he made camp.

On the next day, he crossed the mountain range, passing east of Allegros Peak, through Greens Gap and to the west of Horse Mountain, stopping at Horse Springs. The broad plain of San Agustin was crossed at a rapid pace, fifteen leagues in a single day. His progress on the following day is doubtless in error. Setting out at one in the afternoon and stopping at five, he could not have covered the fourteen leagues given in his diary. He probably advanced less than a half of that distance.

Here he sent back his supply train and horse herd. Pro-

ceeding six miles over rocky terrain, he came to a river which he thought might be the San Francisco. It was the East Fork of the Gila. Surprising an Indian rancheria, he had his first and greatest success, killing eighteen and taking four prisoners.

A long and difficult journey of sixteen leagues in a single day took him across the mountains to a point not far from Pinos Altos. He then entered the Mimbres Valley and followed the stream to the Cienega del Rio Mimbres and two leagues beyond. Turning back to the northeast, he followed the low ridges of the Mimbres Mountains and crossed over a short distance north of Sawyers Peak. Descending the South Fork of the Percha, he camped at a spring near Hillsboro, then turned north to the marsh of the upper Animas Creek. Here he captured an Indian girl and proceeded north, crossing the Seco and Palomas Creeks, and camped on Cuchillo Negro Creek.

Finding that his supply train was not at Fra Cristobal, he crossed the Rio Grande and followed the east bank of the river and the Camino Real to Santa Fe.

Diary

Diary of the expedition against the Gila and Mimbres Apaches begun on the 22nd day of August, 1788, organized by the Governor of New Mexico who had previously given the necessary orders that the settlers and Indians of the Province should assemble in the Pueblo of Laguna.

The 22nd

I left the town of Santa Fe with seventy-four soldiers, eight Comanches, eight Jicarilla Apaches and the horse herds of the garrison and of the king and made camp for the night at the plains of Santo Domingo. Leagues 10

The 23rd

We left the Plains of Santo Domingo and made camp at Alameda for the night. On this day, two soldiers who were ill were sent back to Santa Fe. 10

The 24th

We traveled from this point to the plains of Isleta where we made camp. 8

The 25th

At this Pueblo, I dispatched a detachment to the Sierra de la Magdalena by way of the Sierra de los Ladrones, commanded by Sergeant Pablo Sandoval and composed of twenty soldiers and twenty selected civilians. I gave orders that they should reconnoiter both ranges, following any tracks which they might find in order to discover whether there were any enemies in these places and to punish them if they found them there. They were to rejoin me at the town of Laguna where they would find me making necessary arrangements for the general campaign.

With this in mind, I left Isleta and came to the Rio Puerco at midnight, examining all the places from which the Apaches frequently make their raids. 8

The 26th

From the Rio Puerco, I went to the Pueblo of Laguna, making reconnoissance as before. 10

The 27th

I halted in order to assign all my forces, supply our allies and organize the divisions. Out of the royal treasury I bought cattle and sheep for the maintenance of the Comanches, Jicarillas, and Navajos. Of the last-named nation no less than fifty-three had joined me on the previous day; but realizing the great expense which it would cause the treasury to furnish them with food for two months, as well as the wearing down of the king's horses which would result, I dismissed a part of them, thanking them for their good will and presenting them with gifts. I kept the well-known Antonio el Pinto¹

1. Antonio el Pinto was a Navajo well known to the Spaniards. He had formerly been seen among Indian raiders in Sonora. In 1786, he came to Santa Fe with others of his tribe and declared his allegiance to the Spaniards. Later, he was reported to have been seen at an Apache council at the Picacho; an accusation which he denied.

His friends and relatives were among the Apaches who lived on the Mimbres which accounts for the zeal with which he fought a strange tribe on the upper Gila and his reluctance to lead the army farther south.

and nineteen of his family group which is composed of some of the most vigorous individuals and best acquainted with the territory to which we are proceeding.

On the same day, I completed the organization of four divisions under the command of First Lieutenant Don Manuel Delgado, Ensign Don Antonio Guerrero and Sergeants Pablo Sandoval and Don Clieto Miera. Each of these four divisions I further divided into another four to avoid confusion. These were placed under the command of military officers and sergeants.

The 28th

A review was made of the troops and their arms and general orders were given concerning the stations of each one under all circumstances.

The 29th

Ammunition was distributed according to need. Sergeant Pablo Sandoval joined me with his party, after reconnoitering the Sierra de la Magdalena and the Sierra de los Ladrones, and reported no fresh tracks nor any new occurrences.

The 30th

After Mass, we started out for the Pueblo of Acoma, having arranged the return to the Villa (Santa Fe) of two soldiers and four militia who were ill and having proclaimed an edict upon the procedure of each man when we succeeded in attacking the enemy. 6

The 31st

The whole group set out for a place which is called La Cebolla under the command of First Lieutenant D Manuel Delgado and I remained at Laguna suffering from a severe pain. I ordered them to wait for me there for three or four days, during which time I hoped to recover enough to make the journey. I also bled myself twice which served to alleviate the pain.

September 1st

I began to feel some relief.

