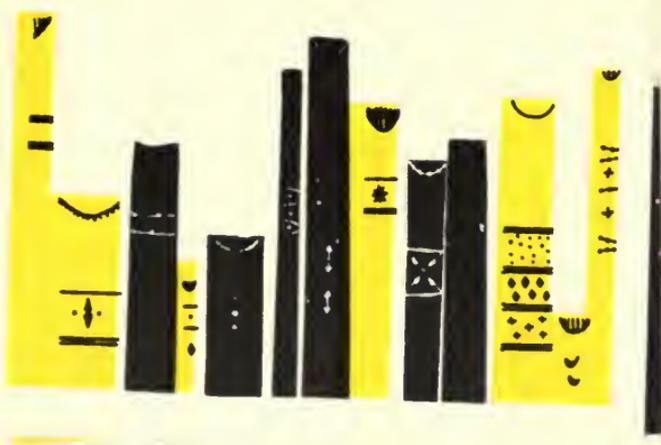


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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Editors

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BRUCE T. ELLIS

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ERRATA

June 18, 1962

Dear Mr. Reeve:

. . . .

In the meantime, let me say that Mrs. Jennie Rosenwald, who was the wife of Gilbert Rosenwald, Emanuel Rosenwald's son, tells me that the purported picture of my grandfather in the *New Mexico Historical Review* [April, 1962] is not in fact his picture. My sister was of the same opinion. I had no opinion at all but could not identify the photograph in any way. I did recall the appearance of my grandfather quite well and assure you that the photograph in Twitchell's *History of New Mexico*—a much later picture—is a good resemblance.

Sincerely yours,

Robert E. Rosenwald

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New Mexico Historical Review



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Editors

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DFM COLLECTION



JOHN BAPTIST SALPOINTE

FIRST VICAR-APOSTOLIC OF ARIZONA 1867
CO-ADJUTOR ARCHBISHOP OF SANTA FE 1884

SECOND ARCHBISHOP OF SANTA FE

1895-1894

TITULAR ARCHBISHOP OF TOMI 1894-1898

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXXVII

JANUARY, 1962

No. 1

JOHN BAPTIST SALPOINTE, 1825-1894

By SISTER EDWARD MARY ZERWEKH, C.S.J.*

Introduction

THE LAST Bishop of Durango to exercise jurisdiction over New Mexico was Bishop Zubiria.¹ He saw the great mistake of his predecessors in opposing the Franciscans and attempted to revive their Custody, but the declining Franciscan Province was able to send only one friar. To help solve his problem the Bishop encouraged a native clergy and not without some success. However, by 1840, there were not enough Franciscans left nor enough secular priests to replace the Franciscans. The Indians, never fully converted, fell back deeper into their former paganism. The descendants of the Spanish colonists kept the Faith but gradually they were becoming indifferent from neglect.²

This was the condition of the Church when General Stephen Watts Kearny on August 18, 1846, raised the American flag in Santa Fe, taking formal possession in the name of the United States.³ Some of the secular clergy would not submit to American rule and returned to Mexico. Others gave

* Salpointe High School, Tucson, Arizona. [This article is the bulk of a M.A. Thesis, University of San Francisco, 1956. Ed.]

1. Don Jose Antonio Laureano de Zubiria, Bishop of Durango, 1831-50. Cf. *Lamy Memorial*, Centenary of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe. No author given (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Schifani Bros., 1950), p. 22.

2. Father Angelico Chavez, O.F.M., *The Cathedral of the Royal City of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Santa Fe Press, 1947), p. 5.

3. *The Old Faith and Old Glory, The Story of the Church in New Mexico Since the American Occupation*, No author given, (Santa Fe: Santa Fe Press, 1946), p. 3.

open support to opposition movements and attempts to overthrow American superiority, and in one uprising at Taos, Governor Bent was killed. Father Vicario Don Juan Felipe Ortiz; Vicar of Bishop Zúbiria, was considered an enemy of American institutions and the military authorities tried to "suspend" him from performing his ecclesiastical functions.⁴

Being so far away and of another country, Bishop Zúbiria could do little to rectify the situation. Knowledge of this deplorable condition reached the Bishops of the United States and, in 1849, the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore requested Pope Pius IX to assign an American Bishop to the Southwest. In answer to their petition Pope Pius IX, by a decree of July 19, 1850, created the Vicariate of New Mexico with John Baptist Lamy of the Diocese of Cincinnati the first Bishop.⁵

I. *Bishop Lamy and Father Salpointe, 1825-59*

After receiving episcopal consecration in Saint Peter's Church, the Cathedral of Cincinnati, on November 24, 1850, Bishop Lamy¹ was most anxious to start for his Vicariate. Two routes lay open to him. The more direct one was over the Santa Fe Trail. It started at St. Louis from which city a steamboat was taken to Independence. From there the journey was made by wagon to Santa Fe, a distance of about nine hundred miles over prairies made dangerous by Indians. The longer route, but by no means the easier, was via New Orleans and Galveston. The New Orleans' route was the one chosen by Bishop Lamy.²

At New Orleans, as had been planned, Bishop Lamy met

4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

5. John Baptist Salpointe, D.D., *Soldiers of the Cross, Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado* (Banning, California: St. Boniface's Industrial School, 1898), p. 194.

1. The Most Reverend John Baptist Lamy, D.D., was born on October 11, 1814, at Lempdes, in the Diocese of Clermont Ferrand, Department of Puy-de-Dome, France. He studied at the preparatory seminary of Clermont and the grand seminary of Mont Ferrand, being ordained in December, 1838. In 1839, he was given permission to enlist as one of the missionaries of Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati. Previous to 1850, he had labored in the missions of Ohio and Kentucky. cf. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 194-195.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

Father Joseph P. Machebeuf³ whom he had asked to accompany him and labor with him in the new Vicariate. Together they arrived in Santa Fe in the summer of 1851 after a tiring and strenuous journey.

However, they were not readily accepted by the Catholics, clergy and laity, in Santa Fe. No notice of a change in jurisdiction had reached the Bishop of Durango, the Most Reverend Don Jose Antonio Zubiría, and, therefore, his clergy in Santa Fe were not aware of the establishment of the Vicariate.

Primed by years of battling with the local government, and used to many more of independence from their Bishop in distant Durango, the few priests of New Mexico were in no smiling mood to accept these strangers. Not only were they Americans by adoption, but Frenchmen by birth—and both Frenchmen and Spaniards had lost face in America from all the political intrigues in Mexico since her independence.⁴

In order to verify his authority, Bishop Lamy decided to make the trip to Durango and present his credentials to Bishop Zubiría. Reverend J. P. Machebeuf remained in Santa Fe with the Reverend Juan Felipe Ortiz, the Vicar General. The Bishop of Durango received Bishop Lamy kindly and after examining the papers from the Holy See, accepted the division of his diocese. Possessing the papers that were necessary to show that the Bishop of Durango no longer claimed jurisdiction over the territory assigned to the new Vicariate, Bishop Lamy returned to Santa Fe. He had traveled about nineteen hundred miles on horseback, having only a servant as a companion, when he arrived back in Santa Fe.⁵

Even though Bishop Lamy proved that he had the jurisdiction of New Mexico, some of the clergy would not accept

3. Joseph Projectus Machebeuf was born in the city of Riom in the Department of Puy-de-Dome, France, on August 11, 1812. His mother died when he was young. He was educated by the Christian Brothers, and after attending the college in Riom, decided to become a priest. He completed his seminary studies at Mont Ferrand in 1836 and was ordained in the Christmas Ember week. He was an assistant in the parish of LeCendre when Bishop Purcell came to ask for missionaries for his Ohio diocese. Father Machebeuf, along with Reverend J. B. Lamy and several other priests, offered himself for the foreign missions. Cf. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-198.

4. *The Old Faith and Old Glory*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

5. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

his authority and a few returned to Durango. Others remained but acted independently of the Bishop. With the Reverend J. P. Machebeuf, whom he made his Vicar General, Bishop Lamy tried to meet the spiritual needs of the scattered population living in the Territory. It was an arduous task and became even more difficult when Congress, in 1853, added Arizona and that part of Colorado east of the Rockies to the Territory of New Mexico.⁶ As the Territory expanded, so likewise did the Vicariate.

On July 28, 1853, Pope Pius IX raised the Vicariate of New Mexico to the rank of an Episcopal See, attached to the city of Santa Fe.^{6a} Soon afterwards Bishop Lamy went to Europe to obtain priests for his diocese. He returned to Clermont, France, the capital of his native department, and was able to bring back a few priests and clerics. These did not meet the demands of his rapidly expanding parishes, so therefore, in 1856, Bishop Lamy sent Father Machebeuf to France for more missionaries. The trip was not in vain for six new subjects were procured for the diocese.⁷

When Bishop Lamy went East in 1852 to attend the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, he stopped in Kentucky and obtained some Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross⁸ to open a school in Santa Fe.

. . . The dearth of education had appalled Lamy on his arrival. He realized that the people were not so much to blame, for the country itself was poor, isolated in every direction, and torn by strife. The early Franciscans had conducted prosperous schools for the short period in which grants from the Spanish Crown were forthcoming; but when this support was withdrawn and the friars expelled, all means of education vanished.

Nor were the Bishops of Durango remiss in this matter. No matter how often the Mexican hierarchy tried to re-establish centers of education in each diocese, a revolution was bound to come like a wave and sweep the beach clean again. They renewed their efforts, especially after the Mexican Con-

6. *The Old Faith and Old Glory*, op. cit., p. 7.

6a. *Lamy Memorial*, op. cit., p. 27; the date is July 29, 1853, in *Salpointe*, op. cit., p. 206.

7. *Salpointe*, op. cit., pp. 206-208.

8. This community had been founded in Kentucky in 1812 by Reverend Charles Nerinckx, a Belgian priest exiled from his native land because of religious persecution. It was the beginning of the first American foundation of religious women having no affiliations with Europe. Cf. Sister Richard Marie Barbour, S.L., *Light in Yucca Land* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Schifani Bros., 1952), p. 29.

stitution of 1824, to counteract the efforts of the lodges of England and Scotland which were infecting the youth of Mexico with anti-clerical ideas. One such college was founded in Santa Fe in 1826, but local conditions did not let it continue for long—the priests in Santa Fe and other places did their best regarding schools during those twenty years, but the poverty of the country and the chaotic times were against them.⁹

The school, the Academy of Our Lady of Light, established by these Sisters provided for the education of young girls in Santa Fe, but Bishop Lamy was also anxious to have an institution in the capital of the Territory for the education of young men. The demand for more priests was also urgent as testified in his letter to Archbishop Purcell¹⁰ of Cincinnati.

. . . I am very much in need of priests. That new territory of Arizona belongs to us now. . . . Next month I send one of my priests to France to try to obtain priests and some brothers of the Christian Doctrine to established a good school in Sta. Fe.¹¹

Thus it was that the Reverend Peter Eguillon,¹² Bishop Lamy's Vicar General, arrived in France in 1859.¹³ He went to Bishop Lamy's and also his own native diocese, Clermont Ferrand, in southeastern France, about midway between Paris and Marseilles. Here he was going to ask for missionaries before going to seek elsewhere, if it were necessary.

9. *The Old Faith and Old Glory*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

10. The See of Cincinnati was elevated to an archdiocese by Pope Pius IX on July 19, 1850, the same day as the erection of the Vicariate of New Mexico.

11. Bishop Lamy, Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Archbishop Purcell, January 16, 1859, (Archdiocesan Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Hereafter referred to as A.A.S.F.)

12. Reverend Peter Eguillon had come to the diocese of Santa Fe from France with Bishop Lamy in 1854. He remained in Santa Fe for about one year to teach theology to some seminarians and to prepare them for ordination. In October, 1855, he was made the pastor of Socorro, New Mexico. He was appointed Rector of the Cathedral and Vicar General of the diocese on November 4, 1858. He held the office of Vicar General until his death, July 21, 1892. He was Rector of the Cathedral until his death, except for the years 1869-1878. Cf. Lamy Memorial, *op. cit.*, p. 40, and Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

13. The exact date on which the Reverend P. Eguillon began his trip to France or on which he arrived there is not certain. However, he did leave Santa Fe before June 20, 1859, as determined from the following letter of Bishop Lamy, Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Archbishop Purcell, June 20, 1859, (A.A.S.F.) :

“. . . I have also sent to France to obtain missionaries, and a colony of *Des Freres de la Doctrine Chretienne*. But I have no news yet if I will obtain them or not. . . .”

For indeed, the seminary of this diocese has become known by the appellation, "Nursery of the Missionaries of the New World."¹⁴

Father Eguillon stopped first at the preparatory seminary and it was here that he met Father John Baptist Salpointe. This young priest who was the Procurator and the Professor of Natural Sciences at the Seminary was a native of the Clermont Ferrand Diocese. He was born in the parish of St. Maurice de Poinat, Department of Puy-de-Dome, France, on February 25, 1825.¹⁵ His parents came from the best families of the place and, coming from a thoroughly Christian and virtuous home, his early aspirations toward the priesthood were fostered and encouraged.¹⁶

Father Salpointe, having studied the classics at the Petit Seminaire of Agen, had completed his preparatory studies at the College of Riom, where he passed a most creditable examination. He then entered the Seminary of Mont Ferrand where he completed his courses in theology, canon law and other subjects preliminary to Sacred Orders under the Sulpician priests who composed the teaching staff of the seminary. On December 21, 1851,¹⁷ John Baptist Salpointe was ordained by the Right Reverend Louis Charles Feron, Bishop of Clermont Ferrand.¹⁸

Soon after ordination, Abbe Salpointe was sent as assistant priest successively at Solledes, Menat and Clermont, and rising constantly, according as his merit was better known, he soon after was appointed Professor of Natural Sciences in the Diocesan Seminary of Clermont, acting at the same time as the Procurator of the Seminary. Thus in a few years he had

14. Louis H. Warner, *Archbishop Lamy, An Epoch Maker*, (Santa Fe: Santa Fe New Mexican Publishers, 1936), pp. 26-27.

15. Reverend James H. Defouri, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico*, (San Francisco: McCormick Bros., 1887), p. 154; John Baptist Salpointe's birthday is given as February 21, 1825, cf. "John Baptist Salpointe," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, XII (1904), 50; and, as February 22, 1825, in Hoffman's *Catholic Directory*, (1899), Necrology.

16. Defouri, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

17. *The Memorial Volume, A History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, November 9-December, 1884*, (Baltimore: The Baltimore Publishers, 1885), p. 87; according to the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, *op. cit.*, p. 50, the ordination date was December 20, 1851.

18. Defouri, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

risen, filling one of the most important offices of the Diocese, with the well-founded hope of rising still higher in a very few years.¹⁹

However, Providence had decreed it otherwise, and the talents and qualities of young Father Salpointe were going to be developed in a far away country that needed them more. The desires he had to further the Kingdom of God on earth were enthusiastically encouraged by Father Eguillon's description of the Southwest missions. While he was at the preparatory seminary Father Eguillon explained the object of his presence in his native country by way of conversation and in answering the many questions of the professors.

. . . He spoke of the impossibility of the priests of the diocese of Santa Fe of visiting their congregations even once a month; of the long distances they had to travel on horseback, almost daily, in all kinds of weather and, in many instances on roads infested by hostile Indians. These priests, he said, worked very hard, and still failed to give a regular administration to the whole of the faithful entrusted to their care.²⁰

Impressed by Father Eguillon, Father John Baptist Salpointe and Father Francis Jouvenceau offered to go to New Mexico, provided they could get the consent of their Bishop. Along with them went three seminarians, four students and four Christian Brothers.²¹ The travelers left from Le Havre on August 17, 1859, on board the American steamer, *Ariel*, arriving safely in New York on August 31, 1859. In New York the fifth Christian Brother joined their party, Brother Agustin.²²

From New York the missionary band went to St. Louis by train. Taking a boat here they went up the river to Kansas City, at that time only a small village. From Kansas City to Santa Fe stretched the wide plains inhabited by dangerous nomadic Indian tribes. Across these plains was the now fa-

19. *Loc. cit.*

20. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross, op. cit.*, pp. 210-211.

21. From Mont Ferrand: Benedict Bernard, a subdeacon, Peter Martin, minor orders. From Reims: John B. Theobald Raverdy, a subdeacon. The Christian Brothers: Brothers Hilarian, Gondulph, Geramius and Galmier. Of the students only one persevered, Peter Bernal. Cf. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

22. *Loc. cit.*

mous Santa Fe Trail. Under the direction of Father Eguillon, a caravan was fitted out consisting of three spring wagons and two wagons which Bishop Lamy had provided for the luggage. When they were in readiness to start the trek, news came that the Comanches were on the war-path and that only large caravans could attempt to go through the desert with any safety. Therefore, the missionaries waited and decided to travel with freighters going to New Mexico.²³

In the meantime they pitched their tents and camped outside of Kansas City. In getting organized they had some interesting experiences. One of the important problems was who was to be cook. The following lines written by Archbishop Salpointe thirty-five years later, explain how this was solved.

. . . We were notified also that custom required we should cook for ourselves. Little by little our situation was made known to us in definite terms and the present question was of practical importance. Who amongst us would be daring enough to offer himself for the culinary administration? Every one, it is true, was willing to contribute his share to the necessary menial labor, but none could state what were his peculiar abilities. The situation looked rather perplexed for a while, but it was soon made clear and satisfactory to all by a few words of the Vicar General, who assigned to each one what he should have to do every day during the journey. Two cooks, bad or good, were designated, two purveyors of fuel, two of water, and the other men of the caravan, two by two, were to watch two hours by turns every night over the safety of the camp and of the animals. Such were the orders, and they were accepted without objection.²⁴

When the caravan was numerous enough to start for Santa Fe, it was decided to leave from a place called White House, which was about six miles from the missionaries' camp. All was packed and made ready to join the large caravan when trouble began. The mules had enjoyed their rest and did not care to pull the wagons! Except for the two Mexicans that Bishop Lamy had sent from Santa Fe, the others in the party did not know how to cope with these animals. Nevertheless, even with the frequent interruptions and stale-

23. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214.

mates they managed to reach White House. Not daring to trust themselves to such animals, Father Eguillon returned to Kansas City and purchased what he thought were four good mules. The next day the group started out ahead of the main caravan, which was waiting for a few more wagons, because there was not any danger in the immediate vicinity and they wanted to accustom their animals to work.²⁵

Another amusing experience was had when the Vicar General unpacked the heavy clothing that he had prudently bought for the trip. It turned cold quickly, but the priest was prepared. Pulling out two cases, he opened one of them. It contained "heavy common overcoats for all the men of the party."²⁶ The other case was filled "with rough monumental boots."²⁷

. . . Neither coats nor boots had been made to order nor selected to suit any particular size, but all these articles had the advantage of not being too small for anyone.²⁸

The next surprise for the missionaries came on the third morning of their journey. The new mules were missing with no indication of which direction they had gone. They hoped that if the mules had returned to Kansas City, the caravan following them would bring the mules along. This is exactly what happened only the mules were not returned until after they had reached Santa Fe. Hitching up some saddle horses to the wagons, they proceeded towards Santa Fe. A few days later, the caravan of Mr. Moore, a wealthy merchant of New Mexico, overtook them and so they completed their journey under this protection reaching the first settlements of New Mexico on October 23, 1859.²⁹

Four days later, on October 27, 1859, Father Eguillon and his valiant group of missionaries, having had a realistic taste of life on the plains, entered the old capital of New Mexico.³⁰

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-215.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

27. *Loc. cit.*

28. *Loc. cit.*

29. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-218.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 219; their arrival is also mentioned in the letter of Mother Magdalen Hayden, S.L., Santa Fe, New Mexico, to a Friend, December 10, 1859, (No. 7/64, Loretto Motherhouse Archives: Loretto, Kentucky).

II. New Mexico, 1859-1866

Bishop Lamy received the tired missionaries and made them as comfortable as his frugality could permit. At the supper served to them, the conversation was, at first, exclusively in French. Interrupting, Bishop Lamy said sternly.

Gentlemen, you do not know, it seems, that two languages only are of necessity here, the Spanish, which is spoken generally by the people of this Territory, and the English, which is the language of the Government. Make your choice between the two, for the present, but leave your French parley for the country you have come from.¹

Among the Brothers in the party there was one who spoke only English and another who had mastered some Spanish. But, since neither tried to keep up the conversation, silence prevailed. Father Salpointe relates, "We then proceeded eating with as little noise as possible, and with a kind of lost appetite."² This did not last long because the Bishop himself burst into laughter and began speaking in French. Nevertheless, the lesson of Bishop Lamy, that of applying oneself to the study of the languages, was impressed on all the newcomers.

Father Salpointe in particular must have had a facility in grasping languages because a few months later, on February 27, 1860, he applied for membership in the New Mexico Historical Society.³ In the Minutes of the Society we find wonderment at this talent.

He spoke no English when they arrived in Santa Fe, October 27, 1869; yet here, exactly four months later, he is asking membership in the new Historical Society! He was elected at the March meeting—and had already donated some beautiful fossils from "El Rancho de la Luz."⁴

1. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

2. *Loc. cit.*

3. Lansing B. Bloom, ed., "Society Minutes, 1859-1863," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVIII (1943), 286.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 287.

After becoming acquainted with the characteristics of Villa Santa Fe,⁵ the missionaries settled down to their assigned tasks or missions. The Christian Brothers were given a house and proceeded to prepare to open classes as soon as circumstances allowed. To Father Salponte was assigned the task of taking charge of the young seminarians who had come from France before completing their classical studies, and to visit once a week the chapels of the Pecos, Galisteo, and Tesuque pueblos.⁶

One year later, Father Salponte was appointed pastor of Mora to succeed the Reverend Damazo Taladrid. This was "one of the most important positions in the diocese."⁷ Father Salponte left Santa Fe on October 28, 1860, and the following notation of his formally taking over the jurisdiction of Mora on November 23, 1860, is chronologically inserted in the burial record of 1860.

El mismo Dia 23 de N^{bre} recibe el Padre Taladrid jurisdiccion de la Mora.

J. B. Salponte⁸

The parish of Mora comprised the towns and settlements of Cebolla, Cueva, Agua Negra, Guadalupita, Coyote, Rayado and Cimarron, all with chapels, except the last three. In 1863, the parish was enlarged to extend to the rivers Las Animas, Huerfano and San Carlos, thus making it about two hundred miles in length from north to south.⁹

The Church at Mora was in a ruinous condition and so the young priest with the help of his people and most of his savings practically rebuilt it. Looking to the future, even before he had a promise of Sisters to teach, Father Salponte turned his attention to the erection of a school.

In the summer of 1863, Bishop Lamy received news from

5. Santa Fe, along with Albuquerque and Santa Cruz enjoyed the distinction of being called "la villa," the city. The title of city was given by the Government to the first and most important Spanish settlements in New Mexico to put them above the level of the Indian pueblos.