The 2nd

I left Acoma with an escort of eight men whom I had retained and at sunset I arrived at La Cebolla where the troops, who had arrived that same day, received me with great demonstrations of joy. Delgado reported that nothing had happened during my absence. 12

The 3rd

We left the place called La Cebolla at four in the afternoon, traveled southwest and stopped at eight at night on a plain where we found water. 6

The 4th

We left this place at dawn and traveled south-southwest as far as a marsh with plenty of water which is called El Presidio by some and by others La Cienaga de San Bartolome. We stopped at two in the afternoon. 10

The 5th

At dawn today, I sent out forty eight men as spies guided by the Navajo, Antonio el Pinto, who is acquainted with the country.

At one o'clock we all started out toward the south a quarter southeast in search of a spring of water which Antonio himself told us would be found at the foot of some mountains. Another Navajo who had been left with us for this purpose by Antonio guided us to this place. We arrived at 5:30 and found abundant grass and plenty of good water. This place was named Ojo del Oso because a bear was found here.

This place is about 85 leagues from the Villa, 50 from Zuñi and 70 from El Paso. The Gila and Mimbres Apaches, on their frequent raids into the Province, and especially into the part called the Rio Abajo, pass by here and it is the most suitable place to establish or place a garrison to punish them or hold them in check. The amount of wood as well as the location of the place are exceptional. 12

The 6th

We started out from here at dawn and entered a wide canyon running in the direction of south and a quarter southwest

and about half way through the mountains it ended. We followed another, after climbing a slope, and traveled south southeast until we reached a plain which is called the Plain of San Agustin² where we made camp at two in the afternoon with plenty of permanent water and good grass.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, Antonio el Navajo and his scouting party rejoined me and reported that no more than four old trails of the enemy had been found. 10

The 7th

At dawn, another party of forty eight men started out on a scouting trip, led by the same Navajo and by the interpreter of this same nation, Francisco Garcia, leaving another Navajo and the Acoma Indian named Casimiro to guide us to the place which he had designated.

At eight o'clock, after having heard Mass, I started out with the entire expedition and we traveled toward the south-southeast until 12 o'clock. Then, crossing a plain, we descended into a canyon which ran southwest which direction we followed until 9 at night when we stopped to make camp near a spring with little water which we called Ojo de los Alamos since there were cottonwood trees in the vicinity.

A short time afterward, the scouts arrived saying that they had come across only two trails of Apache hunters. However, I had ordered them followed previously since I had found them too. 15

The 8th

Those who had been following the Indian trails returned and advised me that they had gone into the mountains.

At nine in the morning, I sent some men out on foot to find out whether there were any tracks on the route which we were to follow.

At 12, I started out in the direction of some rough mountains toward the southwest which, according to Antonio, was the Sierra de la Gila.

2. The San Agustin Plains were well known to the Navajos since the abundance of antelope furnished excellent hunting. After firearms began to be used, the numbers decreased and were practically exterminated by the heavy snows of 1888.

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon we found two fresh tracks of men on foot. I detached Lieut. Don Manuel Delgado to follow them with thirty men and at 4 o'clock I sent Pablo Sandoval with thirty more to aid the first named in case he should come upon the rancheria toward which the tracks were headed. At 5 o'clock, I found them together behind a hill where they had remained out of sight of the enemy. They assured me that the enemy was in a canyon nearby, which they pointed out. Since there was abundant water and grass, I halted and made a guarded camp and detached seventy men on foot and 24 cavalrymen whom I turned over to the same Delgado and Sandoval to reconnoiter and attack the place mentioned. At nightfall they left for this purpose.

At exactly the same time, I sent the soldier Baltasar Rivera in the opposite direction to cut sign and then advise me of any new developments. 14

The 9th

At dawn, I sent out spies to look for tracks not only in the direction which we were to take but also in other directions being ready to start out as soon as the detachment should return.

At seven the soldier Rivera returned with his party and advised me that they had gone five leagues without finding any tracks.

During morning prayers, Delgado's party arrived and informed me that they had followed the canyon which showed signs of enemy occupancy, that the latter had fled from the corn fields and camps and that they had followed their trail until it became lost in impenetrable canyons.

After all my forces were together, I had Antonio el Navajo called in and asked him what hour he considered the best to start out on our march. He had the greatest objections to crossing the mountains and assured me that I would lose the supply train and horse herd; however, he was willing to lead me.

The 10th

At dawn, I separated half of the force with two horses each and the other half, along with the train and horse herd,

I sent to the place called Fray Cristobal under the command of Don Clieto Miera to await my arrival there. At 11 o'clock, after they had gone, I started out on my way guided by the same Navajo without any encumbrance. He led us south-southwest through canyons which were not too rough until we came to a valley of considerable width in which was a river which, since it ran west-southwest, could well have been the San Francisco. There he told me that I could halt. Before we could unsaddle, our spies reported that there was an Indian camp in the vicinity. Immediately a Comanche and a Navajo appeared saying that the Apaches were very near and would escape if we delayed.