6. Salponte, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-222.

7. Defouri, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

8. Burial Record—Book B-14, (St. Gertrudis, Mora, New Mexico), A.A.S.F.

9. Salponte, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

Denver that Father Machebeuf¹⁰ had met with an accident, leaving him with a broken leg and little hope for recovery. He immediately set out from Santa Fe for Denver.¹¹ When he passed through Mora, he asked Father Salpointe to go with him to Denver. The journey lasted ten days and when they arrived they found Father Machebeuf on the way to convalescence and most cheerful, although he knew he would be lame for life.¹²

In March, 1864, Father Salpointe, having previously petitioned Mother Magdalen, Superior of the Sisters of Loretto at the Foot of the Cross in Santa Fe, for teaching Sisters, made a trip to Santa Fe to obtain the Sisters.

. . . during his [Bishop Lamy's] absence Father Salpointe from Mora came asking for Sisters for that place. . . . Because of the feast on which they left the Vicar, Fr. Salpointe and I thought that the house should be named "Convent of the Annunciation."¹³

Father Salpointe and the Sisters Mary Borja, Cecilia and Ynes arrived in Mora on April 4, 1864.¹⁴ The school opened by the Sisters was only for girls. Therefore, in 1865, Father Salpointe asked for Christian Brothers to establish a boys' school. Three Brothers under the direction of Brother Domitian opened St. Mary's College which had an existence of nineteen years. The school was successful from the beginning.¹⁵

Great sacrifices were made by all concerned in these early missions.

10. As Bishop Lamy's Vicar General, Father Machebeuf traveled up and down New Mexico and Arizona. In October, 1860, he and Reverend J. B. Raverdy, whom Bishop Lamy had appointed to assist him, were sent to minister in Colorado. The remainder of their lives was spent in laboring in this area.

On February 5, 1868, the modern states of Colorado and Utah were erected into a Vicariate Apostolic by the Holy See, and Father Machebeuf was appointed as first Vicar Apostolic. He was consecrated bishop in St. Peter's Cathedral, Cincinnati, Ohio, by Archbishop Purcell, on August 16, 1868. On August 16, 1887, the Vicariate was raised to the status of a diocese. Bishop Machebeuf died on July 10, 1889.

11. William J. Howlett, *Life of Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D.D., Pioneer Priest of Colorado, Vicar Apostolic of Colorado and Utah and First Bishop of Denver*, (Pueblo, Colorado: The Franklin Press, 1908), p. 310.

12. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

13. Mother Magdalen Hayden, S.L., Santa Fe, New Mexico, to her sister, (Original in Spanish), September 12, 1864, Loretto Motherhouse Archives, Loretto, Kentucky.

14. Salpointe, *loc. cit.*

15. 75 [sic] *Years of Service, 1859-1934, An Historical Sketch of Saint Michael's College*, (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Saint Michael's College, 1934), p. 94.

The Fathers as well as the Sisters were deprived of all luxuries, and many times even the necessities of life. They had no bedsteads . . . the food corresponded with the lodging. It consisted for a whole year of bread and beans. Several times they did not even have salt.¹⁶

An amusing incident is told by the Loretto Sisters at Mora. During a rainy season the water ran freely through the roof and walls of their adobe building, leaving them without a dry spot on which to stand or sit. In their distress they sought the advice and aid of Father Salpointe. Hastening to his house nearby, great was their astonishment to find him perched on the window-sill with an umbrella over him, reading his breviary.¹⁷ They concluded that his predicament was as bad as their own.

Conditions at Mora gradually became better. The natives were taking a more active part in parish life. More children and, therefore, more families, were being reached through the schools. The parish was firmly on its feet when, in 1865, Bishop Lamy asked for volunteers for the shepherdless missions of Arizona.

III. *Arizona Days, 1866-84*

When Arizona was purchased from Mexico on December 30, 1853,¹ it was added to the American Territory of New Mexico. By decree of the Holy See it was annexed to the Diocese of Santa Fe in 1859.² In 1863, it was separated politically, becoming an American territory in its own right. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Arizona, however, still belonged to the See of Santa Fe. The year 1863 found Arizona without priests to minister to the people and yet this territory had

16. *Annals of Mora, New Mexico, Loretto Convent*, (Loretto Motherhouse Archives, Loretto, Kentucky).

17. Anna C. Minogue, *Lorretto: Annals of the Century*, (New York: The America Press, 1912), pp. 148-149.

1. James Gadsden (1788-1858), United States minister to Mexico and a prominent Southern railroad man, signed the treaty by which Mexico agreed to sell the large area now comprising the southern portions of Arizona and New Mexico. The purchase price was \$10,000,000. On the Gadsden Purchase cf. Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, (4th ed.: New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950), p. 279, and "Gadsden Purchase," *Encyclopedia Americana*, 12 (1950), 217.

2. Cf. *Supra*, p. 4.

been one of the first in the New World to have the cross erected in its soil.

The Franciscan Fathers were the first missionaries who traversed the area now called Arizona. Two of them³ left Mexico in January, 1538, commissioned by the Viceroy, and went as far as a large river which they could not cross. The following year, Fray Marcos de Niza and three other religious joined the military expedition and arrived at the same river.⁴ No missions were established at this time and, therefore, it would seem that these expeditions had for their purpose to ascertain whether the time had come to begin work among the Indians found there.⁵

It was between the years 1687 and 1690 that Arizona's first mission, Guevavi, was founded by the Jesuit Fathers. The missions of Tumacacuri, San Xavier, Tubac, Tucson and others were established successively as circumstances permitted. In 1681, Father Eusebio Kino,⁶ S. J., was commissioned by his superiors to work for the conversion of the tribes living in the northern portion of the province of Sonora, called Pimería Alta.

The above named missions were all founded by Father Kino. In 1694, Father Kino visited the Pima Indians, who lived on the Gila River in the vicinity of the "Casas Grandes," establishing there two missions. The missionaries pushed their explorations farther, toward the Gulf of California, preaching to every tribe on the way. However, the Pimas unexpectedly rebelled in 1695, and this began a series of reverses. The death of Father Kino from natural causes occurred in 1711.⁷

On November 21, 1751, all the Indian tribes in Pimería Alta, or the northwest part of the province of Sonora, rebelled against their missionaries. The revolt, lasting over two years, resulted in the death of three of the Jesuit mis-

3. Fray Juan de la Asuncion and Fray Pedro Nadal. Cf. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

4. From the latitude given by the Fathers for this river, it was the one now known as the Colorado.

5. Salpoint, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

6. On Kino, S. J., cf. Herbert E. Bolton, *Rim of Christendom, A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino*, (New York: Macmillan, 1936).

7. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132.

sionaries⁸ and the abandonment of all the mission stations until 1754.

The missionaries again resumed their work in 1754, and by the year 1762 the Jesuits could number twenty-nine missions in Pimería Alta. At this period they had no trouble from the Indians of their missions but they were constantly on the defense against the attacks of the Apaches, who lived along almost the entire length of the northern frontier of the province. Another hindrance was the deprivation of the compensation the Jesuit Fathers should have received from the government. Nevertheless, their work continued until their expulsion from all Spanish possessions on April 2, 1767.⁹

After the suppression of the Jesuits, fourteen Franciscans from the College of Querétaro were sent to carry on the missionary work. The best known of these was Father Francisco Garces.

He planned the extension of the missions to the north and also made contact with the California friars. When his plan seemed to be maturing in a most satisfactory manner, harsh treatment by the Spanish soldiers caused a rebellion among the Indians in 1780 that ended only after several missionaries had been put to death, among them Father Garces. Although this tragedy prevented the extension of the missions, it brought about a resurgence of faith for some time in the older missions.¹⁰

The missions prospered under the Franciscan administration and a proof of their success can be seen in the church they constructed at San Xavier del Bac to replace the old church built by the Jesuit Fathers.

About the year 1810, the desire for independence from Spain began to spread throughout the territory of New Spain, and on September 28, 1821, Mexico gained her independence from the mother country. The greatest blow to the missions came when the Franciscans were expelled from the country by the decree of December 20, 1827. This decree and the one

8. Fathers Francisco Xavier Saeta, Enriques Ruen, and Tomas Tello. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 132-139.

10. Roemer, *The Catholic Church in the United States*, *op. cit.*, p. 24. [Footnote 11 omitted. F.D.R.]

following it on May 10, 1829, confiscating the property of the Church, spelled doom for the continuance of the missions. Most of the Indians, unprotected and without the moral and material support received from the missions, scattered and returned gradually to their former Indian life. The only exception was the Indian pueblo at San Xavier.¹²

The Arizona missions were not totally abandoned by the Church. After the expulsion of the Franciscans, priests were too scarce for the Bishop of Sonora, Mexico, to assign one for the Arizona missions. He did, however, put the missions in charge of the parish priests of Magdalena in his diocese of Sonora. It was a hazardous journey for these priests to visit Arizona and, therefore, it was the rare occasion that brought them. When a priest came the people of Tucson had to send "eighteen to twenty mounted and well armed men"¹³ to escort and protect the priest from Apache attacks.¹⁴

These were the conditions that prevailed in 1859 when Bishop Lamy sent his Vicar General, Father Machebeuf, to Arizona to determine the needs of the Catholic population and the advisability of establishing a mission there. Father Machebeuf endured the six hundred miles from Santa Fe to Tucson, one-half of the route being heavily infested with Apaches. The missionary found that practically all the inhabitants were Catholics and that the majority of the population were in the towns of Tucson, San Xavier del Bac, Tubac, and Gila City, now Yuma. Since Tucson was the most important town of the Territory, he chose it for the center of his labors.¹⁵

The first thing Father Machebeuf accomplished was a trip to Sonora, Mexico, to see the Bishop of that See. This prelate transferred to the Vicar General, as representative of the Bishop of Santa Fe, the entire jurisdiction over the whole of Arizona.¹⁶

12. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-181.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

14. *Loc. cit.*

15. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-226. [The site of Yuma was called Colorado City, not Gila City which lay about twenty miles upstream from Yuma. Gold was found in 1858 and gave rise to Gila City which was a ghost town by 1864. Cf. R. K. Wyllys, *Arizona*. Hobson & Herr, Phoenix, Arizona, 1950. F. D. R.]

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 227-228.

When Father Machebeuf returned to Arizona, he was kept busy performing marriages, baptizing and hearing confessions at Tucson, Tubac and San Xavier. A prominent citizen¹⁷ of Tucson gave him a two room house to use for a church because the old Presidio church was in such a state of ruin that it was beyond repair. At the San Xavier mission he found that the Church could still be used for the celebration of Mass and that the Indians remembered the prayers which had been taught to them by the Franciscans. The Indian chief, Jose, gave to Father Machebeuf the sacred vessels¹⁸ he had protected in his house since the expulsion of the Franciscans.¹⁹

Bishop Lamy requested Father Machebeuf's return and he arrived in Santa Fe in November, 1859. Although the Bishop was sending Father Machebeuf to Colorado, he promised that he would send another priest to Arizona as soon as possible.

After Father Machebeuf, the Arizona missions were served for about three years by Father Donato Reghieri, who was killed by the Apaches.²⁰ The people of Tucson, being left without a priest, sent a petition to Bishop Thaddeus Amat²¹ of the Monterey-Los Angeles diocese asking him to send priests to their area. Bishop Amat sent the appeal for priests to Bishop Lamy²² because it was the latter's responsibility. To solve the problem, Bishop Lamy procured two Jesuits, Fathers Messea and Bosco, from California for San Xavier and Tucson, respectively. The stay of the Jesuits was brief,

17. Don Francisco Solano Leon.

18. The objects were: four silver chalices, a gold plated monstrance, two gold cruets with a silver tray, two small silver candlesticks, two silver censers and a sanctuary carpet.

19. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-227.

20. Sister M. Lucida Savage, C.S.J., *The Congregation of St. Joseph of Carondelet, A Brief Account of Its Origin And Its Work in the United States*, (2d ed.; St. Louis: B. Herder, 1927), p. 249. Further information on Reghieri is lacking.

21. Thaddeus Amat, C.M., was born on December 31, 1811, in Catalonia, Spain. He joined the Lazarists in Barcelona, January 4, 1832, and was ordained on June 9, 1838 at Paris by Archbishop Hyacinth Louis Quelen of Paris. Elected to the See of Monterey on July 29, 1853, he was consecrated, March 12, 1854 at Rome. The title of the See was changed to Monterey-Los Angeles in 1859. He was interested in particular in the welfare of the Indians. He died May 12, 1878 in Los Angeles. Cf. Joseph Bernard Code, *Dictionary of American Hierarchy*, (New York: Longmans, Green, 1940), pp. 6-7.

22. Bishop Amat, Los Angeles, California, to Bishop Lamy, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1863, (A.A.S.F.).

however, and, in August, 1864, Bishop Lamy was informed that they had been recalled.²³

Thus it was that Bishop Lamy asked for volunteers for the Arizona missions. Because of the dangers of the mission he did not want to order any priest into the territory. Three priests volunteered, however, and two were accepted. These were Father Peter Lassaigue and Father Peter Bernal and the remaining one who was rejected was Father Salpointe. He was refused because of the parish projects he was engaged in at the time which included the building of two schools. The two volunteers set out for their mission field, completing the first half of the journey to Arizona by stage without any difficulty. However, when they reached Las Cruces, the end of the stage line, they found it impossible, for any amount of money, to obtain a guide to Tucson. The Apaches were roaming this area and no one cared to risk his life. After waiting a number of weeks, the two priests returned to Santa Fe.²⁴

One year passed and Bishop Lamy was becoming more anxious about the portion of his flock that remained without priests. Although the danger from the Apaches was not lessening, he decided to send Father Salpointe, appointing him Vicar General for the Arizona Missions. Accompanied by Fathers Francis Boucard and P. Birmingham, and a school teacher, Mr. Vincent, he set out for his distant and dangerous mission on January 6, 1866. Each of the four was supplied with a saddle horse and they were given a four horse wagon, driven by a Mexican, to carry their baggage and provisions. At the request of Bishop Lamy, General Carleton, commander of Fort Marcy at Santa Fe, furnished an escort as far as Bowie. The journey to Bowie was made in good time and they arrived on January 24, 1866. The only Indians that the travelers saw were a few coming towards them on the seventh day of their journey. Instinctively, the priests, who were riding a couple of hours ahead of their wagon, galloped

23. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

away for their lives, keeping to the trail. The Indians turned back to the missionaries' great satisfaction.²⁵

When the missionaries arrived at Fort Bowie, the Major in charge showed them every courtesy. He suggested that they wait three days until a freighter would be leaving for Tucson. It would give the priests added protection to travel in a large caravan, and the Major also offered to send an escort of soldiers along with them. This plan was agreed upon and the delay providentially enabled a dying man, Captain Tapia from Santa Fe, to receive the Last Sacraments of the Church from Father Salpointe.²⁶

On January 27, 1866, the party pulled out crossing barren plains and twining through narrow canyons where some weeks before travelers had been massacred by the Apaches. The danger was so great that they did not even light fires at night. Camps were usually made from one water-hole to the next unless the distance between them was too great. In this way, without any mishap, the caravan entered Tucson about ten o'clock on the morning of February 7, 1866.²⁷

Tucson at this date was a small Mexican town having a population of about six hundred. There was no church or priests' residence and so the group of missionaries relied on the hospitality of the Catholics. One of these, Don Juan Elias, invited the group to his house and within a few weeks had purchased with the help of friends a little house and lot near the place where Father Donato Reghieri, and the Jesuits after him, had begun to build a church.

(continued)

25. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-247.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 247

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

APACHE PLUNDER TRAILS SOUTHWARD, 1831-1840

By RALPH A. SMITH

FOR generations war captives, plunder, and livestock entered New Mexico from the south, Apache Indians brought them from "their ranches," as they called the civilized country below which seemed to exist only to sustain them. How they gathered and shifted these staples of their commerce northward is a horrendous story of pillage and human suffering. It is unfamiliar to American readers because no one has dug it out of masses of Spanish and Mexican records. Using these sources it is easy to observe the marauders and their operations on the supply end of an atrocious traffic. One can follow the flow of their booty on through mountain rendezvous and in and out of Santa Fe, Taos, and Bent's Fort into the broader channels of the white man's trade. From these marts horses and "Spanish" mules frequently reached Missouri, or Arkansas, and even pulled plows beyond the Mississippi.

When Apache raiders crossed the present international boundary over half a dozen major trails laid open to them. Mexican literature shows that these were the same routes in the 1830's that their ancestors had used over a century before, except for the easternmost system.¹ Comanches had recently usurped it. In the west Coyotero Apaches employed two roads. Both of these entered Sonora and bore along the Pacific slopes of the Sierra Madre Occidental. White men called one of them the "great stealing road." It came out of a sierra in eastern Arizona, passed over the Gila River upstream from San Carlos Lake, ran down Aravaipa Creek, and turned southward across the plains of San Pedro Valley. Cutting by present Bisbee it hit Sonora northwest of Fronteras. This military post guarded a region dotted with great droves of livestock,

1. For these routes in the early Eighteenth Century see Vita Alessio Robles (ed.), Nicolás de la Fora's *Relación del viaje que hizo a los presidios internos situados en la frontera de la America septentrional perteneciente al rey de España, con un liminar bibliografico y acotaciones* (1939), Mexico, D. F.: Editorial, Pedro Robredo. 71-75, 80-82, 107-110.

but its presence did not interfere with Coyotero business objectives. The trail sprangled out so that warriors going to the southwest could reach the mines and ranches around Magdalena on the Alisos River. A fork to the southeast brought those along the Narcozari within their reach. Straight ahead their trail led them to the environs of Hermosillo and Arizpe. Both of these towns had served as the capital of Sonora; however, Apaches seldom visited them except for war booty. Over a broad territory they killed men, grabbed women and children, and rounded up livestock before hurrying northward. Thousands of hoofs racing along the dry bed of the Aravaipa chiseled out a road "many yards wide." Turning at sharp angles it made defense against Mexican pursuit easy. Crippled horses, mules, and cattle and carcasses of dead ones pointed the direction of their long drives up trail to the Gila and on to their mountain homes.

The eastern Coyotero road bisected the Gila River farther up stream. From that river into Sonora it took the same course that Mexican military expeditions came up from Fronteras; but of course the rights of the whites to its use were secondary to those of the proprietary mountain lords. This trail lay along San Simon Creek and dropped through an old Spanish ranch that had thrived in the Sierra de San Bernardino of southeastern Arizona until Apaches decreed its demise. In the Thirties raiders might stop here to chase cattle that now roamed the plains as "wild and more dangerous than buffalo." Deeper south the warriors reached a position from whence they could strike along the western slopes of the Sierra Madre, taking either side of the Chihuahua-Sonoran boundary.

The remaining south-bound arteries of Apache traffic led to mining towns, domestic Indian villages, ranches, and mustang herds east of the Continental Divide. When lords of the Sierra Mogollon left their homes on the western margin of New Mexico they customarily patronized the Copper Road. It ran southwestward from Santa Rita Copper Mine by Lake Playas and Animas Peak in present Hidalgo County, New Mexico. By veering right from the Copper Road, Mogollon Apaches reached Sonora; but following it they would ap-

proach Fort Janos about 130 miles from Santa Rita in north-west Chihuahua. This historic road continued through Cerralitos and Casas Grandes before bearing southeastward and intersecting the El Paso del Norte-Chihuahua City road north of Encinillas and finally reaching the mint in the capital city. But instead of turning as it did, the Mogollons usually drove straight on southward, circuited Janos, and paralleled the Continental Divide to the Papigochic and Tomóchic rivers. This put them several hundred miles due west of the capital of Chihuahua. From temporary camps in the Sierra Madre they launched raids westward into Sonora, or dropped down upon thriving Mexican and Tarahumara² villages along the tributaries of the Yaqui River. The valleys of these streams were called the "bread basket," the "Garden of Eden," and the "Paradise" of Chihuahua for very appropriate reasons. Around them Mogollons also found the best silver mines in the state at their feet. The Silver Road ran from rich pits clustering about Jesús María (present Ocampo) to Chihuahua City,³ and presented opportunities for New Mexican red skins to quench their lust for blood, captives, livestock, and plunder. Over it trudged trains of little burros loaded with bars of filthy lucre. Caravans of pack mules wended through the mountains bearing merchandise from Pacific ports,⁴ and journeymen travelled in armed parties. A little perusal of statistics and travelers' journals makes it easy to understand why the Mogollons established operational quarters in the Sierra Madre and why don Santiago Kirker would take a position in the mountains near Jesús María to assess tribute on this part of the biggest Mexican department. Known as the Lord of the Scalp Hunters, Kirker was a friend of the savages and "the chief of the Apache nation" at this time, the early Forties. Small bands of Mogollons striking along the Silver

2. El Lic. Moises T. de la Peña, "Esayo exonomico y social sobre el pueblo tarahumar," *Boletin de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios historicos*, V, núm. 1 (abril 20 de 1946), 426-436; Julius Fröbel, *Aus Amerika*, II (1858), Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 259-261.

3. Silvestre Terrazas, "Mineral. . . que produce más de 80 millones. . . en oro," *Boletin de la sociedad chihuahuense. . .*, II, núm. 6 (noviembre 15 de 1939), 200-201; Fröbel, *Aus Amerika*, II, 257-258.

4. Francisco R. Almada, "Los Apaches," *Boletin de la sociedad chihuahuense. . .*, II, núm. 1 (junio de 1939), 10; Francisco R. Almada, *La rebellion de tomóchic* (1938), Ciudad Chihuahua: Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estudios Historicos, 7.

Road made life cheap right into the suburbs of the capital city, while fellow tribesmen fanned out southward and southeastward over the middle and upper Rio Conchos and its tributaries. At Santa Isabel thirty miles southwest of Chihuahua City people could hear Apache war drums booming nightly in the mountains and named them Sierra del Rombar, or Mountains of the Drum. When one governor passed over the Silver Road to the Glen of Fresno he ordered that crosses marking the spots where New Mexican Indians had massacred travelers be burned. According to him, these reminders of Apache ferocity every few hundred feet made his people timid.⁵ Scores of dispatches relating Mogollon atrocities poured into the Governor's office yearly. They reached him from Janos, Corralitos, Casas Grandes, and Galeana in the northwest, from Papigochic and Tomóchic villages in the west, from Satevó and Hidalgo del Parral in the south, from points along the Silver Road, and from many places between these. In them one sees why Chihuahua would resort to buying Apache scalps, and why these areas would become the hair hunter's paradise. Western Chihuahua developed Mexico's most enthusiastic galaxy of fleecers, and sent more human pelts to market than any other region on the continent. The best known artisans of the hair dresser's craft in America were either native or adopted sons of this region and specialized in Mogollon crowns. Don Joaquin Terrazas, Jesús José Casavantes, Heremengildo Quintana, Captain Mauricio Corredor, Juan Mata de Ortiz, and Luiz Zuloaga belonged to the Sierra Madre by birth. Kirker, John Joel Glanton, and Marcus L. "Long" Webster came from beyond the Great Plains to seek their fortunes here. At peeling Apache heads they gained fame and wealth in the Mogollon "ranch" country. Nothing less than a volume could do justice to any one of this strenuous clan of barbers. However, Tarahumaras, or domestic Indians, of western Chihuahua also would make some of the best hair hunters ever to chase New Mexican game because of their prodigious feats as footmen. Accustomed to eighty-mile foot

5. José Carlos Chavez, "Clamor de los Papigochic del siglo XVIII por los constantes ataques de los Apaches," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , I, núm. 12 (mayo 15 de 1939), 399-405; Fröbel, *Aus Amerika*, II, 248-256.

races up, down, and around sierra slopes, disdaining the effeminacy of riding, they operated both under their own chiefs and with such scalp captains as Col. don Joaquin Terrazas. At ferreting Apaches from their mountain dens they fell in a class with Kirker's Old Apache Company of Delawares and Shawnees. Wearing white pajamas, raw hide sandals, a straw hat, and coarse black bangs, one was complete when following Terrazas in the Sixties, Seventies, or Eighties with a cartridge belt whipped over each shoulder and crossing in front and behind, a high powered carbine, and a machete. His Tarahumaras made tough, productive companies, jumping swift, elusive game in the mountains during summer months and in the valleys during winter.

Thanks to New Mexico's supply of Indians and to such master hair dressers as Ortiz, Zuloaga, and Kirker, both the Copper and Silver roads should have been re-christened the Scalp Hunter's Trail. After the Mountain Indians broke up mining operations at Santa Rita and around Jesús María in the late Thirties and Forties, and Chihuahua started buying their crowns, the volume of pelts headed for market constituted one of the most valuable cargos to pass over these roads. Because of the heavy drafts for payment to scalp hunters, it must be conceded that Mogollon hair contributed as much to keeping Chihuahua bankrupt as that of any tribe. But other Apaches left wool down country too, especially Mimbrenos.

When they set out to their "ranches" they descended the Copper Road into present Chihuahua before breaking off to their left. Pouring through the Glen of San Joaquin they hit the Casas Grandes River down stream, or north of Janos. Breaking through San Miguel Pass in the neighborhood of present San Pedro, they skirted the rough, tall Sierra de la Escondida on their right. After entering the Pass of Las Minas and crossing the Santa Maria River north of its big loop, they traversed San Buenaventura Valley northeast of Galeana. Leaving the Laguna de la Vieja on their left they rejoined the Copper Road and descended Ruiz Valley through the Pass of Tinaja to the Hill of El Chile. These place names may confuse American readers today, but for many decades they were commonplace in the jargon of scalp hunters and

others who had experiences with New Mexican Indians in Chihuahua. To the hair dressers especially they signified a land abounding in human fur. Five leagues east of El Chile was El Carmen, the seat of a big ranch on the Carmen River. It bears the name of Richard Flores Magón today. Apaches connected this estate with the history of New Mexico repeatedly. Belief prevails south of the border that a peon child kidnapped here grew up to become New Mexico's famous Apache Napoleon, Victorio.⁶ Mexican tradition places the capture of another white boy in this vicinity. He became the notorious Apache chief, Costelles (Sacks), also infamous in the history of the same state. Just west of El Carmen among lagoons and springs John Glanton and his outlaw band of professional hair raisers found good fleecing among New Mexican savages in mid-century. Here Mimbrenos mapped their campaigns and sometimes before pushing deeper into Chihuahua met still other New Mexican natives who had loped their ponies down still different trails. These invaders were Warm Springs and Natage Apaches.

When Warm Springs Apaches set out southward to steal, they came down the Mimbres Valley to the lake region of northern Chihuahua. The main lagoons here were de Guzman, de Santa Maria, and de Patos. They figured much in the story of New Mexico's Indians also, especially for holding rendezvous and because of their droves of wild mustangs and surrounding ranches with domestic stock. Of course, like the area west of El Carmen, this meant opportunities for professional hair dressers also. The Warm Springs Apaches drove on to El Ojo del Apache, or Apache Spring, in a marshy region about fifteen miles west of Fort Carrizal. They might rendezvous here with Natages and push on southward with them to join the Mimbrenos west of El Carmen.

The Natages lived along the Rio Grande and crossed that River below El Paso del Norte at San Elezario. Passing over the Llano de los Castillos, they raided ranches along the way,

6. Manuel Romero, "Victor' el Apache que creo mi madre era hijo gran jefe de los Apaches 'Victorio' ", *Boletin de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , VI, núm. 8 (enero y febrero de 1951), 509-513; José Carlos Chavez, "Extencion de los Apaches," *Boletin de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , I, núm. 10 (marzo 15 de 1939), 340n; José Fuentes Mares, . . . *Y Mexico se refugio en el desierto* (1954), Mexico, D. F.: Editorial Jus, S. A., 148.

joined other tribes in a common rendezvous, and split into small parties for working the land southward in detail. In all of the great space north of Chihuahua City, they found a country much less arid than it is today. It abounded in livestock until Apaches cleaned it out. If they went straight southward from the vicinity of El Carmen, they took the Rio Santa Clara Valley, or followed the 107th parallel, to such river ranches as San Lorenzo, Santa Clara, and La Quemada. Still farther south they found more ranches, livestock, and people around the two big lagoons known as don Antonio del Castillo and as Bustillo west of Chihuahua City.

Eastward from their big rendezvous grounds the invaders frequently crossed the Carmen River, passed under the friendly Sierra de los Arados on their left, and took the valley between Las Varas and El Plan de Alamos, two more sierra allies, to the El Paso-Chihuahua City Road. This put them immediately below Gallegos and west of Tres Castillos, where Col. Terrazas and his scalp hunters trapped Victorio in 1880, and Captain Mauricio Corredor raised his \$2,000 crown. Moving southward Apaches would make one, or more, seasonal calls by Encinillas. This feudal barony constituted the largest and best known ranch system in all Chihuahua and therefore one of the most visited. From the peaks of the long sierra on each side of it, native scouts looked down upon its twenty mile long lagoon and the villa at its southern tip. They kept every thing that moved over the valley under observation. Multiple times they ran off horses and mules, left the valley dotted with dead cattle, speared hundreds of sheep for sport, and swept away captives. Moving on they would plague dozens of ranch settlements and run off livestock herds north, east, and west of the capital. Sometimes New Mexican Apaches would work with kinsmen from Texas.

These were Mescalero Apaches. They lived in mountains east of the Rio Grande from the Sierra Blanca toward the Big Bend. They crossed the river into eastern Chihuahua by the Pass of El Morrión at Dolores, or elsewhere, and often made for a sierra between Gallegos and Agua Nueva. Both of these places were on the El Paso-Chihuahua City Road about

fifty miles north of the capital. Agua Nueva was the headquarters of the estate of don Estanislao Porrás. He was one of the wealthiest ranchers and merchants of Chihuahua and ran as many as 36,000 head of cattle on his ranch when Apaches permitted. Because they stole and killed his livestock, kidnapped his servants, robbed his merchant trains, and used his sierra to plan their raids, he had become one of the main patrons of a "well known American" called the "King of New Mexico." This was don Santiago Kirker who led the best hair dressing outfit ever assembled on this continent. North of Agua Nueva, Mescaleros made Gallegos and the El Paso-Chihuahua City Road crossing at Chavito Creek very dangerous for travelers. In the Forties, Gomez was a Mescalero chief who made his name one of the most terrifying words that Mexican ears ever heard in this area. He too had been a captured Mexican child. When Chihuahua posted a thousand dollar prize for his scalp and American hair hunters chased him over the land like blood hounds, he promptly offered the same amount for each Mexican and American pelt brought to him.

Mescaleros moving down the broad valley from Agua Nueva, visited the herds of Encinillas and passed through El Venado and then the Pass of Hormigas at the town of Hormigas. This put them at the Chaco Grande, a large swampy depression in a spacious valley northeast of the capital. Here they expected to find herds of cattle, horses, and mules. In their path along the perimeter northeast to southeast of Chihuahua City were El Torreón ranch, the mining town of Aldama, San Diego on the Chuvíscar River, and Santa Clara, Julimes, and other places on the Rio Conchos. Near the south end of this arc they frequently waylaid people and struck them down on the road from the capital to Santa Eulalia. This was a rich mine that disgorged silver to pay hair hunters for bringing in green pelts and to build the splendid cathedral in the capital⁶ where New Mexican Indian scalps went on display as somber reminders to enemies of church and state. Withdrawing northward, booty-laden raiders would rendezvous with captives and stolen animals

6a. "Construcción de la iglesia de esta ciudad y la de Santa Eulalia," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , VII, núm. 6 (noviembre de 1950), 472.

again, then push homeward over their respective routes, in every case sheltered by the sierras.

In the Thirties certain Mescalero sub-tribes drifted into the Big Bend mountains where Lipan Apaches lived. When General Nicolás de la Fora inspected the northern frontier of New Spain about the mid-Eighteenth Century and described Apache invasion routes, he gave most space to the Lipan plunder trails. They came out of the Big Bend and spread over eastern Chihuahua to the Conchos River and into northern Durango and western Coahuila. During the Thirties the name of the Mescaleros replaced that of the Lipans in records as Apache representatives in this area. By the Forties it too was disappearing from reports out of the old Lipan raiding zone. Amity and trade treaties that American commissioners made with South Plains Indians in the middle Thirties partly explain this. The Plains nomads stepped up their raids in the Lipan preserve; shortly they had excluded their Apache enemies from it. However, when Apaches left the Big Bend and the mountains east of the Rio Grande, they might cross the River at Lajitas if they intended to strike the villages along the Conchos, or near Chihuahua City. At other times they used El Vado de Chisos, or "The Grand Chisos Crossing," at the point where the Chihuahua-Coahuilan boundary touches the Rio Grande. This took them to Mexican settlements around the Bolson de Mapimi, a wild plateau land in eastern Chihuahua, northern Durango, and western Coahuila; but the Lajitas and Chisos fords became almost Comanche monopolies. By 1840 the Rio Conchos had very definitely become the dividing line between Apache and Comanche plunder lands in Mexico, with of course some overlapping. While Apaches operated from the Conchos westward to the Pacific, Comanches and Kiowas gleaned the country eastward to the Gulf of Mexico and southward across the Tropic of Cancer. Besides giving the direction of Apache incursions, Mexican records also reveal the art of their warfare.

First, the Apaches were mountain people. Like Scotch Highlanders they preyed upon people and herds below. Regardless of the way they went they made full use of the sierras, which were their best allies. Whether advancing, or

retreating, they operated from one mountain chain to another. As individuals they were among history's best soldiers. A warrior at fourteen fought as well as one forty. This explains why Mexican states paid the same price for the scalp of each. At camouflaging himself beside a road, using boulders for concealment, and striking unsuspecting Mexicans the Apaches had few equals.⁷ Rattle snake venom on the tip of his arrow made one more dangerous. To get this deadly poison Indians ensnared reptiles with poles and fishing nets. Placing a piece of animal liver on a stick, they let a serpent strike it. Then they buried the meat in humid earth for a few days "to ripen." After taking it up, warriors rubbed their points on it for the toxin. When one of the arrows pierced a victim he usually died within half an hour suffering all of the agonies that accompanied a rattle snake bite.⁸ To defend themselves against poison arrows of New Mexican savages, and from American rifles in the hands of South Plains nomads, the Mexican people were very poorly equipped.

Their literature bulges in heart breaking stories of wood cutters slain in the forests, shepherds shot down in pastures, workmen cut up in fields, travelers left along the roads bristling with arrows, and settlers slumped in doorways of their mud, straw, and stick huts. Still more pathetic were the tales of women and children dragged off into captivity.⁹ These female prisoners were often bought by the gentry of Rio Grande settlements, or at Santa Fe, Bent's, and Taos, in common with Navajo, Ute, and other captive Indian maidens. The disinterest of some Mexicans in the misfortune of fellow citizens did not stop here. These joined Apaches and Comanches in raids and brought captives from Sonora, Chihuahua, Nuevo Leon, Durango, San Luis Potosi, Zacatecas, and Tamaulipas, or they might go slaving to the Navajo lands, or to the Indian

7. Francisco R. Almada, "Sucesos y recuerdos de la independencia en Chihuahua," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , V, núm. 5 (junio y julio de 1944), 185-186; Alberto Terrazas Valdez, "El salvajismo Apache en Chihuahua," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , VII, núm. 1 (enero y febrero de 1950), 372-374.

8. Ignacio Emilio Elias, "El terrible veneno táctica guerrera de los indios apaches," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , VII, núm. 2 (marzo y abril de 1950), 392-393.

9. Jesús J. Lozano (ed.), Emilio Lamberg's "Vida y costumbres de los indios salvajes que habitan el estado de Chihuahua mediados del siglo XIX," septiembre 27 de 1851, *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , VI, núm. 9 (agosto de 1949), 275.

tribes as far northward as around the Great Salt Lake. Both national and state governments failed to protect the people and even censured them for undertaking unauthorized expeditions. They called it meddling in affairs that properly belonged to the military.¹⁰ When civilian governors hired professional scalp hunters to go after Indian hair jealousy appeared among the military also. After South Plains Indians began trading with Americans and Reservation Indians, these nomads came down upon the descendants of Cortes with weapons more effective than those of the Apaches. Since Mexican dictators forbade the people to keep arms, their civilized subjects had to improvise bows, arrows, lances, knives, slings, and lariats to fend against poisoned arrows and high powered carbines. Occasionally they possessed a few old rusty guns like their ancestors had used more than a century before.¹¹ These Indians rode the best horses that the Mexican cavaliers raised; if the soldiers rode it was on burros, or poor ponies.

Finally moved to action on May 5, 1831, against these stubborn red skins, the Mexican President appointed Col. José Joaquin Calvo as Commandant General and Inspector of the State of Chihuahua and the Territory of New Mexico. Don José was a Cuban born creole of exceptional military, administrative, and educational attainments, but he had never met problems like the New Mexican Indians posed. On October 16 he declared war on Apaches and promised special pay for volunteers to fight them.¹² Twenty-nine chieftains entered a treaty with him at Santa Rita. They accepted a division of their country into zones. Recognizing three chiefs as "generals" he placed each over a "reservation" with promises of rations for their people. General Juan José Compa became head of the first with headquarters at the village of Janos, and General Fuerte of the second. General Aquíén headed the Gila River area. However, the treaty failed to define their administrative powers adequately; but even if it had the governments of neighboring states would have ignored them.

10. Fröbel, *Aus Amerika*, II, 214.

11. Robles (ed.), *La Fora's Relacion del viaje que hizo a los presidios . . .*, 102.

12. Francisco R. Almada, "La comandancia general de provincias internas," I, núm. 2 (junio de 1938), 40, y "Gobernados del estado: X.—Gral. José Joaquin Calvo," II, núms. 8 y 9 (enero y febrero de 1940), 299, en *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense . . .*

Likewise Governor Isidro Madero's orders to political chiefs of the cantons to see that the people arm themselves for defense achieved nothing. Neither did the efforts of his successor, Col. Simón Elfas González. The failure of the Mexicans to provide allowances and rations led to frequent Apache raids from 1833 through 1835.¹³

Early in January, 1833, Juan José sent his warriors storming out of their "reservation." Soon raiders of other chiefs swarmed over Sonora and Chihuahua also.¹⁴ The Mexicans scored a slight victory over them on July 23, 1834, and Captain don José María Ronquillo and don Alejandro Ramirez, the political chief of El Paso del Norte, made a treaty with seven Comanche chiefs. The Mexicans followed the familiar strategy here of trying to play Comanches against Apaches. As an expediency to strengthen the Mexican defense position, the legislative body of Chihuahua turned over the governor's powers to Calvo on September 18.¹⁵ He instituted the death penalty for soldiers who turned their backs upon the Indians in war on December 19.¹⁶ But Apaches and Comanches made the people of northern Mexico pay dearly. Bands of three or four hit almost within the suburbs of the capital city. Mogollons were over 400 miles from their homes when they raided the ranch of Ánimas and took many captives in the district of Hidalgo del Parral on the border of Durango.¹⁷ Areas as far apart as El Paso del Norte, Galeana, Aldama, and El Carmen, north of the capital, and Rosales on the middle Conchos south of it took on the appearance of famine-stricken deserts. Coyoteros and Mimbrenos joined rebellious Yaqui, Opatas, and Seris. They razed Sonora as far

13. Almada, "Los Apaches," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , II, núm. 1 (junio de 1939), 9.

14. Francisco R. Almada, *Diccionario de historia, geografía y biografía sonorenses*, (1952), Ciudad Chihuahua, Chi., 73; Almada, "Gobernadores de estado: X.—Gral. José Joaquín Calvo," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , II, núms. 8 y 9 (enero y febrero de 1940), 299.

15. Enrique González Flores, *Chihuahua de la independencia a la revolución* (1949), Mexico, D. F.: Ediciones Botas, 56-57; Almada, "Los Apaches," II, núm. 1 (junio de 1939), 9, y "Gobernadores del estado: X.—Gral. José Joaquín Calvo," II, núms. 8 y 9 (enero y febrero de 1940), 299, 325, y Chavez, "Extinción de los Apaches," I, núm. 10 (marzo 15 de 1939), 336, todos en *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense*

16. Mares, . . . *Y Mexico se refugio en el desierto*, 137.

17. Almada, "Los Apaches," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , II, núm. 1 (Junio de 1939), 9.

as Hermosillo and Arizpe and left scores of ranches and towns deserted.

Encouraged by Apache impunity, American treaties, and new markets Comanches stepped up their raids. Mexicans complained about Americans along the Arkansas, at Taos, Bent's Fort, and Torrey's trading post on the Brazos who paid them with rifles, knives, and hoop-iron to make into arrows and lance points for captives, plunder, mules, and horses that they had stolen below the Rio Grande. Reports said that six to seven hundred Comanches entered Chihuahua in May, 1835, and put the total for the year at 800.¹⁸ Officials of Chihuahua, which included New Mexico, had cause for alarm at rumors that Apaches and Comanches would combine and give the land a thorough cleaning. Calvo set out for Presidio del Norte, present Ojinaga, on the Rio Grande in June with an army of regulars and volunteers.¹⁹ But his abortive campaign did no more than to provoke furious, sporadic Apache and Comanche raids. At Yepómera, near the Papigochic, Mogollons killed forty-two persons.²⁰

In despair Sonora returned to the old Spanish policy of buying Indian scalps and ears on September 7, 1835. Its Governor would pay one hundred *pesos* for the locks of a warrior fourteen, or older. A silver *peso* had the same purchasing power as a dollar in the American West. The new plan allowed scalp hunters to keep plunder and livestock that they took from the natives.²¹ Some time elapsed before it produced noticeable results. Meanwhile, politicians seemed to conspire with the savages against their own people. President Santa Anna set aside the Constitution in October and initiated one of the sickest, most chaotic decades in Mexican history. Among the few to gain from the weaknesses of the country

18. *Revista Oficial*, periódico del gobierno del departamento de Chihuahua (Ciudad Chihuahua, Chi.), II, núm. 42, octubre 15 de 1844.

19. Francisco R. Almada, "Gobernadores del estado: XI.—Lic. José Ma. de Echavarrá," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , II, núm. 12 (julio de 1940), 364.

20. Almada, "Los Apaches," II, núm. 1 (junio de 1939), 10, y "Gobernadores del estado: XVI.—D. Pedro Olivares," III, núms. 1-3 (octubre-diciembre de 1940), 394, *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense*

21. Georg Friedrici, *Skalpiern und ähnliche Kriegesgebräuche in Amerika* (1906), Braunschweig: Druck und Verlag von Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 56; Alonso Toro, *Historia de Mexico* (1951), Mexico, D. F.: Editorial Patria, 421-424; Almada, *Diccionario de historia, geografía y biografía sonorenses*, 74.

were those who met Apaches and Comanches after raids and bought their bargains. Calvo gave 1836 over to proclaiming Santa Anna's new organic laws that shackled the people in a pitiless thralldom, and to playing at defending his department from too many New Mexican, Arizona, and Texas barbarians.²²

One step that his government took was to organize a civil militia of two and a half companies under the name of Defenders of the State. The Governor sent one company to reinforce Fort Carrizal south of El Paso del Norte against the Warm Springs and Natage plunder roads. The second went to Fort Janos and the half company to Casas Grandes to watch the Mogollóns and Mimbrenos. Calvo's government also had its people organize a Rural Police to help restrain the red peril. On March 19, 1836, it created a Council of Auxiliaries to aid Calvo in the "anguishing circumstances" of confronting Indians and Yankees who were about to take the Republic apart from the Sabine River in Texas to the Pacific. Don Estevan Curcier was its secretary and also a man known to New Mexican history. He and Robert McKnight operated the Santa Rita copper mine and had become the copper kings of Chihuahua and New Mexico. The Council should keep 100 men ranging the country around the capital. Hidalgo del Parral applied this plan in southern Chihuahua against the Mogollons, and other districts followed its example.²³ But the Defenders, Rural Police, Auxiliaries, and presidial soldiers could not stop the plague of human scorpions that came out of the rocky sierras of New Mexico and infested their country. In 1837 Chihuahua received a suggestion on Indian relations from Sonora.

On April 22, James Johnson of Kentucky spread gifts for the band of Chief Juan José Compa and enticed women, children, and warriors before a concealed cannon loaded with scrap iron. When he touched the fuse with his cigar, the metal

22. González Flores, *Chihuahua de la independencia a la revolucion*, 57-61; Almada, "Gobernadores del estado: X.—Gral. D. José Joaquín Calvo," núms. 8 y 9 (enero y febrero de 1940), 325, y "Gobernadores del estado: XI.—Lic. José Ma. Echavarrá," núm. 12 (julio de 1940), *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , II.

23. Almada, "Los Apaches," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , II, núm. 1 (junio de 1939), 10.

cut down scores. His men fell upon others with knives, while he shot the Chief dead with a pistol. American records vary on the total number killed and scalped, ranging upward to over four hundred, and give different times and places for this significant piece of treachery. It is necessary to go to an account in Spanish to establish the date and to confirm that it occurred near the Silver Road in the Sierra de Ánimas and not at Santa Rita. Though Governor don Escalante y Arvizu of Sonora had promised Johnson a big prize for Juan's scalp and the regular price for the pelts of his tribesmen, it is doubtful that he collected anything for his scheme.²⁴ His greatest success came in blasting away a decade of friendly American-Apache relations and blowing in half a century of warfare between the two nations. This costly conflict dragged on until Col. Terrazas gathered \$17,250 worth of hair from sixty-two Warm Springs warriors and \$10,200 worth of captives at Tres Castillos in October, 1880,²⁵ and Mexicans took the head of the young Apache chieftain, Talline, in 1885,²⁶ and Geronimo paced the floor at Fort Sill.