Under the circumstances, in spite of the fact that it was five in the afternoon, I decided to attack the enemy immediately, detaching one party to the right and another to the left to cut off the retreat of the enemy and charging up the center with the remainder. I left the camp and horses well defended under the orders of Sergeant Pablo Sandoval and with the officers, troops, civilians and loyal Indians, I advanced at a moderate pace but after a short time I was unable to restrain the enthusiasm of the people who charged headlong upon the enemy who took to flight up a narrow canyon. In spite of the rough terrain, the enemy was overtaken and beaten to such an extent that we counted eighteen dead warriors and four were taken prisoners; unfortunately the non-combatants, who naturally would accompany them, escaped because of the darkness and the rough ground and we were not able to follow their trail as the battle did not end till after vespers.

All of the officers, troops, civilians and Indians conducted themselves with valor and the soldier Juan Antonio Benavides distinguished himself extraordinarily. 6

The 11th

Considering that it would be futile to hunt for the families, both on account of the time which had elapsed and because of the innumerable number of canyons which there were in the vicinity, impassable even to men on foot, I decided to continue my original idea of crossing the range to emerge

on the other side. But when I called Antonio el Navajo to discuss this purpose, he made excuses to me, saying that he did not feel at all well because of a blow which he had received as he was killing a Gila Apache on the previous night. I explained to him what an honor it would be for him to guide us just that one day and offered him rewards in order to win him over but it was not possible. In view of his determination, I became equally determined to take him by force if he would not go willingly and for this purpose I charged Delgado and the Navajo interpreter to take him aside to advise him to reconsider such a grave error. These managed to convince him to go willingly and I set out at six in the morning. We traveled southeast until 10 and having climbed a very steep slope, we came upon a level mesa about half a league long which extended toward the east-southeast. We then entered several exceedingly rough canyons and finally into one from which we emerged by climbing a very steep slope up which we had to travel in single file since the defile is extremely narrow and the sides incredibly steep and heavily wooded. It is about a league and a half long before arriving at the top of the slope. We then followed a wide ridge and a short distance ahead of us saw a very long range which no one recognized. We continued descending and shortly thereafter discovered a peak to the east which Delgado assured me to be that of the Mimbres and thereafter recognized all the ranges which came into view as parts of the Mimbres. We came out of the Gila Range opposite the shoulder of the one called the Sierra del Cobre.³ Also we discovered to the east and behind the Mimbres, the Sierra de la Florida. We descended by way of a short, flat ridge which separates the Gila range from the Mimbres and stopped at a river with but little water. At this point, I asked one of the Apache prisoners how far we were from the Gila River and he told me that across the foothills it was only a day's journey. I wanted to investigate that place but as we had only two horses each and since

3. The Sierra de Cobre is now called the Santa Rita Mountains, now the site of the open pit operations of the Kennecott Copper Co. The existence of copper at that place was known long before the reputed discovery of the mines in 1804. Originally, pure copper in sheets lay on the surface. There is reason to believe that both gold and silver were mined there before copper was worked.

the march of the day had been especially long and over very rocky canyons, they were very footsore and it was impossible to undertake it. 16

The 12th

At 7 o'clock I started out and shortly thereafter I entered the Mimbres Mountains through a wide, level valley which has no rocks and which runs to the east for a distance of about one league. We encountered the beginnings of a stream which soon becomes a river and further down a cornfield of the enemy which they had abandoned. It was already half matured and I had the green ears pulled off the stalks and trampled by the horses before the eyes of three Apaches who were on top of the mountain. We traveled the length of the valley which is very fertile and contains many walnut trees, crossing the river seven times until we came to another cornfield which was in the same condition as the one before and which received the same treatment. I continued my march with the expectation of halting one league below this last cornfield but when I came to that point I discovered that it had become a swamp⁴ and that there was no way of watering the horses because of the mire; thus it was necessary to go back as far as the last cornfield where the swamp begins to form and this is where I stopped at two o'clock in the afternoon.

On this day, several Apaches appeared on the hilltops and one of them recognized Antonio el Navajo and spoke to him, although at a considerable distance, complaining that he had shown us their territory and saying that all the Apaches were in the gravest consternation on that account; ending by challenging him and uttering threats.

These circumstances are advantageous, as much because of the fear which our knowledge of the area inspires in them as because of the hatred against the Navajos which it has produced.

Today, as on all previous days, I dispatched spies to all

4. This swamp is the Cienega del Mimbres. Expeditions from garrison towns in Mexico had penetrated this far into the mountains from the south but never ventured further. It was near the present town of Dwyer.

likely places to look for tracks and examine the terrain but nothing new occurred and the effort had no results. 6

The 13th

At 7 in the morning, we started traveling to the east on the north side of the swamp and at a distance of two leagues we again saw the river running in the direction southwest of the Picacho.⁵ From this point onward, I took a northeast direction through several barren valleys in order to examine tracks in the Sierra de los Mimbres, keeping the Sierra de los Pinones⁶ on my left and intending to proceed to examine the Tecolote and San Mateo Mountains. This same Navajo led me to a spring of water which rises from one of the valleys and runs in the same direction which we were following at a distance of five leagues from the Rio de los Mimbres. Here we stopped at 2 o'clock in the afternoon without any special occurrence.