Apaches stopped the traffic on the Silver Road and broke up the mining operations of McKnight and Curcier, already hit by a measure of the government in February that reduced the value of copper money in circulation.²⁷ Chihuahua joined Sonora with a sliding scale for Apache hair, beginning with one hundred dollars for the forelocks of a warrior fourteen, or above. The pelt of a squaw would bring half as much. Under the old border theory that "nits breed lice" the Governor would pay twenty-five dollars for the scalp of a child of either sex under fourteen. Contrasting these wages and the abundance of black hair on the heads of Apaches, Comanches, Navajos, and Utes with opportunities in panic stricken United States in 1837, teamsters and wagon guards saw new

24. Almada, *Diccionario de historia, geografía y biografía sonorenses*, 74, 248, 500, 581.

25. José Carlos Chavez, "Extinción de los Apaches," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios históricos*, I, núm. 11 (abril 15 de 1939), 365; "El Indio 'Victorio,'" *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense . . .*, V, núm. 6 (agosto 20 de 1944), 219.

26. José Carlos Chavez, "Indio Ju," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense . . .*, I, núm. 11 (abril 15 de 1939), 377.

27. Almada, "Gobernadores del estado: X.—Gral. José Joaquín Calvo," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense . . .*, II, núms. 8 y 9 (enero y febrero 15 de 1940), 325.

reasons for seeking their fortunes below the Rio Grande. Striking an Indian village before dawn was like finding a pot of gold. Overnight scalp "mining" became a quicker way to wealth than digging in hard ground and much more honorific. Not overlooked by the scalp hunters were many domestic Tarahumaras, Seris, Opatas, and Pimas and peons. Trophies were counted as hunters flung them down for tallying at municipal halls, where the governing councils inspected, verified, and displayed them according to law and issued warrants redeemable at the state treasury. Chihuahua's law also allowed hunters to keep plunder and animals taken from Indians. None did better in the "industry" as Mexican writers have called the hair hunting business than don Santiago Kirker.

He was a former employee of McKnight and felt honor bound to go to the relief of his friend. The Scalp Captain hit an Apache village west of Socorro with his "little army" of twenty-three Delawares, Shawnees, and border adventurers. They returned with fifty-five scalps, nine prisoners, and four hundred head of livestock. He became a hero overnight. His fame reached Calvo who was still in "anguishing circumstances." The Governor invited him to the capital. They entered a deal for him to raise his "volunteer corps" to fifty men and to go after Indian hair in earnest.²⁸

Little more than Kirker and his Old Apache Company stood between the citizens and savages after troops were transferred from northern Mexico to meet French and Spanish threats of invasion in the late Thirties. Apaches from Arizona, New Mexico, and mountains east of the Rio Grande kept up their sneak attacks in and out of season, and South Plains warriors made each year progressively worse on through the Forties; but they paid the Lord of the Scalp Hunters in hair for their mischief. Kirker could have accomplished more against them with better co-operation from the government and less jealousy from the military. Calvo's government ended on the last day of February, 1838. Don Santiago's agreement

28. Almada, "Gobernadores del estado: X.—Gral. José Joaquín Calvo," II, núms. 8 y 9 (enero y febrero de 1940), 299, 325, y "Gobernadores del estado: XV.—Lic. D. José Ma. Irigoyen de la O," III, núms. 1-3 (octubre-diciembre de 1940), 392, *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . ; Fröbel, *Aus Amerika*, II, 219-220.

expired also, but Indian visits continued. On November 15, Lt. Col. José Ignacio Ronquillo confirmed peace in El Paso del Norte with Mimbrenño chieftains: Mancisco, Yescas, Cristobal, and Cigarrito;²⁹ but the general picture became worse.

By the summer of 1839 don José María de Irigoyen was the civilian governor of Chihuahua.³⁰ He saw little hope of relief from the New Mexican savages save turning to the Scalp Lord again. For \$100,000, five thousand to start on, Kirker would increase his company to 150 American riflemen and fifty Mexicans, whip the Apaches, bring them to a permanent treaty, and teach the Comanches a lesson. He paid each man one dollar per day and allowed him one-half of the booty that he took. His new recruits were mostly daring Missouri and Kentucky teamsters and speculators whom *Doña* Gertrudes Barcelo had ruined at monte bank in Sante Fe. Kirker's fierce attacks with his Old Apache Company literally paralyzed Indian bands much larger than his own "army." He hemmed up a band of Apache raiders on September 5 at Ranchos de Taos, and while they tried to burst into the church sanctuary his hair raisers butchered forty around the building.

On the eighteenth don José María Irigoyen de la O³¹ took over as governor. His action of employing Kirker and his company without the permission of Lt. Col. Cayetano Justiniani riled the Colonel. He was the Commandant General of the Department. Justiniani started an exchange of hot notes with Irigoyen de la O. The Commander demanded information from the Governor about an Apache attack upon a caravan between El Paso del Norte and Chihuahua City, and ordered de la O to turn over to him Kirker and his company and also the Defenders of the State.

When New Mexican Apaches raided the Labor de Dolores about fifty miles west of Chihuahua City, de la O urged an

29. Almada, "Los Apaches," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense de estudios históricos*, II, núm. 1 (junio de 1939), 11.

30. Almada, "Gobernadores del estado: XIV.—D. José Ma. de Irigoyen," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , III, núms. 1-3 (octubre-diciembre de 1940), 390-391.

31. Almada, "Gobernadores del estado: XV.—Lic. D. José Ma. Irigoyen de la O," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense* . . . , III, núms. 1-3 (octubre-diciembre de 1940), 392.

official castigation of Justiniani. The savages came within a league of the capital. De la O mobilized the Defenders. This situation embarrassed Justiniani because he had no disposable troops; however, he did deliver an insulting duel challenge to the Governor in person. But this was not the only occasion that New Mexican Indians contributed to the heat of domestic politics in the departments to the south. Finally, on December 13, Justiniana relinquished his command to Lt. Col. José María Ronquillo. Soon thereafter the Governor renewed Kirker's contract for four months.³² Early in February don Santiago was on the prowl for hair south of the capital with six or seven of his Delawares and Shawnees. He encountered a band of Apaches and took fifteen scalps and twenty prisoners.

Even with such spectacular success against the New Mexican savages barracks lords charged that he profited on the miseries of the people.³³ On May 12, General don Francisco Garcia Conde arrived in Chihuahua City from Durango. He brought 600 horses for mounting departmental troops and assumed command of all military activities. The death of de la O two days later ended civilian control of the governorship. Conde took over civilian authority on July 6. Born at Arizpe, Sonora, in 1804, don Francisco was the son of General Alejo Garcia Conde, former commander of the Interior Provinces of the West. He had known frontier problems from childhood. At times he had served as a deputy to the Mexican Congress, headed the Mexican Military College, and had been Secretary of War and Navy, but he misjudged the Apache menace. His first act forbade an extension of Kirker's contract "through grave consideration for the exchequer." He called the agreement a dishonorable, unpatriotic deal for the government to put military campaigns and plannings in the hands of an alien. Don Santiago retired from the scene, while Conde vis-

32. Almada, "Los Apaches," II, núm. 1 (junio de 1939), 10, "Gobernadores del estado: XV.—Lic. D. José Ma. Irigoyen de la O," III, núms. 1-3 (octubre-diciembre de 1940), 392-393, y "Gobernadores del estado: XXIV.—Coronel Cayetano Justiniani," IV, núm. 5 (octubre 20 de 1942), 171, todos en *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense . . .*; González Flores, *Chihuahua de la independencia a la revolucion*, 89.

33. Almada, "Los Apaches," *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense . . .*, II, núm. 1 (junio de 1939), 10.

ited, reorganized, and strengthened the frontier defenses.³⁴ But the Governor's action had little effect on the Mountain and Plains Indians frolicking over the land, ridiculing Mexican soldiers, and kicking up havoc across thousands of square miles. When Apaches returned to New Mexico they carried much plunder and drove many head of bargain-price livestock.³⁵ Comanches too hit the departments hard in 1840. As Conde dropped the Scalp Lord, Durango seized upon the bounty system. On July 27, the departmental council authorized Governor Miguel Zubirle to pay upon tangible evidence ten dollars for each Indian apprehended, killed, beheaded, or scalped.³⁶

The Mexicans collected scalps here and there;³⁷ but nobody hit the New Mexican Indians during the rest of 1840 like don Santiago Kirker had blasted them and would many times more after Governor Conde had learned what he should have already known. This simple fact was that the Lord of the Scalp Hunters gathered hair where ragged Mexican soldiers lost their own, or stirred the dust with their heels.

El Sonorense, the official periodical of the government of Sonora, October 1, pictured this province at the hands of Apaches as a house without doors, walls, or even a stick fence around it. Its northern frontier had vanished. Those settlers still living there had despaired of receiving protection and were abandoning their hearths, Captain don Antonio Narbona Jr. was planning to direct the exodus. Part of it had

34. González Flores, *Chihuahua de la independencia a la revolucion*, 64; Almada, "La comandancia general de provincias internas," I, núm. 2 (junio de 1938), 41, "Los Apaches," II, núm. 1 (junio de 1939), 10, y núm. 6 (noviembre 15 de 1939), 226, "Gobernadores del estado: XV.—Lic. D. José Ma. Irigoyen de la O," III, núms. 1-3 (octubre-diciembre de 1940), 393, "Gobernadores del estado: XVII.—Gral. D. Francisco García Conde," III, núms. 1-3 (octubre-diciembre de 1940), 394-396, y "Gobernadores del estado: XXIV.—Coronel Cayetano Justiniani," IV, núm. (5 octubre 20 de 1942), 171, todos en *Boletín de la sociedad chihuahuense*

35. Students of Southwestern history are familiar with the oft-quoted report of Dr. Josiah Gregg that he saw carts of goods leaving Santa Fe to be traded to Indians who had returned from the south, and that even the Governor had an interest in them.

36. *El Registro Oficial*, periodico del gobierno del estado de Durango (Victoria de Durango, Durango), IX, núm. 781, octubre 18 de 1849.

37. Gregg reported seeing a detachment of Mexican horsemen approaching the Governor's palace in Chihuahua City about this time. The commander bore a fresh scalp on the top of his lance. He waved it high in "exultation of his exploit." While pursuing a band of Apaches, the soldiers had discovered a squaw lagging far behind in an effort to bear away her infant. The cavalryman had killed her and taken her scalp. Her baby "died" soon after its capture.

headed southward and part toward California. Life at night on the streets of such border towns as Bacoachi, or at the post of Fronteras, counted for little. Indian arrows and knives brought death to the people. The gazette described how New Mexican and Arizona savages descended the cordilleras, camping fearlessly and contemptuously along their heights. From sierra camps, they fell upon defenseless pueblos, robbed people, killed men, and snatched away women and children. They slaughtered people within the very suburbs of Arizpe and Chihuahua City, the capitals of two departments. Taking the lives of don José Villasola and six cattle herders near Arizpe in the maize field of Cauverachi was a mere incident in their big raid. The Sonoran country as far as the valleys of the Sonora and San Ignacio rivers over a hundred leagues from the frontier and of the Rio Matape, still farther, suffered from them this fall.

Added to the distress that the Apaches brought, the Papagos living along the Gila and on the rich lands of the Quitovac and Sonoita revolted against the Mexicans. They killed many people and despoiled rich gold mines, discovered in 1836, which had produced 200 *onzas* daily.³⁸

La Luna, the gazette of Chihuahua, threw light on the operations of freebooters and buccaneers in that department on November 10. It asserted that "the barbarians are not the sole authors of the misfortunes which afflict Chihuahua." While it attributed most of the disorder to them, it condemned also a fringe of Mexican society that dressed like Indians and preyed upon the settlements. The paper said that many "civilized" men terrorized, robbed, and murdered peaceful inhabitants with "absolute impunity." To escape detection, they gave credit to the Indians for their own mischief. Seeing the fruits that they could harvest by imitating and posing in dress, speech, and manners as Apaches, they functioned in such ways as to enjoy the protection of the law while carrying on their deviltry.³⁹ Some parties organized ostensibly to pur-

38. *La Luna*, periodico oficial del gobierno del departamento de Chihuahua (Ciudad Chihuahua, Chi.), I, núm. 1, octubre 27 de 1840; Almada, *Diccionario de historia, geografía y biografía sonorenses*, 500.

39. Lt. George Frederick Ruxton was a representative of the British Government who reported this same sort of thing in 1846 among the Mexicans at El Paso del Norte.

sue Indians. After marching out of the settlements they would turn to buccaneering against their own people. *La Luna* spoke of criminals using the ranches and villages as havens from which they looked daily for chances to cash in on the chaos that Indians created. They would counterfeit the brands of stolen livestock and drive them to other districts for sale. If it meant gain, they would discourage, or delay, the preparations of campaigns against the savages.⁴⁰

In November, 400 Mogollón Apaches surged down the Sierra Madre. Some raiding parties went westward into Sonora. Others struck along the Silver Road between Jesús María and Chihuahua City. On the twenty-ninth, one band carried off the son of Miguel Gabon in the district of San Francisco de Borja about fifty miles southwest of the capital. Forty warriors ambushed seventeen persons who went on a futile pursuit. Northwest of the Laguna de los Mexicanos, Apaches attacked cartmen transporting maize from Cerro Prieto to San Juan de los Llanos on December 5. Five days later three Apaches assailed Hilario Torres from front and rear with lances and arrows as he travelled from San Juan de los Llanos eastward toward Cusichuiriáchic with two mules bearing maize. They gave him six lance wounds and injured his horse. However, he escaped to the Labor de González with a lance that the savages thrust at him. The Governor rewarded him with a carbine and ten pesos in money in appreciation of his valor.

Chief Santo and his Apaches attacked travelers in another place on the same day. They left four persons and five oxen dead and got off with Perfecto Castillo, Bartolo Meraz, Patrio Maldonado, two other persons, and six horses and mules. Santo asked Maldonado if he could read and write and offered to release him if he would compose a letter to the Governor. In the message, he proposed that Conde send commissioners to Carrizal, or Janos, to make peace and that the Governor return Tube and Mariquita, Indian prisoners, held in Chihuahua City. If the Governor failed, Santo would make war, and he assured Conde that he had the resources for the job.

40. *La Luna*, I, núm. 3, noviembre 10 de 1840.

Apaches robbed the columns of don Simon Elias of thirty-five animals near Corral Piedra about twenty-five miles south of the capital on the night of December 14. This, or another, band got about 200 animals around Saucillo on the Conchos, and made northwestward for their Sierra Madre camps. The Apaches plus two to four hundred Comanches that entered the Department in October made something like 800 savage raiders in Chihuahua. On the day after Christmas a considerable number of Indians attacked eight men traveling homeward from Rosales to Julimes, about seventy-five miles southeast of Chihuahua City. They could have been either Apaches, or Comanches. Near Anaya in the Cañon del Ojito, they killed a man named Carneros and took horses belonging to him and his fellow travelers. When news reached Julimes, Rosales, San Pablo, and others towns along the Conchos River, the military marched out companies which duly returned with no more than the customary negative results. So it went day and night for those parts of the country in the paths of New Mexican and Plains Indians.

After Conde fired the Scalp Captain, he placed Lt. Col. Francisco Javier Urgana in direction of military operations. Urgana depended upon Mexican companies. They brushed with Indians along the Conchos Valley but none of these skirmishes had the effect of a good "kirkeresque" blow. As 1840 closed the Comanche scourge passed from Chihuahua into Durango;⁴¹ but there seemed to be a reptile Apache behind every boulder along the trails that the Mexicans had to tread. Reports continued pouring into the Governor's office telling of this or that person killed or carried off.⁴²

Despite his show of preparations, Conde could not fail to contrast the results that Kirker's barbers had produced with the failures of Urgana's soldiers. A regular Tuesday column in his gazette, headed "EXTRACT of the reports received on the hostilities of the barbarians," told pitiful tales of the sufferings of his people. Apaches flashed over his Department, striking everywhere that Comanches did not. In despair

41. *La Luna*, I, núm. 11, enero 5, y núm. 16, febrero 9 de 1841.

42. Francisco R. Almada, *Diccionario de historia, geografía y biografía chihuahuense* (1927), Ciudad Chihuahua: Talleres Graficos del Gobierno del Estado, 47, 56; *La Luna*, I, núm. 12, enero 12 de 1841.

Conde had to swallow his pride and call upon "a bold and intrepid Irishman, named Kirker" to save him from the dilemma.

Don Santiago would recover animals that Indians had stolen at two and a half dollars each, share in whatever else he could take from them, and fleece the red skins at a fixed sum per pelt. Prospects looked good for him and for those operating under Durango's law at the end of 1840. The Governor's disbursements soon showed that Kirker had used his opportunities well, for by spring he had delivered 15,000 Apache mules that might have reached Taos, Santa Fe, or Bent's, and possibly Missouri, Arkansas, or Illinois, into Conde's corrals. When the Governor reduced don Santiago's pay for hair, the Captain of the Scalp Hunters retired to western Chihuahua and changed sides. There he was "the chief of the Apache nation" until he emerged again in the middle Forties and resumed bringing in mule loads of New Mexican Indian pelts again for the governors.

FRANK BOND: GENTLEMAN SHEEPHERDER
OF NORTHERN NEW MEXICO, 1883-1915

By FRANK H. GRUBBS

11. *Espanola Milling and Elevator Company*

THE earliest record of the Espanola Milling and Elevator Company is a \$64,102.91 investment on the books of the Bond & Nohl Company as of January 30, 1910.¹ Since this is an ending balance, it is likely that the mill was acquired sometime earlier, probably late in 1909. The mill was an old one which had been running in Espanola for a number of years, and it was considered to be a desirable and logical adjunct to the general merchandise business of Bond & Nohl. A great deal of wheat growing was beginning to develop in the country around Espanola, and in 1910 Frank Bond opined that there would be twice as much sown in that year as previously.²

The purchase price, paid to unknown owners, was \$82,784 for the mill and wheat inventory. However, the mill engine was worn out and had to be replaced; this was done with Allis-Chalmers equipment.³ Some difficulty was experienced with the original installation, and Bond estimated that the investment would run to \$85,000 before the new engine was in place and the mill operating.⁴ That the trouble was cleared up satisfactorily is attested by the fact that the engine is still running today in Espanola, operating a sawmill.⁵

The Espanola M. & E. Company, as it was called, was capitalized for \$20,000 but the holders of the stock are unknown. For two reasons it is strongly suspected that all of the mill stock was held by Bond & Nohl. First, the mill is not listed among Frank Bond's assets along with his interest in

1. *Records, loc. cit.*

2. *Letter Book No. 6*, March 16, 1910.

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Ibid.*

5. Interview with David C. Hake, Albuquerque, February 1, 1957.

the other stores nor are any profits or losses on the mill reflected in any identifiable manner in the profits and losses that accrued to him individually. Second, a receivable, identified only as "Espanola Milling & Elevator Company," is carried on the books of Bond & Nohl from January 30, 1910, through the end of 1915.⁶

This receivable on the Bond & Nohl books is identical to a corresponding liability carried by the Espanola Milling & Elevator Company and appears to have been in fact a transfer account through which Bond & Nohl operated the mill as a branch. Its operation in this manner is in some degree confirmed by the notable absence of a cash account in the records of the Espanola Milling & Elevator Company. It is concluded, therefore, that Bond & Nohl paid all expenses of the mill and received all payments, charging and crediting them to a separate set of books through this transfer account.

Through the end of 1915 the Espanola Milling & Elevator Company carried an unexplained asset variously entitled, "Stock Certificates," and "Bond & Nohl Co. stock."⁷ This item amounted to \$15,000 at the end of 1910. At the end of 1911 it is shown as \$14,997 but at the same time three items of one dollar each appear, entitled, "Frank Bond, Stock," "G. W. Bond, Stock," and "L. F. Nohl, Stock."⁸ At the end of 1912 and all subsequent years the balance of this stock certificate account is \$18,000.⁹ The corporate records of the Bond & Nohl Company reveal no ownership of Bond & Nohl stock by the Espanola Milling & Elevator Company at any time, but unfortunately the corporate records of the mill, which might possibly contain the solution to this puzzling account, have not as yet been located. No solution has been found, and no supportable theory can be advanced,¹⁰ so the matter remains a mystery.

6. *Records, loc. cit.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. One hypothesis is that Frank Bond, George Bond, and Louis Nohl each put up \$5,000 of their Bond & Nohl stock, a note for \$3,000, and various supplies and materials from the store amounting to \$2,000 in payment for the \$20,000 mill stock. This would account for the presence of the Bond & Nohl stock in the mill accounts even though no formal transfer was made, but it would not explain how the former owners of the mill were paid.

Louis T. Hardy, an old English miller and a friend of the Bonds was brought into Espanola to operate the mill, which he did for a number of years,¹¹ producing a fine flour under the trade name of *Rosalinda*.¹² In the off season, when there was no wheat to be ground, Bond demonstrated an awareness of cyclical production by grinding local chili into powder.¹³ As a result, Bond & Nohl frequently quoted prices to out-of-town customers on "genuine Mexican ground chili."¹⁴ In so doing, they always enclosed a sample of the product, and in mid-1915 chili gave rise to one of the rare bits of state business enjoyed by the Bonds when they successfully bid to sell the State Penitentiary one hundred pounds of ground chili.¹⁵

The first years of operation were singularly unimpressive. The cumulative loss at the end of the first year, 1910, amounted to \$20,012.06, and the only profitable transaction was the sale of four hogs at a profit of \$180.03. Mill expenses during that first year were heavy, and large sums were expended for interest, insurance, oil and packing, coal, sacks, and twine. All expenses were drastically reduced in 1911, and the profit on wheat and flour operations amounted to \$2,842.24.¹⁶ This profit, however, was insufficient to cover the accumulated losses, and so Bond & Nohl charged \$15,000 off to their own expense, crediting the mill through the transfer account, and reducing the deficit to just over \$2,000.¹⁷

Income and expenses for 1912 do not accurately reflect the operation for that year. Gross income from wheat and flour amounted to slightly more than \$5,000, but large write-offs were made to expense that resulted in an apparent net loss of almost \$18,000. These write-offs included a \$5,000 reduction in real estate, a \$1,500 reduction in the value of the power house, and a write-down of machinery of more than \$11,000. Again it became necessary for Bond & Nohl to charge part of the mill costs against their own expense, and \$20,000 was written off. This \$20,000 contributed by Bond &

11. Interview with J. E. Davenport.

12. Interview with D. C. Hake.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Letter Book No. 53, passim.*

15. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1915, p. 425; *ibid.*, June 14, 1915, p. 490.

16. *Records, loc. cit.*

17. *Ibid.*

Nohl plus the income from wheat and flour were just sufficient to cover the charges to expense in that year and to liquidate the remaining deficit from previous years.¹⁸

The following years through 1915 were also disappointing, and by the end of 1915 the cumulative profits only amounted to slightly more than \$100.¹⁹ Frank Bond had written \$35,000 off to expense through Bond & Nohl and was discouraged enough with the mill that he offered the entire plant, excluding the engine, boiler, and buildings, to William A. Stafford in Pocatello, Idaho, for \$15,000.²⁰ He wrote Stafford:

We are sorry to have to give up this mill here but on account of so little wheat being raised in this vicinity it does not justify the investment. We are obliged to ship in wheat and do not find it profitable to do this on account of the high freight rates.²¹

In 1915 Frank Bond discussed the possibility of organizing a stock company with Andy Wiest.²² The plan was to include all the merchants in the area in the new company and move the mill to Roy, New Mexico. However, at the end of 1915 the mill was still operating under Bond auspices in Espanola.

12. *Rosa Mercantile Company*

THE Rosa Mercantile Company was organized on March 13, 1912, by Frank Bond, Edward Sargent, A. H. Long, and B. A. Candelaria. It was located at Rosa, New Mexico, in Rio Arriba County, twenty-nine miles west of Lumberton, New Mexico, and just 1½ miles from the Colorado state line.¹

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. *Letter Book No. 56*, February 1, 1915, p. 654; *ibid.*, February 6, 1915, p. 654.

21. *Letter Book No. 57*, February 17, 1916, p. 155.

22. *Letter Book No. 58*, May 7, 1915, p. 76.

1. U.S. Department of the Interior, G.L.O., *Map of Territory of New Mexico*, 1903.

An 1882 business directory of New Mexico mentions Espanola and reports its population at the time as 150 persons, but it does not list Rosa among the towns in New Mexico. However, by 1904 Rosa was large enough to boast a post office. *A Complete Business Directory and Gazetteer of the Territory for 1882* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing and Publishing Co., 1882); Max. Frost and Paul A. F. Walter (eds.), *The Land of Sunshine* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Co., 1904), p. 219.

The company was capitalized at \$16,000, each of the four stockholders holding an equal interest of 4,000 shares. Alfred H. Long was appointed general manager, and his salary was fixed at \$100 a month.² The principal purpose of the new business was to sell general merchandise, but like the other stores, trading in hides, pelts, sheep, and wool was common to the operation which lasted for twelve years until it was discontinued on December 31, 1923, and subsequently liquidated.³

Long's interest in the new store was financed by Frank Bond on the strength of a \$4,000 unsecured personal note signed by Long and dated March 12, 1912, payable in two years. In addition, 500 more shares were actually owned by Long, but they were issued to Frank Bond so that a personal note for them was unnecessary. However, Long paid interest on the \$500 to Bond regularly,⁴ and finally in 1916 the shareholdings of Bond and Sargent were reduced to 3,500 shares each and the remaining 1,000 were transferred to Long.⁵

Although Edward Sargent had long been a friend and associate of Frank Bond, and A. H. Long had managed the G. W. Bond & Bro. store at Cabra just before the turn of the century,⁶ the fourth stockholder, B. A. Candelaria, is not mentioned at any other point. It is probable that he was in the nature of an outside man, or general foreman of sheep and wool operations at the Rosa location. Indeed, liaison with his counterpart at Espanola, Leandro Martinez, is indicated by the fact that Candelaria endorsed his Rosa Mercantile Company stock certificates for 4,000 shares over to Martinez in 1913 as collateral to protect a note of \$2,115.50 which he signed at 10 per cent interest in favor of Martinez. This met with something less than hearty approval from the other

2. Records of Minutes (in the files of Frank Bond & Son, Inc., Albuquerque).

3. *Ibid.*

4. *Letter Book No. 51*, March 20, 1914, p. 487; *Letter Book No. 53*, August 3, 1914, p. 520; *ibid.*, August 10, 1914, p. 579.

5. Stock Certificate Book (in the files of Frank Bond & Son, Inc., Albuquerque).

6. *Supra*, chap. v. Alfred H. Long was the son of Judge Elisha Van Buren Long, a prominent district judge in Las Vegas for many years and senior member of the Las Vegas law firm of Long & Fort. *An Illustrated History of New Mexico* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1895), pp. 255-257; *History of New Mexico, Its Resources and People* (Los Angeles: Pacific States Publishing Company, 1907), II, 314.

three stockholders who promptly took action as corporation directors to provide that should Candelaria die before the note was paid, the other stockholders would buy the stock and pay the note. They further agreed, on the record, that should any of them wish to sell his stock he would sell it to the other stockholders.⁷

At the end of 1912, the first year, Long turned in a net profit of \$8,421.15, about two-thirds of which had been made on the sale of merchandise and somewhat less than a third on sheep.⁸ Since profits were not to be distributed for some time, interest on the investment was included as an expense. At the end of 1912, the building was valued at about \$1,500 with over \$1,700 in furniture and fixtures. There was more than \$15,000 in merchandise inventory, and Long had almost \$9,500 in accounts receivable with about one-third of that amount in bills receivable.⁹

At the end of the second year of operation Long had a somewhat lesser showing, turning in a profit for the year of just under \$4,000. His sales for 1913 totaled \$44,373.01, a gain of more than \$10,000 over the previous year, but credit sales amounted to over \$38,000 of the \$44,000, and so Frank Bond was constrained to give him some firm advice on credit policy.¹⁰

Bond's efforts to convince Long to be more careful of his credit line produced little effect however. At the end of the

7. Record of Minutes, *loc. cit.*

8. *Records, loc. cit.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. Bond advised:

"There is no question in my mind but you will have to be more conservative in your credit, or your business there will be a failure. You will be unable to meet your obligations when they become due and there will be trouble ahead for all of us. Neither Mr. Sargent or I have any intention of putting any more money into that business. It will have to stand or fall on its own merits, and it is up to you to make a success of it. If your accounts had been good, you should have collected in enough so that you would not have had to go into debt before you were really out of debt, the only way you got out of debt was by using the Bond & Sargent lambs, and then had to borrow to pay us back.

"Mr. Sargent writes me that you have had to borrow money from him, perhaps it sounds better to call it an advance on the wool, but it means the same thing.

"I wrote you the other day about your employees being more than we considered necessary. I haven't changed my mind a particle in this matter, although you have not seen fit to answer my letter. I don't wish to criticize, but surely if you wish to make a success it is absolutely necessary to keep down your expenses, and you must be extremely careful when you credit and at the same time keep down your stock. I know you can run that business and make a success of it." *Letter Book No. 51*, February 20, 1914, p. 245.

following year, 1914, the Rosa Mercantile Company reported total sales of \$41,201.07, of which 89 per cent were on credit. Profits in this third year were up, and almost \$5,500 was credited to the surplus account so that there was almost \$18,000 in surplus at the end of the third year.

In mid-1915 the bills receivable on the books of the Rosa Mercantile Company amounted to close to \$35,000 which Frank Bond felt was altogether out of proportion to the volume of business involved.¹¹ They were promptly reduced, and at the end of the year only \$10,668.99 remained.

The sheep account had been growing during all this time, beginning at the end of 1912 with a modest \$1,800. By the end of 1915 the investment amounted to \$6,767.65, representing 2,935 head of ewes, all of them leased out.

Among Long's renters was a *partidario* named Porfirio Gallegos. Since Gallegos had been trading with a competitor, Long had threatened to take his sheep away from him. The information came back to Frank Bond through Edward Sargent and resulted in the following advice from Frank Bond that exemplifies his philosophy:

[Ed Sargent] says you are going to take away . . . Gallegos' sheep and give them to another fellow. I don't believe much in trying to get even. I understand this man is a good man, quite responsible. I feel satisfied that in time you will get his business. I would strongly advise letting him keep those sheep, and continuing to try and get him to trade with you.¹²

I don't believe it pays to remind customers continually of the many favors we do them, neither does it pay to threaten them that these favors will be withdrawn unless they do so and so.

We have to live up to our promises, but don't expect that from all your customers as that is too much to expect of human beings. Some of them just can't do it.

When you come to talk with Porfirio think of the syrup and vinegar and fly story, and I will guarantee you better success with him than by telling him that you will take away the sheep unless he does so and so.¹³

The Rosa Mercantile Company was in the usual short-of-

11. *Letter Book No. 58*, May 5, 1915, p. 50.

12. *Ibid.*, June 24, 1915, p. 590.

13. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1915, p. 652.

cash position about this time and found it necessary to call on the Santa Fe bank for short term loans. Frank Bond acquiesced and authorized R. J. Palen to advance Long the \$4,500, indicating a willingness to go as high as \$10,500 if necessary. Such notes would be protected by the personal notes of Bond and Edward Sargent. At this time Bond indicated that he felt that the main trouble with the Rosa company was that it was not capitalized for enough at the start, but that it would eventually get on its feet.¹⁴ At the same time, however, he wrote Long at Rosa expressing alarm that business was falling 25 per cent below that of the previous year.¹⁵

The year 1915 ended with a net profit of \$6,400.76, bringing the undivided profits to almost \$25,000. This was earned on sales of only \$33,146.54. It was now possible for Long to pay for his share of the business out of the earnings on his stock, and the following year his holdings were increased to 5,000 shares which he held until the firm was moved to Albuquerque in 1920 and dissolved three years later.

13. *Bond-Connell Sheep and Wool Company*

IN July of 1914 Frank Bond made a trip to Albuquerque and met with Andy Wiest and R. C. Dillon. While there, the three associates decided to organize a new company and expand the sheep and wool coverage of the Bond organization, penetrating the central part of New Mexico.¹ Sheep and wool activity had, of course, been under way for some time in Cuervo with Andy Wiest and in Encino with Dick Dillon, but this was the first move into the middle Rio Grande valley. The new company was to differ with other elements of the Bond system in that there was to be no general merchandise operation at all. Rather, the activity was to concern itself mainly with sheep and wool trading.

The problem of whom to bring into the company to manage the new business was solved in short order by the First

14. *Letter Book No. 59*, August 13, 1915, p. 395.

15. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1915, p. 468.

1. *Letter Book No. 53*, July 17, 1914, p. 371.

National Bank in Albuquerque which recommended Mr. Walter M. Connell for the position.²

Walter Connell, who had been educated at Fordham University and had been employed for two years by the National City Bank of New York, came to Albuquerque from his New York birthplace in 1900. In 1904 he went to Los Lunas where he was associated with Fred D. Huning in the firm of Huning and Connell, Incorporated, dealers in general merchandise, hay, grain, alfalfa, wool, hides, and pelts. Although he retained his interest in Huning and Connell until 1920, he returned to Albuquerque in 1912 where he, with Charles Wade and J. M. Raynolds, was elected a member of the first Albuquerque City Commission on which he served until 1922.³ Since he had also been a wool buyer throughout New Mexico and Colorado for Hallowell, Jones, and Donald, his qualifications for the position were not lacking.

The stock of the new firm, to be capitalized at \$25,000, was held equally by Bond & Nohl Company, Espanola; Bond, McCarthy Company, Taos; G. W. Bond & Bro. Mercantile Company, Encino; A. MacArthur Company, Wagon Mound; and Walter M. Connell.⁴ Connell's 5,000-share interest was paid for in cash by Frank Bond in return for Connell's personal note for \$5,000 which was in turn secured to Bond by the deposit of Connell's stock.⁵

It is a significant indication of Bond's consideration that while Justin McCarthy was not present at the Albuquerque meeting and had not previously been consulted at all on the matter, it was taken for granted that he would want to be in on the new company, and it was thus arranged.⁶ So once more Frank Bond remembered those with whom he was associated and gave them no cause to grumble about being left out of a new venture.

It was not customary for stock companies to appear on

2. *Ibid.*

3. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 1000; Gladys Neel, "History of Albuquerque" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1928), p. 68, citing Albuquerque Board of Councilmen, *Records XVIII*, p. 325.

4. *Letter Book No. 53*, July 17, 1914, p. 371.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 371.

original incorporation papers,⁷ and so on August 6, 1914, stock certificates were issued to Frank Bond, R. C. Dillon, A. W. Wiest, J. H. McCarthy, and Walter Connell.⁸ Two days later, on August 8, 1914, these 5,000-share blocks were transferred to Bond & Nohl, G. W. Bond & Bro. Mercantile Company, A. MacArthur Company, and Bond, McCarthy Company, respectively. Connell retained his as such and, except that Frank Bond sold one-half of his interest to George W. Bond four years later, the organization's ownership remained constant until the company was finally dissolved in 1926,⁹ becoming the present-day firm of Frank Bond & Son, Incorporated.

Frank Bond was elected president with R. C. Dillon serving in the capacity of vice-president, and Walter Connell was posted to the general managership¹⁰ at a salary of \$75.00 per month.¹¹ Offices for the new company were established in Room 3 of the old Cromwell Building at the corner of Second Street and Gold Avenue in Albuquerque,¹² and to get the offices started they estimated that the office expenses would amount to about \$12.50 per month plus a stenographer at \$25.00 per month.¹³

Sheep trading started promptly, in fact it began even before the corporate organization formalities were completed, for in late July Connell bought 6,800 sheep¹⁴ on which they expected to make twenty cents a head by selling them to sheep feeders.¹⁵ By the end of September, Bond estimated that they had already made a profit of \$5,000 on their sheep pur-

7. *Ibid.*

8. Stock Certificate Book (in the files of Frank Bond & Son, Inc., Albuquerque).

9. Record of Minutes (in the files of Frank Bond & Son, Inc., Albuquerque).

10. Record of Minutes, *loc. cit.*

11. *Letter Book No. 53*, July 17, 1914, p. 382. Upon dissolution of the corporation in 1926, Frank Bond suggested a retroactive adjustment of Connell's salary to \$300 per month from 1914 to 1923, and he was paid \$5,883.06, representing back salary, with interest, adjusted for a profit distribution made to him in 1919. Record of Minutes, *loc. cit.*

12. Record of Minutes, *loc. cit.*; *Letter Book No. 55*, September 7, 1914, p. 128.

13. *Letter Book No. 53*, July 17, 1914, p. 382.

14. Bond wrote:

"Our new company at Albuquerque has just closed a deal with Mr. Bursum for 6000 lambs at \$5.25 and 700 old ewes at 2½¢, 50¢ advance per head. This is the highest price that has been paid in that country that we know of, in fact it is about the first price that has been made." *Ibid.*

15. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1914, p. 439.

chases,¹⁶ and indeed the profits for the six months ended December 31, 1914, amounted to \$5,229.32.¹⁷ The income was all from sheep.

At this time the major assets were represented by \$18,000 in cash and 3,414 ewes valued at \$12,000. Liabilities amounted to only \$132 owing to F. A. Hubbell, and so the company was in a highly favorable current position after such a short period of operation.¹⁸ In fact, the cash position was such that Frank Bond took time out on New Year's Day of 1915 to write Walter Connell suggesting that Bond & Nohl borrow the excess cash reserves of Bond-Connell at 6 per cent interest until Bond & Nohl turned their sheep the following March. At the same time he suggested that Bond-Connell declare a dividend, leaving enough profit to cover expenses to the beginning of the next year so as not to use any of the capital.¹⁹

Walter Connell replied and suggested a 10 per cent dividend,²⁰ but Bond felt satisfied that the stockholders wanted 15 per cent instead of 10 per cent, and so he promptly ordered Connell to remit the 15 per cent dividend without waiting for further authority.²¹ Since no stockholders' or directors' meetings were held between August 8, 1914, and February 12, 1916, no confirmation of such a dividend distribution was made in 1915, and by the following year the matter was apparently overlooked.²² However, there was a meeting of all the store managers at Espanola on January 28, 1915, and the matter was undoubtedly discussed, with Bond's action being accepted without question even though it was never officially recorded.

The prime topic of conversation at this managers' meeting was the proposition that they get together and start a new bank in Albuquerque.²³ The suggestion met with a favorable reception from all the managers, and Frank Bond him-

16. *Letter Book No. 55*, September 22, 1914, p. 296.

17. *Records, loc. cit.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Letter Book No. 56*, January 1, 1915, p. 412.

20. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1915, p. 455.

21. *Ibid.*, January 18, 1915, p. 524.

22. *Record of Minutes, loc. cit.*

23. *Letter Book No. 56*, January 30, 1915, p. 642.

self was all in favor of branching out of the traditional sheep, wool, and merchandise fields into this new and enticing area of activity in Albuquerque. His view may have been influenced to some degree by the fact that he was at the time seriously considering buying more of the Bond-Connell stock and moving his residence to Albuquerque,²⁴ and this thought may have made the idea of opening a new bank sound rather attractive. However, they decided to put the matter up to G. W. Bond for his advice and final decision.

George Bond returned a careful and considered evaluation of the banking proposition in Albuquerque, pointing out that no one in the Bond organization had banking experience or training and that he would not wish to invest in the stock of a bank that was not well established, particularly where strong institutions already existed. He felt that it might be a good investment to acquire some stock in such an institution as the First National Bank in Albuquerque if it were possible to do so and still be able to benefit themselves by conducting their financial transactions through it, but he noted that bank examiners would probably view such loans to stockholders with suspicion. He asserted that it took a good strong bank to be able to take care of even one of their stores and that all the stores were well lined up for credit at very reasonable rates. He also mentioned that in the light of current experience the stores were paying better return on invested money than were the banks, remarking at the same time that since the stores didn't have cash available to pay out dividends it didn't look as though they would have the money to put into bank stock.²⁵

The banking project was dropped.

The second result of the January 28 managers' meeting was a decision that Bond-Connell should go into the hide and pelt business. Actually, this had been included in the original organization plans, but Connell had not thought there would be enough profit in it to justify the operation. Since that time, however, Connell and Dillon had studied the matter further and now recommended a trial, so it was determined that an

24. *Ibid.*, January 19, 1915, p. 530.

25. *Letter Book No. 57*, February 9, 1915, p. 44.

attempt would be made for perhaps a year since it wouldn't require any extra capital.²⁶

Justin McCarthy was somewhat hesitant about going into hides and pelts in the Taos area until the wool season was over due to his feeling that if they did, Charles Friend and Company might interfere with their wool activities through George Anton who was their representative in the territory.²⁷ Friend and Company was at that time competitively engaged in buying wool in New Mexico and consigning it to the Boston markets in the same manner as Bond.²⁸ However, Frank Bond told Connell to go ahead because if they should "allow anything like Geo. Anton to scare us out of doing anything, we should be out of business entirely."²⁹

Upon his return to Albuquerque, Connell promptly began looking for a hide and pelt warehouse and employed a Mr. Thomas to handle this end of the business, paying him \$125 per month and 10 per cent of the net profits.³⁰ By April he had bought his first carload of pelts and had completed arrangements for their disposal through the Norton Tanning Company.³¹ Bond meanwhile overcame some reluctance on the part of some of the other stores to deal through Bond-Connell by pointing out to one of the managers that Bond-Connell had a right to expect business from all the stores even if they should not always get the very top prices.³² Thus by the end of 1915 the Bond-Connell Sheep and Wool Company had handled almost 305,000 pounds of hides and pelts, representing a dollar volume of more than \$48,000, and returning a profit to the company of \$2,889.74.³³ However, for some reason not now apparent the directors decided at their meeting of February 12, 1916, that the company should immediately discontinue all hide and pelt business.³⁴

26. *Letter Book No. 56*, January 30, 1915, p. 642.

27. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1915, p. 664.

28. *Letter Book No. 58*, June 30, 1915, p. 667.

29. *Letter Book No. 57*, February 8, 1915, p. 11.

30. *Ibid.*, February 20, 1915, p. 164. Presumably this applied to profits realized from the sale of hides and pelts only.

31. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1915, p. 653.

32. *Letter Book No. 58*, May 5, 1915, p. 52.

33. *Records, loc. cit.*

34. *Record of Minutes, loc. cit.*

In April, 1915, Frank Bond was optimistically expecting that the Albuquerque business would be about double, and in August he predicted that the company would make a profit of not less than \$20,000 that year.³⁵ He underestimated by just \$136.64.

At the time of this prediction around 23,000 head of ewes had been purchased at Albuquerque at prices ranging from \$4.50 to \$5.00 per head which were being turned at from \$.50 to \$1.00 per head profit. Bond felt that their past policy of keeping scarce ewes in the country should be continued by not buying any from their customers except when they insisted on selling.³⁶ The following month, September, Bond-Connell bought 25,000 more lambs from Ilfeld and Garcia at \$6.75. On this purchase of \$168,750 they anticipated a profit of about \$3,500, and the Albuquerque business now owned 50,000 head of sheep.³⁷

In 1915 Bond-Connell handled sheep, wool, hides, and pelts in the quantities listed in Table 55 which represented a total dollar volume of more than \$734,000.³⁸

TABLE 55

BOND-CONNELL SALES FOR 1915

Item	Quantity
Sheep	150,572 head
Wool	454,753 pounds
Hides & Pelts	304,730 pounds

The net profit for the year was \$20,136.64, not including unrealized profit on \$92,000 worth of wool³⁹ which was in the Boston warehouses, sold but not yet collected. There were more than \$36,000 worth of sheep on hand at the end of the year along with \$7,500 in hides, pelts, and wool in the Albuquerque warehouse. Accounts payable were less than \$100, and although there was \$84,000 owing to Hallowell, Jones,

35. *Letter Book No. 59*, August 27, 1915, p. 523.

36. *Ibid.*, August 21, 1915, p. 453.

37. *Ibid.*, September 14, 1915, p. 686.

38. *Records, loc. cit.*

39. Valued at cost.

and Donald from wool advances, this was more than amply covered by the wool in Boston.⁴⁰

After just eighteen months of operation the new Albuquerque venture, started with just \$25,000 in cash, had returned \$25,366 in profit of which \$21,600 still remained in surplus.⁴¹

14. *Bond-Sargent Company*

LESS than two weeks after George Bond advised so strongly against the suggestion that the Bond stores join in a banking venture in Albuquerque, Frank Bond began thinking about the possibility of broadening the coverage of their system to include the west central part of the state, and he first mentioned this possibility to his brother on April 17, 1915.¹

At this time George Bond, who was living in Boise, Idaho, planned to move back to New Mexico, and the original thought was that he and his brother would join with a new manager to open a new store and sheep business in Grants, New Mexico, about sixty miles west of Albuquerque, on the railroad, and proximate to the vast Navaho Indian Reservation lying to the north. Frank Bond wrote:

We will all be glad to have you back in New Mexico again, as it will add very materially to our weight in the business of the state among business men. . . . You know that you and I don't know any other pleasure except our business. I think it is a great misfortune that we should be so, and especially so when we pretend to cut adrift from business, but it can't be helped, so the only thing for us to do is to stay with the business as long as our health is good; and I believe if we can bring in and associate young men with us, we will continue to be successful. I think we are remarkably good men physically for our age.²

40. *Records, loc. cit.*

41. *Ibid.*

1. *Letter Book No. 57*, April 17, 1915, p. 612.