I sent out spies but found no tracks.

7

The 14th

We started out in the same northeast direction through a very narrow canyon which is the same one in which we found the water and of which the very narrow part, with innumerable rocks of extraordinary height on the sides, is three leagues in length. After this distance, it opens into a valley for about a league and then into another with a spring of water which runs to the east. We stopped at this point and my spies, who were on foot, reported that they had come upon no tracks.

4

The 15th

At dawn we left this camp and traveled among bare hills and, in places, over level ground following a northerly direc-

5. The Picacho is now called Cooke's Peak, highest point of Cookes Range which was once considered the southern end of the Mimbres mountains. This granite monolith is visible for many miles in every direction. The lower ridges of the range still show widespread vestiges of the ashes from former Apache signal fires.

He could not have been going east. He was traveling downstream and to the southwest.

6. No one in the vicinity of Santa Rita has heard the name of Pinon applied to a mountain. He probably refers to Mimbres Peak which is not in the Mimbres Mountains but on the opposite side of the river. It was once heavily wooded with juniper and pinon until the trees were cut to supply firewood for Santa Rita and other nearby towns.

tion until we came to a wide and very watery marsh where we stopped. Shortly thereafter the scouts arrived, advising me that they had found no fresh tracks. An Acoma Indian named Casimiro, who had been a captive for many years, guided me along this route.

About an hour after we halted, one of the sentinels on the mountain top sent word that he had seen an Apache on horseback. I ordered the location examined for tracks; I was informed that some fresh ones led toward a canyon. I immediately sent out a detachment under Sergeant Pablo Sandoval, composed of twenty horsemen and twenty on foot, to follow them. They informed me that they were following the trail which was fresh; I sent out another party of twenty four men on horses with Corporal Juan de Dios Pena who caught up with the Sergeant who had lost the trail but when they were about to return, they found the tracks of the Taos Indians who had separated from the first detachment and were following the enemy. After having gone a short distance, they met the Taos Indians who were returning with a saddled horse and a captive girl and who reported that the Apaches had disappeared into some very rugged country.

As soon as they arrived in camp, the War Captain of the Taos Indians turned over to me the captive girl and the two horses of two Apache warriors which they had caught up, having also taken the horse of another who had abandoned it as he scrambled up the mountain. 6

The 16th

Sending the regular spies ahead, I left this place guided by the same Acoma Indian and traveling in the same northerly direction through a plain with a few hills which were occasionally quite high and across very deep canyons. About three leagues from the starting place, we found a small river with permanent water. I afterwards saw four more. We found another of the same description but with more water and four leagues beyond this one still another with plenty of water and there we stopped. On this day, as well as the last, we were constantly traveling through the foothills of the Mimbres Mountains.

From this base, we examined very carefully the Sierras del Tecolote, San Mateo, and Cavallo⁷ and over the top of this last one, the Sierra de los Organos and the Sierra Blanca. After becoming well acquainted with everything, I decided to send back to the encampment all of the footsore horses with a detachment of fifty men commanded by the Sergeant Sandoval along with the Navajos who were impatient to return home. He had orders to return with fresh horses immediately in order to march to the Tecolote; he also took the five prisoners and other equipment necessary for the security of the train and horseherd. 10

The 17th

I sent spies in various directions and they returned without having found any tracks, although they had found and destroyed a cornfield in the direction of the Tecolote.

The 18th

I stayed in the same place awaiting the fresh horses which the detachment was to bring me from the herd. I sent out spies in various directions but they found no tracks.

At twelve, midnight, Sergeant Sandoval arrived and reported that he had not found either the camp or the horseherd at the place at Fray Cristobal which I had designated to the commander; nor did he find them at the Bosque del Apache⁸ which is one day's journey up the river. From the latter place he had sent back the Navajos in company with the Indians from Cia, Santa Ana and Jemez since my detachment had gone off for this purpose, along with the lieutenant from these Pueblos. He also sent off the five prisoners, returning with the rest of his party and the lame horses.

This incident broke up all of my plans, not only because of the bad condition of the horses but also because my men were without provisions and obliged me to decide to march

7. The San Mateo and Caballo Mountains still have the same names. The Tecolote Mountains are frequently mentioned in early New Mexico archives, usually with reference to the Indians who lived there. Little can be found to establish a location. It was probably the range now called Cuchillo Negro since it was near Salsipuedes.

8. The Bosque del Apache is south of San Antonio on the Rio Grande. Now a Wildlife Preserve, the original cottonwoods have been largely replaced by salt cedars.

with the whole expedition on the following morning to look for the supply train.

The 19th

I started out in search of the Rio Grande, traveling very slowly in order not to leave tired horses behind and nevertheless it was necessary to kill one which could not keep up.

We traveled over the broken ground of various canyons from which the Picacho de las Mimbres was always in sight to the south. We came to the river and stopped there close to a mesa of the Sierra de Fray Cristobal. 8

The 20th

Before dawn we began our march, traveling northwest toward Fray Cristobal where we assumed the supply train and horseherd would be according to the report which the Navajos had given. But upon arriving there we found nothing. In spite of the bad condition of my horses it was necessary that, after three hours of rest which we gave them, to set out again since my men had nothing to eat and we had lost hope of finding the supply train before reaching the Province.