2. *Ibid.*, April 26, 1915, p. 650. Although troubled somewhat with rheumatism after he passed fifty, Frank Bond remained in remarkably good health and continued to be very active, enjoying fishing trips to his favorite spot in Santa Clara Canyon as frequently as he could manage it, taking his young son, Franklin, with him when possible. *Letter Book No. 57*, April 28, 1915, p. 633; *Letter Book No. 58*, June 29, 1915, p. 658; *Letter Book No. 59*, July 9, 1915, p. 83.

Both Frank Bond and Ed Sargent must have been basking in the pleasant reflection of the success they were having in Albuquerque for just a few days later they met, quite by accident, on the train going to Denver. While discussing business, Ed Sargent through pure coincidence suggested that in his opinion Grants appeared to be a good place to open a new store, and after further discussion he offered to go in on such a venture if George Bond did not care to. Frank Bond thought very highly of Sargent and suggested to George that Sargent be brought into the new business anyway,³ expressing a willingness to share some of his own stock with Sargent.

Several people were being considered as possible candidates for store manager at Grants. Among them were William McDougall from Carthage, New Mexico, and one of Justin McCarthy's employees named Beery.⁴ Accordingly, an interview was arranged in Albuquerque for McDougall and, having made a favorable impression, he was offered the job.⁵ However, he turned it down, and Beery, whom George favored, became the major candidate.⁶ This too came to naught when Justin McCarthy refused to make him available.⁷

Meanwhile, other negotiations were under way to acquire a site in Grants for the new business. One possibility of a location there was a store operated at the time by Emil Bibo. The Bernalillo Mercantile Company, Bernalillo, New Mexico, made a proposition to Frank Bond in May, 1915, under the terms of which they would agree to stay out of Grants provided that the Bonds buy out Bibo's stock and also buy the

3. Frank Bond wrote: "I think Ed Sargent is as good a sheep man as there is in New Mexico, and is going to be wealthy if he lives." *Ibid.*, April 26, 1915, p. 652.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 650.

5. *Letter Book No. 53*, May 18, 1915, p. 176.

6. *Ibid.*, May 24, 1915, p. 252.

7. Bond grumbled to Sargent:

"We could do nothing with Beery. I never mentioned it to him, for the reason that Mac wants to keep him on. I think Mac is selfish about this, but it is not a matter that we can very well interfere in. Mac will keep him just as long as he possibly can, and will pay him just as little as he has to. This is business, but if we had done that with McCarthy, he would be very poor today. He should be willing to allow the other fellow the opportunity he had." *Ibid.*, June 1, 1915, p. 345.

buildings.⁸ Bond was willing to buy Bibo's stock and thus keep the Bernalillo Mercantile Company out of Grants, but he would not go so far as to buy the buildings.⁹ He informed the Bernalillo Mercantile Company that unless the buildings could be leased, they would build a store of their own.¹⁰ In reply to that, the Bernalillo Mercantile Company bought the Bibo facilities themselves, and so Bond's attention was turned to the possibility of buying some property and building his own store.¹¹ However, Emil Bibo and several members of his family controlled leases on much of the desirable property in Grants, especially one particularly good site owned by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad.¹² Through the good offices of F. B. Houghton, Freight and Traffic Agent for the Santa Fe in Chicago, the efforts of the Bibos to keep the new store out of Grants were thwarted, and arrangements were made to acquire Simon Bibo's lease from the Santa Fe when it expired.¹³

During these negotiations, which extended through September, other expansion irons were being put in the fire. Some serious consideration was being given to the possibility of opening a store in Ft. Sumner,¹⁴ the possibility was discussed of moving the flour mill from Espanola to Roy,¹⁵ and a proposition to buy the Cubero Trading Company for \$25,000 was turned down.¹⁶ In addition, rumors were spreading that the Bonds were planning to open a new store, and one individual even offered them free land if they would locate in Bluewater.¹⁷ Just in case the plan to locate in Grants did not work out, alternate locations in Gallup and in Magdalena were

8. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1915, p. 166.

The Bernalillo Mercantile Company was apparently controlled by the Bibo family. The six members of the Bibo family, Simon, Joe, Nathan, Solomon, Emil, and Leopold, operated stores at Bernalillo, Grants, Laguna, Cubero, and Seboyeta. *History of New Mexico, Its Resources and People* (Los Angeles: Pacific States Publishing Company, 1907), II, 610.

9. *Letter Book No. 58*, May 19, 1915, p. 190.

10. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1915, p. 335.

11. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1915, p. 423.

12. *Letter Book No. 59*, August 25, 1915, p. 526.

13. *Ibid.*, September 13, 1915, p. 650; *ibid.*, September 14, 1915, p. 683.

14. *Letter Book No. 53*, April 30, 1915, p. 5; *ibid.*, May 18, 1915, p. 162.

15. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1915, p. 76.

16. *Ibid.*, May 18, 1915, p. 166.

17. *Letter Book No. 59*, August 25, 1915, p. 487.

considered.¹⁸ In general, however, they felt that while the merchandise business would be far better in Magdalena the sheep and wool business, especially sheep renting, would be much better in Grants where the Navaho sheep were to be found,¹⁹ and after all they were principally sheep men.

During these active days the search continued for a manager at Grants as well as for an outside man and a clerk, the three employees that were to staff the Grants business. The manager and outside man were to be selected, but the manager would hire his own clerk. Louden Mullen was seriously considered for outside man, and a detailed inquiry was made into his character. They wanted a man who was honest, did not drink, and who did not run after women.²⁰ An exhaustive inquiry was made, and it was emphasized that George Bond was "very much opposed to any man who drinks."²¹

Since both McDougall and Beery were no longer candidates for the Grants managership the name of Leonard A. Bond was proposed by Frank.²² Leonard Bond was a cousin of George and Frank who was living in Long Beach, California, at the time.²³ Some difficulty arose over this suggestion due to Leonard Bond's excessively liberal attitude toward liquor. Leonard was, however, directly confronted with the reason for their hesitation to bring him in,²⁴ and he stoutly maintained that he had completely discontinued his intemperance. Because of his strong feelings about alcohol, the decision was left to George Bond who agreed to try Leonard on the job, probably with some misgivings.

By this time, Leonard Bond had accepted a position in Jerome, Arizona, but upon receipt of Frank's notice on July 24, 1915, that he was acceptable and that his cousins were

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*, August 28, 1915, p. 525.

20. *Letter Book No. 53*, May 25, 1915, p. 286.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 287. Frank Bond was not the teetotaler that George Bond was, and in fact he used to order a barrel of beer and keep it on ice in the summer, enjoying a pint at noon and again at night. However, it soured on his stomach, and so he quit and thereafter drank very little. (*Letter Book No. 6*, February 23, 1914). He did enjoy smoking good cigars though, and he ordered them from Denver for his personal use. *Letter Book No. 50*, October 29, 1913, p. 161.

22. *Letter Book No. 53*, June 2, 1915, p. 360.

23. *Ibid.*, June 23, 1915, p. 574.

24. *Letter Book No. 59*, July 7, 1915, p. 56.

ready to begin operations in Grants at once,²⁵ Leonard agreed to leave Jerome for Grants. It was arranged that George Bond, Frank Bond, and Ed Sargent would meet Leonard Bond at the Sturges Hotel in Albuquerque on August 2, 1915, and they would all go to Grants and get the business started.²⁶ E. A. Johnston in Santa Fe was commissioned to draw up the Articles of Incorporation,²⁷ and through Ed Sargent, Loudon Mullens was engaged to go down to Grants about September 1 as outside man.²⁸ He was to receive a salary of \$1,000 per year and also the net profit on \$2,000 worth of stock.²⁹

Along toward the end of August, 1915, George Bond decided not to go in with Sargent and Frank Bond on the Grants business after all. Although this meant that Frank Bond and Ed Sargent had to put up more money, they felt that this was probably a better arrangement because they would have to do most of the on-the-spot hustling as George Bond was living in Idaho and was back in the sheep business there.³⁰

Therefore, the Bond-Sargent Company, Grants, New Mexico, was organized on November 20, 1915, with shareholdings as shown in Table 56.

TABLE 56

BOND-SARGENT COMPANY, ORIGINAL ORGANIZATION

Frank Bond	11,250 shares
Edward Sargent	11,250 shares
Leonard A. Bond	7,500 shares
Total	30,000 shares

No financial data are available for the few short months which the Bond-Sargent Company operated before the close of 1915, but that it did develop into one of their successful stores is evident from its continuance to the present time as the Bond-Gunderson Company.

25. *Ibid.*, July 24, 1915, p. 196.

26. *Ibid.*, July 27, 1915, p. 233; *ibid.*, August 7, 1915, p. 335.

27. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1915, p. 294.

28. *Ibid.*, August 14, 1915, p. 447.

29. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1915, p. 518.

30. *Ibid.*, August 31, 1915, p. 539; *ibid.*, p. 540.

15. *The Bond System—Conclusion*

THE individual business entities and major investment transactions of George W. Bond and Frank Bond have been discussed separately in some detail. However, in order to see the Bond system in its entirety, all but the barest essentials must be stripped away, and the general growth pattern may then be observed as the facts are restated in chronological order.

Espanola was from the beginning the headquarters of the Bond interests. The original store, established in 1883 as a mercantile business, soon developed profitable trading activity in sheep and wool. The first move toward expansion was made nine years later at which time a second G. W. Bond & Bro. store was opened at Wagon Mound, New Mexico. The new business was essentially a twin of the old one, dealing similarly in sheep, wool, and merchandise. Although George and Frank Bond subsequently developed a large system of partnerships, they retained sole ownership of their businesses for the first twenty years, and so the firm name of G. W. Bond & Bro. was carried to each different location as the system expanded.

Until just before the turn of the century they were content to operate the two stores—Frank in Espanola and George in Wagon Mound. They prospered during this time, and in the nine years from 1892 through 1900 they earned total net profits of more than \$246,000 which they divided between themselves as equal partners.¹ From the "very small investment in merchandise" they had acquired from Scott and Whitehead, their combined merchandise inventory had grown to about \$60,000,² and they had 48,225 sheep out on rent with *partidarios*.³ Frank Bond, the young man who stepped off the stage before he was old enough to vote, was personally worth more than \$132,000 at the end of 1900.⁴

By this time they had also expanded again—this time into the east central portion of the territory in Leonard Wood

1. Appendix H.

2. Appendix A.

3. Appendix C.

4. Appendix I.

County. This movement developed simultaneously with the Bonds' first venture into land speculation when they bought the 63,000-acre Preston Beck Grant and opened their third store on it at Cabra Springs. Shortly thereafter the fourth G. W. Bond & Bro. business was begun at Roy, New Mexico, and the twentieth century was off to a vigorous start.

The first few years of the new century were probably the most violently active ones in the entire Bond history. The first event was the coming of the railroad into the Tucumcari-Santa Rosa area. Already a prosperous sheep and wool area, the railroad provided the impetus to boost Leonard Wood County into an even more important wool-growing territory than ever before. With the area booming, the Bonds hastened to close their store at Cabra and move it to a location on the railroad at Cuervo.

The system with business locations in Espanola, Wagon Mound, Roy, and Cuervo was beginning to become awkward to manage on a personal basis because of its geographical dispersion, and some delegation of stewardship was inevitable. The Bonds, however, had wisely foreseen this requirement. Archie MacArthur had been working under George at Wagon Mound for about ten years, and he was ready to move into a more responsible position when the opportunity came; Louis F. Nohl had been brought into the parent store at Espanola under the watchful eye of Frank Bond; and Andy Wiest had joined the business at Cabra just before it was moved to Cuervo. MacArthur, Nohl, and Wiest were all participating to various degrees in the profits of their respective stores; the Bonds were already planning their partner-manager system; and the stage was now set for the opening of 1903.

Early in that year Frank and George Bond joined with Fred Warshauer in the Forbes Wool Company, a scouring mill in Trinidad, Colorado, where George was thinking about moving. The Forbes mill was already an operating business and was scouring wool at the rate of about 4,000,000 pounds of wool a year. The Bonds do not seem to have had a controlling interest in this mill, but aside from their esoteric relationship with Warshauer very little is known about the

ownership of the mill. About the middle of 1903 the Bonds became associated with C. L. Pollard in the Espanola merchandise and lumber firm of C. L. Pollard & Company. Here again the Bonds' interest and their entire relationship with Pollard were maintained in the highest degree of secrecy. By virtue of their investment in this firm, the Bonds also became part owners of the Truchas Lumber Company later in that same year. Continuing that busy season, the Bonds purchased the 27,481-acre Trampas Grant east of Espanola as an investment; in that year too the Bond and Jones Lumber Company rose, faltered, and fell.

But 1903 was not yet over. Shortly after moving the Wagon Mound business into another building the store burned to the ground. This fire seems to have been a turning point in the Bond organization, for Frank and George took the opportunity to make a number of sweeping changes.

When the Wagon Mound store was reopened the partnership form of organization was abandoned and the firm was incorporated. Archie MacArthur was brought into the business as the principal stockholder and was made general manager, and Manuel Paltenghe took a third of the stock. Meanwhile, the Cuervo store was also reorganized as a corporation with Andy Wiest in charge and holding one-half the stock. MacArthur and Wiest were now full-fledged owners of large interests in the business as well as being managers.

George Bond, free to leave Wagon Mound in capable hands, moved to Trinidad, Colorado. This affected the G. W. Bond & Bro. partnership in Espanola only to the extent that there were now two parts—one in Espanola and the other in Trinidad. Frank continued to operate the Espanola business, including the store, and George began making investments in land and sheep in Trinidad. Before 1904 closed the Bonds had joined J. H. McCarthy and Gerson Gusdorf in Taos and opened another mercantile establishment there under the name of Bond, Gusdorf, McCarthy Company. A corporation also, the policy at Taos followed the newly adopted practice of dropping the name of G. W. Bond & Bro. in favor of more

descriptive titles as had been done at Wagon Mound and at Cuervo.

In 1905 George Bond returned to New Mexico, at least on a temporary basis, and established the G. W. Bond & Bro. Mercantile Company in Encino with Charles Scheurich to handle the mercantile department. This business was a corporation also even though Frank and George were the only owners. However, Louis Nohl was issued one share in order to satisfy legal requirements.

The next year, 1906, Louis Nohl became a 32 per cent stockholder in the newly organized Bond & Nohl Company at Espanola. Essentially, Bond & Nohl was the mercantile and sheep trading departments of G. W. Bond & Bro. at Espanola and was in most respects simply a continuation of the old business. This relieved Frank Bond from direct management of the Espanola store, freeing him to supervise on an executive level much in the same manner as George had been freed by the reorganization at Wagon Mound. This completed the major expansion phase of the Bond system that had begun with the acquisition of the Forbes Wool Company early in 1903, and at the end of 1906 the Bond enterprises had gross assets of more than \$1,250,000.⁵

The following year Gerson Gusdorf left the Taos store, and the company was reorganized so that George, Frank, and J. H. McCarthy became equal partners in the Bond, McCarthy Company. In 1907 also, the Bonds finally sold the Trampas Grant to the Las Trampas Lumber Company.

In 1908 R. C. Dillon joined the G. W. Bond & Bro. Mercantile Company in Encino, and George Bond was once again at liberty to devote his time to the G. W. Bond & Bro. investments in Trinidad. The next year, 1909, marked the end of the secret but stormy Bond-Pollard association in the C. L. Pollard Company. After Pollard's departure the business was called the Espanola Mercantile Company, and the Bond interest in it remained hidden from the public view.

Another period of expansion activity began in 1910 when the Bond & Nohl Company acquired control of the Espanola

5. Appendix D.

Milling & Elevator Company and began to operate it as a branch.

A major change developed in 1911 when Frank and George Bond decided to terminate their twenty-eight-year partnership and George moved to Idaho. This partnership dissolution was academic in a sense for the partnership assets were equally divided and George Bond's personal shareholdings in the various stores remained unchanged.

In 1912 Frank Bond joined Edward Sargent and A. H. Long to organize the Rosa Mercantile Company in Rosa, New Mexico, a typical Bond store dealing in sheep and wool as well as in merchandise. Archie MacArthur died that year, and the resulting vacancy was filled by Andy Wiest who moved to Wagon Mound, acquired an interest in the business, and became general manager there. Wiest's move, in turn, created a vacancy in Cuervo. Joe Holbrook, Jr., who had been there with Wiest since 1906 and had informally shared in part of Wiest's stock, was named general manager of the Bond & Wiest store, the name of which was not changed.

The Bond Sheep Commission Company was organized the following year for a specific sheep venture involving a large herd of about 30,000 sheep. After a brief but profitable existence it passed into history after having served its particular purpose. In that same year the Trampas Grant was returned to Bond control due to legal complications in the land titles, and Frank Bond became president of the Las Trampas Lumber Company, the same holding company to which he had sold the grant six years previously.

Two more major expansion moves remained to be made before the close of 1915. In 1914 Frank Bond, R. C. Dillon, Andy Wiest, and J. H. McCarthy joined together with Walter Connell to organize the Bond-Connell Sheep and Wool Company in Albuquerque. This new organization was set up for the specific purpose of trading in sheep and wool, but it differed from most of the other enterprises in that there was no mercantile store in connection with it. However, the next expansion move did include a store, for shortly before the close of 1915 Frank Bond and Ed Sargent organized the Bond-Sargent Company in Grants, marking a significant

move into the heretofore almost untouched Navaho lands on the west side of the state.

This, then, fits the major segments of the complex Bond system into their respective places. It was not a simple system. The Bonds' ability and, more importantly, their willingness to shift emphasis, change organization, and try new methods of operation not only contributed to this complexity but also stamped the Bonds indelibly as being thoroughly progressive. As they grew and flexed with the changing times they lost little time bemoaning mistakes of the past; rather, they oriented themselves to the future.

When Frank and George Bond arrived originally in the Territory of New Mexico, they had found an expanding economy of sheep and cattle husbandry that offered opportunities limited only by their own ability and industry, and in neither of these qualities were they lacking. The basic consideration that influenced their choice of an obscure frontier town can only be conjectured, for Espanola was just a year old and could claim a population of only 150 persons. Whatever may have been their primary motivation for settling there, the system of mercantile partnerships and sheep trading combinations which they developed had a profound effect on the economic development of a large part of northern New Mexico.

The last year included in this appraisal of Frank Bond and his associates is 1915, and at the end of this thirty-two year span he had important interests in no less than a dozen major firms, including his own sheep business, with total assets of almost a million and a half dollars. It is possible that he did in fact have interests in other enterprises which have not been detected, and other business ventures had in that time most certainly come and gone, but the outside organizations in which Frank Bond was primarily interested at the close of 1915 were as follows:

A. MacArthur Company
Bond & Wiest Company
Espanola Mercantile Company
Forbes Wool Company

Bond McCarthy Company
G. W. Bond & Bro. Mercantile Company
Bond & Nohl Company
Espanola Milling & Elevator Company
Rosa Mercantile Company
Bond-Connell Sheep & Wool Company
Bond-Sargent Company

The merchandise inventory on the shelves of those firms that handled merchandise totalled almost \$200,000,⁶ and they had collectively earned profits in the years thus far of more than \$1,377,000.⁷ Frank Bond's personal worth at this time is estimated at more than \$541,000 with the stock in the various stores very conservatively valued at par.⁸

The Bond mercantile system was an important source of supply not only to the *partidarios* but also to the general public, and the stores were of course important and steady income producers for the Bonds. However, the Bonds' first love was sheep and wool, and the paucity of data on the numbers of sheep traded, rented, and fed is indeed unfortunate. At the end of 1915 the total investment in sheep was more than \$417,000,⁹ but the sheep investment accounts do not provide an accurate indication of the number of sheep represented. Indeed, it is known that upon occasion the account reflected a zero balance when in fact several thousands of sheep actually were on hand. There appear to have been more than 150,000 sheep under control of the Bond system at the end of 1915,¹⁰ but it is likely that the actual count more nearly approximated twice this number. Certainly to the extent that the early southwestern merchant made his contribution and to the extent that sheep and wool husbandry can be said to have contributed to the economic development of New Mexico, the activities of Frank Bond, his brother, and his associates can properly be credited with having influenced that development.

Of importance was the profit-sharing technique adopted

6. Appendix A.

7. Appendix H.

8. Appendix I.

9. Appendix B.

10. Appendix C.

by the Bonds, a policy that contributed significantly to the success they enjoyed. They literally gave their stores away. Forming business partnerships for the purpose of undertaking some specific or special activity was not an uncommon practice among New Mexico merchants,¹¹ and likewise the practice of sharing profits with managers and others in positions of trust was commonly practiced by others. The Bonds began their association with MacArthur, Wiest, Nohl, and Dillon in this way. However, simple sharing of profits as a form of payment for services did not necessarily imply ownership. The Bonds were probably unique in that they not only brought their managers into actual ownership but also loaned them the money with which to buy their interest in the business. In one case they even arranged to pay 6 per cent dividends every year so that the manager might have the money to pay the 6 per cent interest they charged him on the loan.

No record exists of the exact terms under which these manager-owners were brought into the business nor of the precise agreements that were made. These were undoubtedly private transactions made with the Bonds personally and do not appear to have been made part of the company records in any respect. The best glimpse we have is the arrangement with R. C. Dillon that has been described.¹² It seems to have been fairly typical, but there were certainly other variations.

The scheme they adopted of giving stock in return for a note and then accepting the stock as security for that note was merely a mechanism. More important is the notion that a manager could begin with almost no capital funds of his own and logically aspire to achieve ownership in a very real sense. Spurred by the knowledge that he would emerge as an important owner of the business, the manager was thus constrained to operate the business in the most economical, efficient, and profitable manner possible.

An observation of note in connection with this philosophy is that their manager-owners were not members of the Bond

11. William J. Parish, "Charles Ilfeld, Sedentary Merchant in the Arid Southwest, 1865-1884" (unpublished D. C. S. dissertation Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University), p. 124.

12. *Supra*, chap. x.

family. Only one such instance has been noted and even this was a last resort after all other efforts to find the right man had failed.

The success of their philosophy had its foundation in the strong ties of friendship that existed between the Bonds and their managers. Frank Bond's concern for the store managers was illustrated during Archie MacArthur's last illness. After having made arrangements for Andy Wiest to go to Wagon Mound, he wrote to MacArthur:

Take the best possible care of yourself until Andy arrives, and after he arrives, don't do a thing except post him for a few days, then by all means get up and leave, and don't come back and take hold of that business until you know that your health is all right. I know that Andy can swing that business . . . and your health is everything to all of us.