At this place, a tired horse was killed so that the Jicarilla Apaches and the Pueblo Indians would have something to eat. 12

At three in the Afternoon we left Fray Cristobal, traveling toward the Province and at eight at night we stopped at San Pascual. 8

At ten o'clock that night a party of thirty men arrived, sent by the commander of the supply train and horseherd to inform me that he was at the place called Casa Colorada and that he had not been able to go to Fray Cristobal, as he had been ordered, since ever since he had left me the Apaches had alarmed the camp every night so that he had not seen fit to proceed to that place and that nothing had happened except the straying of two horses.

The 21st

Since the party which had arrived had not brought any help, I prepared to set out before dawn toward the camp

which was thirty leagues away. I traveled until eleven in the morning and stopped a short distance above Luis Lopez. At two I started out again and at eight I halted at Hoya de Valencia⁹ without having found any Apache tracks that day. 20

The 22nd

I left this place and marched to Casa Colorado^{9a} where I arrived at 11 o'clock and joined the supply train and horse-herd which gave me no more news than that which I had already heard. 10

The 23rd

I selected one hundred and fifty men and despatched them under the command of Don Antonio Guerrero to reconnoiter the Sierra de San Mateo and other places in the vicinity.

The 24th

At sunset today, I detached First Corporal Juan de Dios Pena with seventy four men to reconnoiter the Sierra Obscuro.

The 25th

No new occurrences.

The 26th

No new occurrences.

The 27th

I left Casa Colorada and came to a halt at the place which is called La Bolsa without any new occurrences.

The 28th

Nothing new.

The 29th

Idem.

9. This was not the present town of Valencia but La Joya de Sevilleta, now shortened to La Joya. It was repopulated after the reconquest by a group of Spaniards and Indians but the depredations of the Apaches forced its abandonment before 1788.

9a. Casa Colorada. The house which gave this place its name was near the present town of Turn. The vicinity was execrated by early drivers on the Camino Real since a steep and sandy hill forced them to double their teams to reach the top.

The 30th

At ten o'clock in the morning Corporal Cavo returned, reporting that no incident had occurred. He informed me that he had traveled over the whole Sierra Obscura, examining the places where the enemy usually live and that all the tracks were very old. 65

October 1st

No new occurrence.

The 2nd

At nine o'clock in the morning Ensign Guerrero returned, reporting that he had gone over the Sierra de San Mateo, the Hot Springs¹⁰ and the place which is called Salsipuedes.¹¹ In the vicinity of this place he saw three Apaches who, when they caught sight of the party, fled into the rough part of the mountains so that they could not be caught.

He carefully examined the place called Salsipuedes and went into the depths of the canyon which has been considered inaccessible until now. There he found signs that the enemy had abandoned it, perhaps through fear at the time that my detachment was traveling through the foothills. I am sure that they have always lived there.

He found only old tracks in the other places which he passed over and he caught one of the king's horses and a mule belonging to a soldier; animals which had wandered away from my detachment. From his, he lost two of the king's horses, two belonging to settlers and one belonging to a soldier.

He traveled ninety leagues; deducting sixty-five traveled by Corporal Pena there remain 25

The 3rd

I broke camp and prepared to march to the Capitol. I arrived at the plains of Isleta at noon.

10. The Hot Springs, usually called Warm Springs since the water is merely tepid, was the site of an Indian agency and proposed reservation until 1878, when it was abandoned. A town at the site called Cherryville was a postoffice from 1881-1886. At present, there are no traces of habitation except a few of the adobe walls of the fort.

11. Salsipuedes Canyon (Get-out-if-you-can) was a former name for Alamosa Canyon. Narrow between high cliffs, it extends from Warm Springs to the present town of Monticello which was formerly called Alamosa.

The 4th

I left this place and made camp at Alameda.

The 5th

From Alameda, I made camp at Las Vocas.

The 6th

From Las Vocas, I set out at daybreak and entered the Villa at ten o'clock.

This is a copy of the original which remains in the archive of this government, Santa Fe, November 15, 1788. Fernando de la Concha.

This is a copy of the original which I certify. Valle de San Bartolome, January 12, 1789.

Notes and Documents

JAMES W. ARROTT

1895-1959

On the afternoon of March 6, 1959, James W. Arrott died in Tucson, Arizona, in the sixty-third year of his life. He is survived by his wife Katherine, a daughter Carrol and a son James Jr. He also is survived by five grandchildren and two sisters, Mrs. Robert W. McKnight and Mrs. Ledlie W. Young of Sewickley, Pa. The funeral service was held at his ranch on the Sapello river near Las Vegas, New Mexico, on the afternoon of March 10th.

The Rev. George A. Stracke, Rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Las Vegas, of which Mr. Arrott was a member, officiated at the service. The Rev. F. B. Eteson, a former Rector of St. Paul's Church, assisted in the service.

The following close friends of Mr. Arrott served as active pallbearers: Col. William Salman, B. A. Graver, Dr. Thomas C. Donnelly, Louis Schiele, Stephen B. Davis, Tom Trumbull, E. J. Connor, Jennings McMillan, William S. Wallace, and Charles Crews.

The following friends and business associates of Mr. Arrott were named honorary pallbearers: Richard Robbins, Jose E. Armijo, Dr. H. M. Mortimer, Robert Youree, C. D. Leon, Ivan Hilton, Ledlie W. Young, Robert W. McKnight, Samuel Adams, Christopher Emmett, J. E. Modrall, C. Neal Brown, James E. Brown, Gib Sandifer, Harry Mosimann, Roy Riner, Thos. A. Johnsen, Leo C. DeBaca and Pino Baca.

Born in Allegheny, Pennsylvania, on September 9, 1895, he was a resident of Sewickley, a suburb of Pittsburg, for many years. He was a Director of the Pennsylvania Central Airlines, Standard Sanitary Manufacturing Company, the First National Bank of Las Vegas, Ft. Union, Inc., and for many years a member of the New Mexico Historical Society.

In 1956 Mr. Arrott was awarded the honorary Degree of Doctor of Letters at the Spring Commencement of Highlands University.

Dean Quincy Guy Burris presented Mr. Arrott to President Thomas C. Donnelly with the following citation :

"Mr. Arrott received his early education in the schools, public and private, of Pennsylvania; at the Hotchkiss School in Connecticut; and at Rennselaer Polytechnic Institute in New York. He cut short his college studies with the outbreak of World War One to enlist as an American soldier with British Army, and served for two years in France.

"Upon his return to the United States, he entered into business and finance and for thirty years followed this career with success and distinction.

"He first visited New Mexico in 1904 with his father, who was interested in New Mexico enterprises. Twenty-four years later he came here to make his home.

"Through these years in New Mexico his interest in the history and development of the Southwest has been unflagging. Since 1948 Mr. Arrott has given much of his attention to the study of the history of the American West. His interest in this area grew and branched in many directions—over great distances, and in strange places. The search for primary materials on the West had taken him or his agents not only to the West, but also to the eastern seaboard and the national capital. The aggregation of documents he has, with the vision and care of a dedicated researcher, put together and ordered as the Arrott Collection of Western Americana. This collection, not of a static body of information but a growing one, is in the process of being transferred, as a gift, to Rodgers Library of New Mexico Highlands University, where it will be permanently housed for the use of scholars.

"One focus of Mr. Arrott's interest in the West is his methodical and persistent search for information about old Fort Union. His collection on this venerable sentinel of the Santa Fe Trail is a part, of course, of the entire collection which bears his name.

"His interest in making the Fort a national monument, and the fund of knowledge he has gathered together about it have been instrumental in its current restoration.

"In turning from business to history, Mr. Arrott has not only manifested the versatility of his interests, but he has added considerably to the body of historical source information on the West and, in so doing, has given distinction both to himself and to this University.

"I am, therefore, pleased to welcome Mr. Arrott, as a good citizen and as a contributor to learning, to the company of



James W. Arrott

scholars, and to present him, on recommendation of the faculty, for the Degree of Doctor of Letters."

The history and historians of the Southwest have been made richer for having had such a man in the service of Clío.

W. S. WALLACE

RULES OF A COMMUNITY DITCH SYSTEM

Transcribed below are the governing rules of the community ditch system of Guadalupe and nearby farm lands of the middle Rio Puerco valley. These rules, from a ledger used by the ditch commission from 1916 to 1936, were re-stated each year in almost identical form. While not entirely self-explanatory, the regulations pertain to the labor that each member of the ditch system was required to give in maintaining the irrigation works. Other community ditch systems throughout the Puerco valley were probably governed by similar rules. The following was translated and edited from the Spanish by Jerold Gwayn Widdison.

Rules of the Commission Commonly Known as that of the Acequia de la Abra de los Cerros.

It is hereby understood that each one of the workers of the aforementioned irrigation ditch is under obligation to bring with him the necessary tools as specified by the major-domo. It is understood that if a worker fails to appear, he has to pay \$1.00 if he was supposed to appear alone and \$2.00 a day if he was supposed to come with a wagon and team of horses and fails to do so. It is understood that anyone not arriving at the time specified by the ditch major-domo or anyone not able to do the job may be dismissed by said major-domo and be subject to a fine as specified above.

It is further understood that if the dam or ditch should suffer any damage all workers are under obligation to offer their services and to give all necessary help toward restoring the said ditch or dam. This is written up and approved by the commission of the above named ditch, and for the record we hereby sign our names.

Teodoro García, President
Manuel Jaramillo, Treasurer
Modesto Gallegos, Secretary

We were elected December 5, 1921.

NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL POST OFFICES (concluded)

| Town | Co. | Date estab. or re-estab. | Name chg'd from | First postmaster | Date discont. | Name changed to | Remarks |
|---------------|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Weed | Linc | 2 Dec 85 | | Niles J. Strumquist | | | |
| | D. A. | | | | | | |
| | Linc | | | | | | |
| | Otero | | | | | | |
| West | Quay | 14 Aug 08 | | James T. West | (1925) | | |
| West Tularosa | Otero | 28 June 11 | Monterey | Minnie Bourne | (1912) | | |
| Westwater | Eddy | 1 Apr 02 | | James C. Lorton | 14 Feb 03 | | Mail to Carlsbad |
| White Oaks | Linc | 4 June 80 | | John M. McCutchen | | | |
| White Signal | Grant | 29 Oct 09 | | William M. Moberly | | | |
| White Sulphur | | | | | | | |
| Springs | Linc | 15 Feb 75 | | Rockwood H. Blake | 28 Sept 75 | South Fork | |
| Whitewater | Grant | 17 Oct 83 | | William H. Houghian | 16 Oct 88 | | Mail to Silver City |
| | | 14 Feb 91 | | Susan M. Alexander | 1 Mar 92 | | Mail to Silver City |
| | | 9 May 92 | | Mrs. Jane Wilson | 26 Sept 93 | | Mail to Silver City |
| | | 12 May 99 | | Martha I. Stevens | | | |
| Whitfield | Soc | 22 Oct 90 | | Richard C. Patterson | 1 June 92 | Patterson | |
| Whitson | Colf | 7 Feb 78 | | John G. White | 11 Nov 78 | | |
| Willard | Val | 30 June 02 | | Harry H. Chetwood | | | |
| | Torr | | | | | | |
| Willis | S. M. | 14 Dec 96 | | Carrie D. Sparks | 15 Mar 05 | | Mail to Pecos |

Book Reviews

Twenty-Four Years a Cowboy & Ranchman. By Will Hale. With an introduction by A. M. Gibson. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. Pp. xii, 183. Illustrations. \$2.00.

I suspect that the editor of the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW* asked me, a folklorist, to review Will Hale's book because he did not know whether the book is history, folklore, or literature and because he wanted me to wrestle with the problem. I have no answer for the problem either.

In his introduction, the editor of the text, first published in 1905, pursues the baffling problem of authorship and speculates about the fact that only three copies of the original publication are known to exist. The book purports to be the autobiography of Will Hale, who indicates that he was born just before the war with Mexico. However, the holder of the copyright is Will Hale Stone, who was born in 1875. About the only readily identifiable historical fact in the book seems to be an account of the posse trailing Billy the Kid at Coyote Springs in the late seventies. Sheriff Pat Garrett mentions that a William Stone was a member of that posse.

Fantastic as the experiences of "Will Hale" are, they could possibly be true. Some of the events indicate why the real author—whoever he was—did not publish the book himself and why he may have changed most of the names. For example, just after the Civil War, "Will Hale" was a member of a gang (four to six members called the Smith Gang) that killed a prodigious number of men—100 to 150 Mexicans and Indians and one Pinkerton detective—on both sides of the Rio Grande in the course of hijacking mule trains of Mexican treasure, robbing gambling dens in Matamoros, and establishing themselves as cattle ranchers by hijacking herds of Texas cattle being trailed into Mexico by Mexicans who were presumed to have stolen them. Perhaps the most amazing aspect of the outlaw episode was that it was really unnecessary. The principals were already off to a good start in cattle

ranching. However, when the gang broke up after two years of operations, they were all wealthy, for a time at least.

The teller of the story was the son of a cattleman in Texas, near the Rio Grande, not far from Fort Brown (later Brownsville). He attended grade school in New York and high school in St. Louis, boarding with residents of those places during the school years. He fought on the side of the North in the Civil War (three chapters of the book are devoted to the Civil War—not to his part in it, but to a general, and not very good history of the Civil War). After the war he became a rancher in a small way; then he became an outlaw whose callousness and violence would win the admiration of today's most amoral juvenile delinquent. But after that, he became almost completely law-abiding for the remainder of the account. He aided in tracking down Billy the Kid, worked for a Fort Sumner rancher, married a New York girl, and again became a rancher, this time in Northern Texas. He was about forty years old at the end of the book.

The style is flat, sometimes terse. The language is a mixture of the ungrammatical and the elegant. There is little sustained development of the activities chronicled, except for the outlaw years which are fairly satisfactory. All in all, it is an interesting and puzzling book. One has the feeling that the puzzles could be solved and the material authenticated as personal history. The attempt would probably require years of research, and the results probably would not justify the effort. It is just not that important a book; but it is interesting—and puzzling.

The University of New Mexico

ERNEST W. BAUGHMAN

A History of the Circus in America. By George L. Chindahl. Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1959. Pp. xvi, 279. Appendix, bibliography, plates.

Before his death in 1957, the late George Leonard Chindahl during the eighty rewarding years of his life was able to combine a love for the circus with a successful career as a

patent attorney. His birthplace, Rockford, Illinois, is only about a hundred miles from the Ringling family home at Baraboo, Wisconsin; in the years of his youth it was a region in which middle-sized cities surrounded by prosperous rural communities were able to attract the circuses often enough that the circus lithographs, either gaudy-new or faded, were almost always to be seen on barns or store buildings. As a practitioner of patent-law in Chicago, Chindahl often permitted his eye to fall upon patent descriptions of circus inventions, such as power driven spool loaders, seat-wagons, and the "human cannon" device. His love for the circus brought him into the Circus Fans Association of America, of which he became Historian. The Association's periodical, *White Tops*, printed some of these chapters as articles.