I am not much of a hand to brag, but I have repeatedly said that we have the best men in New Mexico as managers of our stores, and I don't believe they can be beaten anywhere, and we have naturally a very high regard for them. They have made money for us, and have been very loyal to us, and we most certainly appreciate it, and consider their health above any business consideration of any kind.¹³

This arrangement for Wiest to take charge of the Wagon Mound store worried MacArthur because he didn't think he should be entitled to any profits while he was away from the business, yet at the same time he did want to keep an interest in the store. Frank Bond's generosity and affection for his managers again came to the fore on this occasion as expressed by Frank to his brother:

Dr. Northwood told me and Andy that Archie would want to keep an interest in the business even if he shouldn't be able to take charge, and I told them both that in that event if necessary Archie could have my interest, and I would withdraw from the company. I just thought . . . that should Archie not be able to take charge . . . that when a reorganization of the company takes place, there will scarcely be enough stock to go round, and make things satisfactory to Andy, Archie and Manuel, and in order to give Archie a satisfactory deal, it

13. *Letter Book No. 6*, July 9, 1911, p. 153.

might be . . . [better] . . . for me to give up my stock. I didn't say a word to Archie about this nor shall I until it becomes necessary to reorganize, which I hope will not be necessary. . . . Andy expressed himself that as long as he remained in business he wanted both of us to be woth [sic] him, and repeated the conversation he had with you one time at Cuervo, when you mentioned that he didn't need us.¹⁴

Numerous other instances can be cited that similarly express Frank Bond's partnership philosophy. Their summation is a business founded on a bedrock of loyalty and mutual trust.

Recitation of the exploits of many men of far less stature now burden our library shelves with literally tons of paper, but it is not surprising that the Bond name, remembered with respect by their contemporaries, has been thoroughly overlooked in the writing of New Mexico history. They simply were not good "copy." Frank Bond abhorred the limelight and was content to know that while others made noise he made some money. The Bonds unquestionably provided the substantial and solid sort of contribution to the commerce of the prairies that is the very essence of American tradition. Frank wrote on one occasion :

I know you will do the very best you can for us, that is play the game fair so that we will always be able to buy the customers wool another year.¹⁵

14. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1911, p. 149.

15. *Letter Book No. 53*, June 17, 1914, p. 43.

Book Reviews

Confederate Victories in the Southwest: Prelude to Defeat.

Edited by the Publishers. Albuquerque: Horn & Wallace, Publishers, 1961. Maps. Pp. 201. \$7.50.

This book is the first venture for the publishers and was issued in a limited edition of 1,000 copies. It is a collection of transcripts from *The War of the Rebellion*, the official compilation of Civil War documents, and covers events in New Mexico up to the capture of Santa Fe. A subsequent volume will complete the story.

Horn and Wallace have prepared a useful work for readers of Southwestern history. The reviewer is quoted on the jacket blurb: "He who would appreciate history ought to read a few documents as he who would understand the forest should see the trees."

Booklovers especially will appreciate the publishers' efforts to present a well-manufactured book as designed and printed by Jack D. Rittenhouse of the Stagecoach press.

Since there is more than one series in the Civil War publications, the Series number should be added to the footnote reference in this publication.

New Mexico Civil War Bibliography: An Annotated Checklist of Books & Pamphlets. Jack D. Rittenhouse. Houston: Stagecoach Press, 1961. Pp. 36. \$4.00.

This small publication contains 32 items. The compiler dealt only with printed materials, so the book was not planned as a complete bibliography for the years covered. The Santa Fe Gazette vs. The Citizens of Doña Ana County, Item #7, is published in full in the appendix. The reviewer notices only one additional item that could have been included: Brig.-Gen. Richard H. Orton, *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion 1861 to 1867*. Sacramento, 1890.

A Classified Bibliography of the Periodical Literature of the Trans-Mississippi West (1811-1957). By Oscar Osburn Winther. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961. Pp. xxvi, 626. \$6.00.

The table of contents quickly reveals that the articles are listed under topical and sub-topical headings that include the States, for instance, New Mexico; regions, as the Great Plains; and others such as Indians, Fur Trade and the California Gold Rush. Cross references expedite finding a particular article. Each item is given a reference number (for a total of 9,244) which is associated with the author's name listed in alphabetical order.

The cross-the-border areas of British Columbia and Hispanic America are included, although the emphasis is on material related to the history of the United States.

It is incorrect to list #5731 under Negro because it deals with the Indian slave trade. Item #5890 is credited to the wrong author. Otherwise, I suspect that there is a very high degree of accuracy in this very useful and comprehensive work on the West.

The Whipple Report. By A. W. Whipple. Edited by E. I. Edwards. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1961. Pp. v, 100. Bibliog., Illusts., Index. \$5.50.

This is Whipple's report of his survey of the international boundary line from San Diego to the Colorado River in keeping with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that closed the war with Mexico. In a ten page introduction, Mr. Edwards presents a pen picture of Whipple's personality in contrast to that of Lieut. Cave Couets who commanded the military detachment for defense of the surveyors.

Whipple's writing attains the heights of literary style occasionally, but he is much more interested in describing the Indians, with sympathy, than commenting on his official duties. Because of this interest, the report is of greater value to ethnologists; it is not a significant contribution to the history of the times.

Arizona Territory Post Offices and Postmasters. By John and Lillian Theobald. Arizona Historical Foundation. Phoenix, Arizona, 1961. Pp. xiii, 178. Illus. and Bibliog. Paper \$3.00, Cloth \$5.00, Leather \$17.50.

This useful publication contains a brief history of Arizona, a discussion of mail transportation, the postal routes, service companies, the postmasters, the public attitude toward the mail service, and an alphabetical list of post offices and masters.

There are several pictures of post offices and a greater number of cancelled mail envelopes. Historical sketches are supplied for some of the post offices.

Through personal contacts and search in archival sources, the authors have not only prepared what is obviously a labor of love, but also a worthwhile addition to reference literature on Arizona.

F. D. R.

The Charles Ilfeld Company. By William J. Parish. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961. Pp. xxi, 431. Ills., maps, index. \$10.00.

On a broad yet revealingly detailed canvas, Professor Parish has presented a superb picture of a business enterprise which was born in territorial New Mexico and perished on virtually the day before yesterday. Published as one of the Harvard Studies in Business History, this book sits amidst distinguished company; but it is not overshadowed. It is one of the best business histories this reviewer has read. Professor Parish has demonstrated that he is a most competent and talented historian. His work rests upon solid research-foundations: the company's own archives, interviews with contemporaries of the firm and its managers, and newspapers of the day. Moreover, the author has placed the company's history in a setting made rich by his own knowledge of the business affairs and by a careful investigation of secondary source materials.

To the reviewer, the book seems naturally to divide itself into three parts. The first covers the formative period from

1865 till about the turn of the century. It tells the remarkable story of Charles Ifeld, the German-Jewish immigrant lad of eighteen who became a most successful "multi-risk merchant," importing various articles from the East and selling them, usually on a retail basis, in the vicinity of Las Vegas. As the author himself indicates, Ifeld's business operation closely resembled that of Thomas Hancock, perhaps the most famous merchant of eighteenth-century Boston. (It also resembles that of many Midwestern merchants in the mid-nineteenth century.) Like Hancock, Ifeld needed men in the East—or England, in the case of the former merchant—to supply him with trade goods and generous credit terms. There were much the same problems involved in transporting these goods and in making remittances for them. As Hancock scrambled about for bills of exchange to meet his English obligations, so too did Ifeld search for drafts to cover his debts in New York City. More fortunate than his colonial counterpart, Ifeld could sell the "country pay" (wool, grain, and livestock) tendered by his customers directly to his Eastern suppliers. To be successful at this sort of business, a man had to be intelligent, resourceful, daring and trusting. That Ifeld possessed all these traits is amply shown by the author.

The second part of the company's career began around 1900, when the railroads had completed their dissection of the Southwest, and ended with the coming of World War II. This is also the period in the company's history that is dominated by Ifeld's brother-in-law, Max Nordhaus. While Ifeld poured his merchandising dreams into the creation of a department store at Las Vegas; the younger, more vigorous man turned his energies into more diversified and more specialized fields: the woolen economy and the sheep industry; a chain of country stores and directly owned retail outlets; and finally, wholesaling, with the establishment of branch warehouses throughout New Mexico. The last venture was the most profitable; and by the end of the era, the Charles Ifeld Company was essentially a wholesaling concern.

It is rather difficult to state precisely when the company entered its third and ultimately fatal period. Certainly it occurred after the deaths of Ilfeld (1929) and Nordhaus (1935); but it does not seem to have been determined by the Great Depression. Quite probably the forces that set the company's final form were the revolution in motor transportation and the rapid growth and urbanization of New Mexico—two phenomena whose full effects were seen most dramatically in the immediate post-war years. Till almost the eleventh hour, the Ilfeld Company failed to accommodate itself to the changed and changing circumstances. But here the fault lay not so much with management as with the nature of the firm. It was a family corporation; and like so many family corporations, it had grown old. It had become "a monistic form of administration both in action and ideas. . . ." Its dividend policy was too liberal; its directors were too inbred—and one can easily guess at countless other defects commonly seen in family corporations. The reviewer's sympathies lay with the firm's last manager, Frank Mapel. Hardly had he examined the company, diagnosed its ills (in physical layout, personnel, sales procedure, etc.), and begun its cure, than the company's stockholders decided to sell out.

In conclusion, let the reviewer reiterate and underscore his praise of Professor Parish's work. Indeed the only criticism offered—and I should guess the author is (pp. 91-92) aware of it—is that he may have tried too hard to place the Charles Ilfeld Company into the N.S.B. Gras frame of what does and does not constitute a sedentary merchant, a merchant capitalist, and so on. (I often suspect that such labels are more convenient than accurate.) But this criticism is scarcely significant, for this is a very good book—well and often humorously written, fully substantiated by evidence, and adequately illustrated by maps and charts. Professor Parish should be proud of his work and take honest satisfaction in looking back "over the 14 years of its doing."

Michigan State University

ALVIN C. GLUECK, JR.

Notes and Documents

THE NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL ASSEMBLY, 1858-1859

The New Mexico territorial assembly of 1858-1859 played an important, if futile, role in the attempted expansion of slavery into the western territories prior to the Civil War. It was this assembly that in February 1859 adopted "an act for the protection of slave property in the territory," thus setting the stage for possible slave expansion into New Mexico territory.¹ This aspect of New Mexico's role in the sectional conflict has been described elsewhere² and will not be recounted here. Information pertaining to the membership of this assembly is not so easily accessible, however, and these notes will attempt to provide some insight into the characteristics of the members themselves. In this manner it is hoped that it will be shown that New Mexico's pro-slavery stand was taken by an assembly comprised not of southern planters but by a group of predominately native-born New Mexican farmers.

The accompanying table shows a list of members of the Eighth New Mexico assembly which passed the act for protection of slave property together with personal characteristics taken from the manuscript returns of the Federal Census for 1860.³ In all, twelve members served in the legislative council during the session of 1858-1859, and twenty-four members served in the house of representatives.⁴ As might be expected, members of the legislative council, or upper house, were somewhat older than members of the house of representatives; median age for council members being fifty-seven years and that of house members only thirty-four years, a considerable difference in age span. The ages ranged from twenty-four years for Antonio G. Cordera of Rio Arriba to seventy-eight for Rafael Vigil of Taos.

The great majority of assembly members were born in New Mexico; only four of the 29 members for whom place of birth could be determined were born outside the territory. One member was born in Vermont, one in Kentucky, one in Missouri, and one in Mexico. Twenty-five members were born in New Mexico.

1. *Journal of the Legislative Council for the Territory of New Mexico, Session 1858-59* (Santa Fe, 1859), 63, 67; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Territory of New Mexico, Session 1858-59* (Santa Fe, 1859), 67, 70, 79.

2. Loomis Morton Ganaway, *New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861* (Albuquerque, 1944), 70-71; and Herbert Howe Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico, 1550-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), 682-683.

3. Based upon the manuscript returns of Schedule No. 1, Free Inhabitants, of the United States Eighth Census, 1860. The writer used microfilm copies of the original returns located in the National Archives, Washington, 25, D. C.

4. These figures do not include C. Duran of Doña Ana, who was elected but did not actually serve in this session of the council.

MEMBERS OF THE NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE OF 1858-1859, WITH A SUMMARY OF DATA TAKEN FROM THE MANUSCRIPT RETURNS OF THE UNITED STATES CENSUS FOR 1860.

Legislative Council

County	Name	Age	Birth Place	Occupation	Real Property	Personal Property
Bernalillo	Henry Connelly	59	Kentucky	Merchant	\$58,000	\$84,000
Rio Arriba	Geronimo Jaramillo*					747
	Pedro Salazar	57	N. M.	Farmer	780	7,000
San Miguel	Miguel Sena y Romero	44	N. M.	Farmer	5,000	2,200
	Donaciano Vigil	58	N. M.	Farmer	1,500	2,720
Santa Ana	Jesús Baca	60	N. M.	Farmer	7,000	
Santa Fe	Nasario Gonzales*					
Socorro	Mariano Silva	57	N. M.	Merchant-Farmer	1,000	6,000
Taos	Albino Chacón	32	N. M.	Farmer	1,000	2,000
	Lafayette Head	35	Mo.	Farmer	3,000	3,000
	José Benito Martínez	47	N. M.	Farmer	5,000	16,000
Valencia	Juan José Sanchez	60	N. M.	Merchant	4,000	16,545
<i>House of Representatives</i>						
Bernalillo	Miguel Gonzales	62	N. M.	Farmer	1,000	500
	José Lueras*					
Dona Ana	Mig. Salazar*					

Rio Arriba	Pedro Aragón*	24	N. M.	Farmer	225	508
	Ant. Guad. Cordova	29	N. M.	Farmer	480	612
	Manuel Jaramillo	25	N. M.	Farmer	210	400
	Fran. E. Salazar	41	N. M.	Farmer	400	800
San Miguel	Ant. R. Arragon	32	N. M.	Merchant	1,200	4,000
	José G. Gallegos	58	N. M.	Laborer	9,000	5,000
	Manuel de Herrera	28	N. M.	Farmer	20	20
Santa Fe	Juan Benavides	40	N. M.	Farmer	300	170
	Jesús Ma. de Herrera	33	Vermont	Comm. Agent	18,000	35,000
	O. P. Hovey	49	N. M.	Farmer	5,000	400
Santa Ana	Nicholas Lucero	29	N. M.	Merchant	500	1,500
	Bonifacio Romero	25	N. M.	Farm Laborer		100
Taos	Pedro Mares	50	N. M.	Farm Laborer	210	300
	Mateo Romero	37	N. M.	Farmer	600	500
	José F. Sanchez	34	N. M.	Farmer	1,500	4,000
	Pedro Valdez	78	N. M.	Farm Laborer	100	200
	Rafael Vigil	47	N. M.	Farmer	1,300	1,840
Valencia	José Vigil	26	Mexico	Farmer	300	900
	Francisco Lopez					

Explanatory

Information in this table is from the manuscript returns of Schedule No. 1, Free Inhabitants, of the United States Eighth Census, 1860. The writer used microfilm copies of the original returns located in the National Archives, Washington 25, D. C. Listing of House members does not include a delegate from Socorro whose last name was Apodaca but first name not given in *Journal*. The writer wishes to thank Linda Malin for her assistance in compiling information for this table.

* Indicates that writer was unable to locate in manuscript census returns.

Nineteen members of the assembly listed their occupation as farming in 1860. Four were merchants, one listed himself as a merchant-farmer, one as a laborer, three as farm laborers, and one as a commission agent. Surprisingly, there were no lawyers in the Eighth Territorial Assembly.

Property holding for assembly members was quite modest; the median holding for those located in the census returns being \$1,000 in real and \$1,500 in personal property. The members of the council were considerably wealthier than those of the house; the median for the council being \$3,500 in real and \$4,500 in personal property, compared to \$430 in real \$503 in personal property for house members. Henry Connelly of Bernalillo with \$142,000, and O. P. Hovey of Santa Fe with \$53,000 in property were by far the wealthiest individuals in the assembly. On the other hand, however, eleven members held less than \$500 in real property and seven held less than \$500 in personal property.

These personal characteristics of membership illustrate that the assembly was thus comprised of men of modest means who were natives of New Mexico. Their vote for protecting slave property was thus not based upon southern or plantation background.

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PUEBLO INDIAN AUXILIARIES IN NEW MEXICO

1763-1821

By Oakah L. Jones, Jr.*

SPAIN, throughout the colonial period of Latin American history, experienced difficulties in her relations with numerous, widely-divergent groups of American Indians. The Spanish Crown and the Council of the Indies legislated to protect these aborigines, but distance, local conditions and time often interfered to the detriment of the Indians as the colonists frequently ignored, violated or circumvented the laws emanating from the mother country.

The authorities in Spain established the theoretical basis for Indian policy. Protection of the Indians remained the primary aspect of that doctrine, although a period of vacillation and uncertainty existed until the passage of the New Laws in 1542. Legislation on behalf of the Indians embraced many minute but important policies, such as prohibiting the sale or giving to them of arms¹ and opposition to their travel-

* Captain, Department of History, United States Air Force Academy, Colorado.

AGN—Archivo General y Público de la Nación, Mexico, D.F. (in all cases the photostats available in the Coronado Library at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, were consulted); AGI—Archivo General de las Indias, Sevilla, Spain (photostats and microfilm in the Coronado Library consulted); NMA—New Mexico Archives (originals available in New Mexico Records Center, Santa Fe, and photostats consulted in Coronado Library; document numbers according to Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols., Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1914).

1. *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias* (3 vols.; Madrid: Impresora de dicha real y supreme, 1943), Tomo II, Libro vi, Título i, Ley xxiv. Hereinafter cited as *Recopilación*.

ling by or even mounting horses.² Although these laws were clearly worded, they were often difficult to enforce. Otherwise, it would not have been necessary to re-publish six times, for example, the law denying arms to the Indians.³

After the early conquests of the highly-developed sedentary peoples, such as the Aztecs, Quechuas, Mayas and Chichas, the Spaniards were confronted by the most difficult problem they were to face in colonial administration—how to reduce and control the innumerable warlike tribes? Since these groups were essentially decentralized, nomadic and dependent upon mobility and plunder for their existence, it was very difficult for an outside force to govern them.

Spain tried many techniques to resolve this central problem, but she was never completely successful. Perhaps the two most common characteristics of her policy for three centuries were the attempts to reduce the Indians to settled communities (*poblaciones*)⁴ and her use of vast numbers of friendly Indians as auxiliary forces to augment her inadequate army.

In New Spain both of these policies appeared during the conquest of Mexico by Hernán Cortés from 1519 to 1522. Large numbers of Tascalans served faithfully in the conquistador's army, and thereafter were employed in the Spanish northward expansion, particularly in Texas and Coahuila, as exemplary citizens or auxiliaries. They were rewarded for their services with honors, favors and privileges such as exemptions from taxation, grants of land and outright gifts of equipment, seed and building materials.⁵

The practice of using Indian auxiliaries was expanded throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Usually only a few tribes could be counted upon as loyal allies

2. *Ibid.*, Tomo II, Libro vi, Título i, Ley xxxiii.

3. *Ibid.*, Tomo II, Libro vi, Título i, Ley xxxi.

4. *Poblaciones* were usually small unchartered communities with an *alcalde* in charge. They should not be confused with three other terms: *Pueblos de Indios* were Indian towns in existence before the conquest; *congregaciones* were Indian towns established after the conquest; and *reducciones* were generally mission towns. Thus, in New Mexico, Ácoma would be a *Pueblo de Indios*, Laguna a *congregación*, and the missions near Jémez would be *reducciones*, but all three could be considered as *poblaciones*.

5. *Recopilación*, Tomo II, Libro vi, Título i, Leyes xxxix through xiv.

in a given area during the early days of Spanish occupation, but gradually the number would be increased to incorporate as many as possible against a common foe.

Thus, in New Mexico the Pueblo Indians were the allies of the Spaniards, although they had to be reconquered and subjugated by the Spanish military forces after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Mexican Indian auxiliaries, who had accompanied the expedition of Juan de Oñate when he occupied New Mexico in 1598, did not return to the region after the reconquest by Diego de Vargas from 1693 to 1696.⁶ To replace them the Spaniards gradually began using Pueblo Indians to augment their small military forces in campaigns against the *indios bárbaros*. Contingents from all of the Rio Grande and the western pueblos contributed to the success of Spanish armies under Vargas and the governors during the last century of Spanish occupation.

All of the existing pueblos shared in the common obligation to serve with the military forces in campaigns for the defense of the province of New Mexico. *Encomenderos* frequently commanded the militia and auxiliary forces during early military actions,⁷ but were replaced later by experienced officers, usually assigned from the Presidio of Santa Fe.

By the middle of the eighteenth century Pueblo Indians were organized into their own units commanded by a *capitán mayor de la guerra*,⁸ who was subordinate to the appointed Spanish commander (usually a lieutenant from Santa Fe). Father Manuel de San Juan Nepomuceno Trigo indi-

6. Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez, translators (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), 304.

7. The military obligation of the *encomenderos* has been touched upon in France V. Scholes, "Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XII, No. 4 (October, 1937), 389. In addition, Dr. Scholes has adequately covered the deep imprint of Christianity which the Spaniards transmitted to the Pueblos during the seventeenth century. See his *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1937). This is Volume III in the Historical Society of New Mexico's Publications in History. The conversion served as a good foundation upon which to build the Spanish-Pueblo alliance of the next century.

8. Charles W. Hackett (ed.), *Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and Approaches Thereto, to 1773* (3 vols.; Washington: The Carnegie Institution, 1923-1937), III, 366. Hereinafter cited as Hackett, *Historical Documents*.

cated in his letter of 23 July 1754 that the "mission Indians" were brave and warlike, particularly those of Pecos whom he admired for their continued resistance to the barbaric tribes, and he stated that these Indians went out "voluntarily" on campaigns against their nomadic enemies.⁹ By this time the entire province was having difficulty defending itself from the raids and encroachments of warlike tribes who had been receiving firearms from French traders. An inventory of Spanish defensive forces in New Mexico revealed this problem as early as 1752. The entire province contained just 6,453 persons, with only 2,174 capable of bearing arms. To meet the increasing threat to the region they were equipped with 4,060 horses, 60,045 arrows, 414 lances, only 57 swords and 151 leather jackets.¹⁰

By 1763 New Mexico, which included present day Arizona and had eastern and western boundaries at the Rio Grande and Rio Colorado, had become an isolated frontier community. During the next thirteen years the entire northern frontier of New Spain became a violent, unsettled theater of war, and Spain's hold upon New Mexico became uncertain. Gradually the province was encircled with warlike tribes so that by 1776 the few Spanish settlers and their loyal Pueblo Indian allies were confronted with the Navahos to the northwest, Utes in the mountains of the north and northwest, Comanches to the north and east, and various bands of Apaches to the south, east and west.¹¹

Spanish military forces and defenses were inadequate to combat these threats. Against the raids of the *indios bárbaros* who sought cattle, horses and provisions principally, the settlers and Christian Indians could defend themselves with only a few antiquated and ineffective weapons. Pueblos employed the bow and arrow, or occasionally the lance, but by

9. Letter in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, III, 465.

10. General and Particular State of the Number of Families and Persons Which the Twenty-two Reduced Pueblos of Indians of the Kingdom of New Mexico Possess, AGN, Provincias Internas 102, Expediente 3, f1, Año de 1752.