Most of this history of the circus in America (there are references to the circus in Mexico and Canada as well as the United States) is a careful account of itineraries, programs, performers, and owners, from the eighteenth century menageries and troupes of wandering clowns and actors to the indoor and motorized circuses of the present day. This is a painstaking effort to trace the rise and fall of the specific circus ventures that at times becomes a repetitious although encyclopedic catalogue of the meandering course of one circus after another from coast to coast. By way of summary, an appendix running to over thirty pages provides a "partial list" of circuses and menageries from c.1771 through 1956. It is a meticulous compilation of circus names and gives the inclusive dates of their runs. Chapter VII, the most interesting in the volume, takes up various aspects of circus life. In brief sections such topics are considered as the types of entertainment, the circus performer, horsemanship, clowning, trained wild animal acts, circus music, seating, side-shows, advertising, labor relations, financial returns to the proprietors (few of them became wealthy from the circus business and many of them lost fortunes in it), attitudes of the public toward the circus, the influence of the circus upon physical education, and the future of the circus. On the last-mentioned subject, Chindahl had few doubts. "In some form," he wrote

at the end of his book, "and probably in numerous forms, the circus will live." Chindahl offered several explanations for the decline of the railroad circuses which exhibited under canvas. These included high transportation costs, labor disputes, the consolidation of the big shows (the movement toward combination in the circuses paralleled that of big business generally), influence of the great economic depression, natural disasters such as the Ringling fire in Hartford, restrictions during World War II, erratic if not unimaginative management, and the competition of other forms of indoor entertainment.

Like the traveller to the Indies he who would bring away knowledge from this volume must carry into it his own wealth of memories. The author only occasionally loses himself in it enough to really bring the story to life. But any reader who can remember rising in the chill pre-dawn of circus days to watch the big show "unload" from the railroad flat cars, and the nomadic life which grew before his eyes like an abnormal swelling at the edge of some green-lawned town, can read again with a touch of nostalgia and even excitement the well-remembered names of Al G. Barnes, Sells-Floto, Clyde Beatty and above all, Ringling Brothers and Barnum & Bailey. To give a jog to memory, there are included forty-four excellent plates: photo-engravings of circus posters, big tops, band wagons, and many more facets of the circus. In the footnotes and selected bibliography, there are indications that in addition to memoirs, travel books and other printed materials, the author used contemporary newspapers, route books and other primary sources.

University of New Mexico

GEORGE WINSTON SMITH

Santa Fe: The Autobiography of a Southwestern Town. By Oliver La Farge. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. Pp. xviii, 436. Index. \$5.95.

The *Santa Fe New Mexican* was first published in 1849, but the files only date from 1863. Mr. La Farge with the assistance of Arthur N. Morgan has culled excerpts from the

paper down to the year 1953 that portray not only the changing way of life in the capital city, but deviate to items of statewide interest. The compilation, therefore, is not strictly the autobiography of a city, but has wider interest. This does not detract from its usefulness, nor mar the work of the author, although it might be said that Santa Fe does not really emerge from the book as apparently was planned—the wider scene clouds the local picture.

The author finds certain breaking points which mark a change in the overall nature of the news. The first period from the Civil War to 1870 is weighted toward Indian activities. The next period to 1890 is the heyday of the outlaw; then follows the modernization of the city with changes in architecture and material comforts. The fourth period beginning with statehood in 1912 presents competition between cultural and political interests for the attention of the reader. The balance of the book from 1940 on is Santa Fe of the tourist age upset by the discovery of atomic power. Progress has entered with a vengeance, but the book closes before the parking meter arrives.

Editorial comments introduce the several sections and are interspersed throughout the book. They reveal Mr. La Farge's intimate knowledge of the inside story of New Mexican politics, his sympathy for the Indians and an overall grasp of the historical background. However, this is not a book to be written about, but one to be read. It should prove interesting to a variety of reading tastes and can serve the useful purpose of a source book for the historical investigator.

Three of the editorial comments should receive correction. Kit Carson was not the first of the military to enter the Canyon de Chelly. Army men had learned its secrets several times before his visit in pursuit of the Navahos (p. 18). Chimayo was not settled by transplanted weavers from Mexico. New Mexicans had taken up the land long before their arrival which was in 1807, which might be acceptable as being the "end" of the eighteenth century (p. 125). And the reference to the "university" opening in 1890 (p. 130) at Santa Fe meant a privately incorporated school under the name of the

University of New Mexico which functioned in the capital city during the decade of the 1880's; it closed about 1891 and the school building was sold in 1893. The university chartered by the legislature in 1889 was located at Albuquerque and opened in 1892.

The author's comment on page 22 about the route of the Santa Fe trail is not clear. The newspaper report is correct except that an alternate route did lie over the mountains.

F. D. R.

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