11. Alfred B. Thomas, *Teodoro de Croix and the Northern Frontier of New Spain, 1776-1783* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 7. Hereinafter cited as Thomas, *Teodoro de Croix*.

1772 only 250 persons, in addition to the presidial troops, possessed firearms in the province, and these were outdated shotguns.¹² The Presidio of Santa Fe could not contribute much assistance for it had been considered incapable of defense as early as 1766 when it was composed of only eighty soldiers at an annual cost of 34,070 pesos.¹³

Spain made numerous efforts to resolve her problems on the northern frontier. Unfortunately, her increasingly precarious global position at the end of the eighteenth century and her increased size after reacquiring Louisiana from France in 1762-1763 prevented her from deploying large numbers of well-disciplined, experienced military forces to northern New Spain and particularly to New Mexico. The mobility of the *indios bárbaros* with their acquisition of large numbers of horses and their possession of more modern firearms jeopardized Spain's hold on that remote province. New presidios were established, others were relocated, inspections such as that of the Marqués de Rubí were conducted, lengthy reports were submitted, continuous Spanish and Indian campaigns resulting in the loss of many horses and supplies were carried out without individual compensation,¹⁴ and various recommendations were entertained from all sources.

Yet, the results were always the same. Hugo O'Conór reported that the total losses in the regions beyond Chihuahua had been four thousand persons and over twelve million pesos between 1748 and 1772.¹⁵ Even the great *visitador-general* José de Gálvez was frustrated during his visit of 1765-1771 in his efforts to subdue the Indian disturbances in the North and pacify the frontier.¹⁶

12. Frank D. Reeve, "Navaho-Spanish Diplomacy, 1770-1790," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXXV, No. 3 (July, 1960), 211.

13. Lawrence Kinnaird, *The Frontiers of New Spain: Nicolás de La Fora's Description, 1766-1768* (Berkeley: The Quivira Society, 1958), 91.

14. An Account of the Lamentable Happenings in New Mexico and of Losses Experienced Daily in Affairs Spiritual and Temporal Written by Father Fray Sanz de Lezaún in the Year 1760, in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, III, 472.

15. Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777-1787* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), 5. Hereinafter cited as Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*.

16. Herbert I. Priestley, *José de Gálvez: Visitor General of New Spain (1765-1771)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916), 268.

In New Mexico, Governor Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta made a conscientious effort to overcome the critical state of affairs during his term from 1767 to 1778. In the first year of his governorship he established a special post of fifty presidials and Indian auxiliaries on a hill near Ojo Caliente to watch closely the ford on the Rio Grande which the Comanches were using to invade the frontier. In the same year he led a combined force of 546 presidials, militia and Indian allies on an extensive campaign. Each year thereafter he conducted sizeable expeditions which employed numerous Indian auxiliaries, largely from the pueblos, to combat Utes, Navahos, Apaches and Comanches, depending upon which presented the greatest threat.¹⁷

The Viceroy of New Spain reported that 140 inhabitants had been killed, seven thousand horses and mules had been stolen and whole herds of cattle and sheep had been destroyed in the northern provinces during 1771.¹⁸ By November, 1772, Governor Mendinueta faced a critical situation. Apache raids had become widespread, reaching Zuñi, Tubac and Sonora.¹⁹

Recommendations for resolving the Indian problem were received from all sources. Bishop Tamarón, who had been alarmed by the ineffective defense against hostile Indians during his visitation of New Mexico in 1760, had recommended the greater use of infantry. Horses attracted the enemy and furthermore the cost of infantry was much less than that of cavalry. He also proposed annual campaigns to combat the warring tribes and suggested that they be carried out annually for a period of two or three years.²⁰

Hugo O'Conór, who inspected the region for the King in 1775-1776, found the colonists to have a fine military spirit and creditable valor in the defense of the area. He recom-

17. Alfred B. Thomas, *The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1778* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), Volume XI of the Coronado Cuarto Centennial Publications, 1540-1940, George P. Hammond (ed.), 39-45.

18. Bucareli to Ariaga, No. 193, México, 27 January 1772, AGI, Guadalajara 512, in Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 6.

19. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 8.

20. Eleanor B. Adams (ed.), *Bishop Tamarón's Visitation of New Mexico, 1760* (Albuquerque: Historical Society of New Mexico, 1954), Volume XV of Publications in History, 88-91.

mended the formation of ten frontier detachments, two of which were to be in New Mexico. These two groups would be composed of *vecinos* (settlers) and *Indios amigos* (friendly Indians) to defend the frontier, primarily against the Comanche menace, but against other tribes as well. O'Conór reported that the friendly Indians were those of the Pueblos, particularly from Jémez, Zía, Santa Ana, Sandía, Isleta, Laguna, Ácoma, and others "I don't know." He emphasized that they were peaceful people, dedicated to agriculture and the growth of livestock.²¹

The detachments proposed by O'Conór for New Mexico would total 565 men.²² He suggested that a body of one hundred troops be added to the following levies, establishing a grand force of 2,228 men for the general campaign in the North. The levies for New Mexico were:²³

<i>Pueblos</i>	<i>Spaniards</i>	<i>Indians</i>
Jémez	0	40
Zía	0	50
Santa Ana	0	80
Vicinity of Bernalillo	15	0
Sandía	0	25
Town of Albuquerque	80	0
Atrisco and Pajarito	25	0
Isleta	0	40
Vicinity of Valencia and Tomé	30	0
Vicinity of Belén and Pueblo of <i>genízaros</i>	40	40
Laguna and Ácoma	0	100
	TOTALS	
	190	375

21. Enrique González Flores and Francisco R. Almada, *Informe de Hugo O'Conór sobre el estado de las Provincias Internas del Norte, 1771-1776* (México: Editorial Cultura, 1952), 106-107.

22. Plan of Operations, Hugo O'Conór, Carrizal, 24 March 1775, AGN Provincias Internas 87, Document 5. Thomas, in his *Forgotten Frontiers* on page 10, states that the number was 595, but no basis for this total can be ascertained.

23. *Ibid.* For purposes of clarity, simplicity and easy comprehension I have always rendered the names of the pueblos and other places as they are currently spelled. O'Conór's spelling of Zía is Silla, Jémez is spelled with an "s" at the end and his Albuquerque contains the old "r" before the first "q." Spanish proper names were variously used by different authors. Thus, we find Santa Fee, Nabajoo, Belém, Santa Anna, etc.

Governor Mendinueta closely observed the problems of defense in his province. Unique among his proposals was the suggestion that the Spaniards, who were widely-dispersed along the Rio Grande, be collected into centrally-located, easily-defended, fortified towns, resembling those of the Pueblo Indians. He cited their lack of unity and desired that the Spaniards emulate the "*Pueblos de Indios*" for defense against the Comanches, Apaches, Utes and Navahos.²⁴ Here was a reversal of the normal policy for Spain, since it was usually her intention to reduce the *Indians* to easily-controlled towns²⁵ which resembled those of the Spaniards.

Mendinueta desired to augment his small presidial force of eighty troops with settlers and "*indios cristianos*" (Christian Indians, undoubtedly Pueblos).²⁶ He admonished the settlers for their reluctance to respond to his orders and pointed out that *all* should do so no matter what time or under what conditions the orders for campaigns arrived. Each should take his horse, lance, pike, or whatever type of arms he possessed to answer the call since every settler had an obligation to perform a minimum of eighteen days of public work annually.²⁷

The *cacique* of each pueblo was instructed to maintain constantly in readiness a force of fifteen or twenty Indians. He was to supply them with the necessary provisions for campaigns so that they could depart immediately when directed by the governor. Once the summons had been received, the *cacique* would collect his force and personally conduct it in pursuit of the enemy, while other Indians of the pueblo rounded up the horses and brought them to the campaign element. By this technique the enemy could be prevented

24. Mendinueta to Viceroy Antonio Bucareli, Santa Fe, 26 March 1772. Facsimile from Biblioteca Nacional de México, Legajo 10, Part 1. Another copy has been published in Alfred B. Thomas, "Governor Mendinueta's Proposals for the Defense of New Mexico, 1772-1778," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VI, No. 1 (January, 1931), 27-30.

25. *Recopilación*, Tomo II, Libro vi, Título iii, Ley i.

26. Mendinueta to Bucareli, Santa Fe, 26 March 1772, Biblioteca Nacional de México, Legajo 10, Part 1.

27. Bando of Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, Santa Fe, 16 November 1771, NMA, Document 663.

from escaping unpunished from his raids upon settled communities.²⁸

General campaigns proposed by Governor Mendinueta involved the problem of maintaining sufficient numbers of horses. Since the *indios bárbaros* had no fixed location and could ride wherever they pleased, the pursuing force had to do likewise. To do so adequately each man involved in the campaign required at least three or four horses.²⁹ Other problems of the expeditions were lack of compensation for the settlers and Indians, inadequate offensive arms since the friendly Indians possessed only bows and arrows (although the governor noted that a few had firearms), and the problem of distance which rendered it almost impossible to use Indians from Zuñi, Acoma and Laguna in campaigns against the Comanches as these three pueblos were occupied in defending themselves against the Apaches.³⁰

Annual campaigns were attempted during Mendinueta's term of office, but they seldom yielded notable results, although the pursuing force sometimes marched hundreds of miles. Expeditions in 1774, for example, were made from Albuquerque, Keres and Laguna against the newly-aroused Navahos. These consisted largely of Pueblo auxiliaries, supplemented by militiamen and some presidials from Santa Fe.³¹

Occasionally, control of the Indian auxiliaries was apparently relaxed for Fray Domínguez noted that the Christian Indians removed the scalps of the heathen ones "before they are quite dead" and danced with them as a token of victory and to avenge the grievances they had suffered.³² Be-

28. The Form of Government Used at the Missions of San Diego de los Jémez and San Agustín de la Isleta by Father Fray Joaquín de Jesús Ruíz, Their Former Minister. [Undated, but presumably in 1773], in Hackett, *Historical Documents*, III, 506. Note that by this time the Pueblos were apparently being permitted to utilize horses for both peaceful and warlike purposes.

29. Mendinueta to Bucareli, Santa Fe, 26 March 1772, Biblioteca Nacional de México, Legajo 10, Part 1.

30. *Ibid.*

31. Reeve, "Navaho-Spanish Diplomacy, 1770-1790," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXXV, No. 3 (July, 1960), 207. Although the Spaniards usually rendered the linguistic term Keres as Queres, the more well-known version will be utilized in this study.

32. Domínguez, *Missions of New Mexico*, 257.

fore the departure of these expeditions Mass was said for all the participants and a brief sermon was delivered on the constitution of and the means for conducting a "just war."³³

By 1776 defense reached a critical point. The hostile Indian invasions of New Mexico were among the most serious on the entire northern frontier.³⁴ To meet these threats Spanish Indian policy by this date basically included two principles: the first was preventive, consisting of peace treaties with the Indians which met with little success because of the independence of one band of Indians from another; the second was punitive, comprising the campaigns into Indian country to recapture animals, rescue prisoners, or retaliate upon Indian *rancherías* to discourage future raids.³⁵ The success of both methods was extremely limited as a result of inadequate presidial and regular forces, the necessity of using untrained and undisciplined Indian allies and militia, the employment of poor leaders recruited from the local populace, extreme distances, supply problems, insufficient and outdated weapons, and the wide dispersal of the population.

Spain reorganized the entire system for defense of her northern frontier in 1776 when she created the Provincias Internas del Norte under the leadership of a *commandante general*. The Californias, Sinaloa, Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya, Coahuila, Texas, and New Mexico comprised the original Provincias Internas, but Nuevo León and Nuevo Santander were subsequently added.³⁶ Teodoro de Croix, the first *commandante general*, and his military authorities immediately turned their attention to resolving the crisis in the North. Within the next decade New Mexico would pass through her most critical period of occupation and defense against the *indios bárbaros*. By 1786 the province would no longer be faced with possible annihilation or abandonment.

In view of the revolutionary activity and continued expansion of the North Americans, Croix considered the de-

33. *Ibid.*, 271.

34. Thomas, *Teodoro de Croix*, 24.

35. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

36. Priestley, *José de Gálvez*, 293.

fense of New Mexico to be of particular importance to the security of New Spain's northern provinces. He also questioned the use of militia for he believed that such forces reduced the number of those paying tribute and increased the taxes upon the natives, causing occasional riots.³⁷

Military authorities, such as Lt. Colonel Antonio Bonilla, noted the presence of an abundant supply of manpower (both Spaniards and Indians) to defend the province of New Mexico, but simultaneously emphasized that the lack of arms and horses rendered the citizenry useless.³⁸ He again cited for Spanish authorities the inability of obtaining assistance from Zuñi, Ácoma, and Laguna, and concluded that hardly 250 Spaniards and an equal number of Indians were equipped with horses and arms for the defense of the province.³⁹

Bonilla pointed out that all the inhabitants had an obligation to assist in the general defense, but that at present they were a "congregation of dissident, discordant, scattered people without subordination, without horses, arms, knowledge of their handling, and were governed by their caprice."⁴⁰ He proposed that formal militias be created with experienced individuals in command and that remuneration be provided, since the cost of each man on campaign could exceed 150 pesos.⁴¹ This revenue could be obtained, he suggested, from a levy upon local trade.⁴²

In spite of the extensive plans formulated in the first year of the commandancy general, the *indios bárbaros*, particularly the war-like Apache bands and Comanches, continued to

37. *Ibid.*, 44.

38. Historic Points about New Mexico Written by Lieutenant Colonel Don Antonio Bonilla the Year of 1776, AGN, Historia 25, Document 7, paragraph 16. Bonilla's observations and recommendations may also be found in Alfred B. Thomas, "Antonio de Bonilla and Spanish Plans for the Defense of New Mexico," *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, George P. Hammond (ed.) (2 vols.; Lancaster, Pennsylvania: Lancaster Press, 1932), I, 184-209.

39. *Ibid.*, para. 17.

40. From Thomas' translation in his article cited above in note 38. The original may be found in paragraph 44 of Bonilla's Historic Points. Bonilla also gave the population figures for 1776 as 5,781 Spaniards, 12,999 Indians for a total of 18,780.

41. Bonilla, Historic Points, AGN, Historia 25, Document 7, para. 47.

42. Thomas "Antonio de Bonilla and Spanish Plans for the Defense of New Mexico," *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, I, 186.

plunder the Spanish and Indian settlements. From June through August, 1777, these two tribes killed sixty-one persons, captured eighteen and killed more than 1200 head of stock.⁴³ When in 1778 the Comanches swept over the province and 127 persons were either killed or captured,⁴⁴ Croix called for a general military council to meet at Chihuahua. This body adopted fifteen articles to establish a consistent, long-term Indian policy. These points included:⁴⁵

1. An alliance of Spaniards with the Indians of the North against the Apaches.
2. The conclusion that Apaches were unreliable and would not keep either promises or peace treaties.
3. The belief that Comanches were in every way superior to Apaches, and, therefore, their assistance must be obtained in subduing the Apaches.
4. An observation that the average frontier presidio, consisting of only fifty-six men, could not attend to all of its duties, such as guarding horse herds, escorting supplies, carrying mail, and other minor duties in addition to defending the area.
5. A conclusion that settlers had to be recruited to supplement the presidials, but the simultaneous recognition that they had to pay the costs themselves and that their absence on campaigns deprived their families of support while exposing their possessions to raids by other Indians.

That same year a military officer, Lt. Colonel Juan Bautista de Anza, was appointed Governor of New Mexico. Charged with the execution of the policy determined at Chihuahua, Anza reviewed presidials, militia and auxiliaries in the El Paso area before reaching Santa Fe in the latter part of 1778. Soon after his arrival in the capital the new governor established two definite lines of policy to meet the problem of provincial defense. First, he campaigned against and negotiated with the frontier tribes to ward off their attacks and secure their friendship. Second, he attempted to reorganize Spanish settlements by collecting the scattered unprotected

43. Mendinueta to Croix, Santa Fe, 9 September 1777, quoted in Thomas, *ibid.*, 184.

44. General Report of 1781 by Teodoro de Croix, reproduced in Thomas, *Teodoro de Croix*, 111.

45. Thomas, *The Plains Indians and New Mexico*, 53-55.

families into towns similar to Indian pueblos which were capable of defense against Apache, Comanche and Ute raids.⁴⁶

The governor's military campaigns were extensive and gradually reduced the number of enemy tribes. Comanches received the major portion of his attention and during his term their raids became increasingly less frequent because of tribal losses. By the end of 1778 they conducted only a few minor raids in the vicinity of Abiquiú, Ojo Caliente and the Chama River Valley.⁴⁷

Anza even decided to carry the war into the home country of the hostile tribes. For these campaigns he adopted the policy of his predecessors—employment of large numbers of Pueblo Indian auxiliaries, later augmenting them with other tribes which he had conquered or conciliated. In August and September, 1779, he led a military force of six hundred men⁴⁸ from San Juan de los Caballeros to locate and defeat the Comanche bands led by their principal chief Cuerno Verde. The expedition included an auxiliary force of 259 Indians who served as scouts or spies (*espías*) for the army as it moved northward.⁴⁹ The new governor outfitted settlers and Indians alike, allotting each a good horse (although the "best" were said to have two mounts), but their equipment was limited and their munitions were in short supply, as reflected by the fact that each gun had only three charges of powder.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, the expedition achieved two resounding victories over the Comanches, culminating in the death of Cuerno Verde between present Pueblo and Walsenberg,

46. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 374. This work remains the outstanding authority on the administration and policies of Anza.

47. Croix to Anza, 8 January 1779, NMA, Document 714.

48. This figure has been established by close analysis of the document entitled Expedition of Anza and Death of Cuerno Verde, August and September, 1779, Letter of the Governor to the Commandant General, Santa Fe, 1 November 1779, AGN, *Historia* 25, f267-288. The table included by Anza shows a total force of 645 men but there are two errors in his addition. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 67, says that the number was 573, but no basis for such a total can be located.

49. Expedition of Anza and Death of Cuerno Verde, August and September, 1779, Letter of the Governor to the Commandant General, Santa Fe, 1 November 1779, AGN, *Historia* 25, f270.

50. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 67.

Colorado. Having broken the Comanche resistance, Anza turned his attention to other trouble spots. He always took Pueblo auxiliaries with him on visits as well as campaigns. Thus, on 10 September 1780 he led 126 men, including eighty-eight Pueblo Indians (forty Tewas, forty Keres and eight converted Moquis) to the Moqui (Hopi) villages of present northeastern Arizona.⁵¹ In his Apache campaign of November, 1780, in the South he took 151 men, of which thirty-four were Indians,⁵² and his later Apache campaigns of 1785 involved forces of first, 120 horsemen, thirty foot soldiers, and ninety-two Pueblos, and second, a combined operation of Pueblos, Spaniards and Navahos against the Gila Apaches.⁵³

In these expeditions Anza assured his faithful Indian allies of all spoils taken in battle except the horse herds. There was, however, to be no pillaging until the action was completed so that none of the enemy could escape. Looting would be permitted by all after the conclusion of the engagement.⁵⁴ In addition, a reward was offered for each hostile head which auxiliaries could acquire and one hundred pesos was paid for each captive taken by the allied force.⁵⁵

Not only did the governor utilize his Pueblo Indian auxiliaries extensively on campaigns, but he tried to establish Spanish towns along lines similar to those of the pueblos themselves. Each Spanish town had to have a minimum of twenty families and the plazas therein would follow pueblo construction, complete with bastions and gunports. His relocation of some groups and concentration of settlers met with violent opposition and appeals to the *commandante general*,⁵⁶ but Anza succeeded in improving the general defensive position of the province.

By 1786 conditions had changed in New Mexico. Spain's participation in the North American Revolutionary War as

51. *Ibid.*, 228. Note that Thomas errs on page 27 when he concludes that there were only forty-eight Indians.

52. *Ibid.*, 193. Again there is a discrepancy between this figure and the one of thirty-six used on page 37.

53. *Ibid.*, 47.

54. *Ibid.*, 253.

55. Croix to Anza, Arizpe, 23 October 1780, NMA, Document 809.

56. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 379.

an ally of France had ended, new weapons had reached the northern frontier, peace had finally been established with the Comanches, the size of the presidial force at Santa Fe had grown from eighty to 119 and the population of the province reached 20,810.⁵⁷ It was now possible to concentrate the defensive effort against the Apaches for Anza had succeeded in adding new allies—Comanches, Utes, Navahos and Jicarilla Apaches—to his already closely-established alliance with the Pueblos. Now there were six nations against one highly-disunified enemy.

The new viceroy, Bernardo de Gálvez, promulgated extensive instructions regarding future Indian policy. He desired "swift and vigorous war with the Indians who declared it, peace with those who solicited it, and an attempt to win allies among the warlike nations by spreading the use of Spanish foods, drinks, weapons, and customs among them."⁵⁸ He urged extensive use of the Indian auxiliary in Sonora, Nueva Vizcaya and New Mexico,⁵⁹ and concluded that troops must operate in those areas with the aid of Spanish settlers and Indians of the pueblos.⁶⁰

Pueblo Indians were utilized in conjunction with other Indian allies for a unified campaign against the Gila Apaches in the region of present western New Mexico and eastern Arizona. Navahos joined with Pueblos, Spanish troops and settlers for this expedition, according to the instructions of the new *commandante general* Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola.⁶¹ Anza was directed to purchase supplies for all the allies and he was to send gifts, such as scarlet cloth and medals, to the

57. General Report of Teodoro de Croix in Thomas, *Teodoro de Croix*, 105-106. Although these figures are for 1781, they present a fair estimate of the size of the presidio and population five years later.

58. Bernardo de Gálvez, *Instructions for Governing the Interior Provinces of New Spain, 1786*, Donald E. Worcester (ed.) (Berkeley: The Quivira Society, 1951), 23. There are some unique recommendations, such as furnishing firearms and livestock to hostile Indians, in these instructions. Had Gálvez lived longer to implement his policies, it is obvious that there would have been vast changes in Indian administration on the northern frontier.

59. *Ibid.*, 69.

60. *Ibid.*, 72.

61. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 54.

Navahos. Horses and mules were sent to New Mexico, but it was made clear that they were for the Indian auxiliaries only while on campaign. They were not to be used by the soldiers of the regular military force.⁶²

For the Gileño campaigns Pueblos comprised a large part of the total Spanish force. The expedition of 1786 involved a total of 235 men, including sixty Pueblo Indians, twenty-two Comanches and twenty-six Navahos.⁶³ In the following year a highly-organized campaign of 340 men, including ninety-nine Pueblos, was dispatched against the same Gila Apaches. The force had the following basic marching and fighting organization:⁶⁴

1st Division

Troop of Santa Fe (mounted)	22
Pueblo of Ácoma (foot)	24
Comanches (mounted)	30
Settler from Sandía (mounted)	4
Jicarilla Apaches (mounted)	5
	85

2nd Division

Troop of Nueva Vizcaya (mounted)	21
Settlers from Albuquerque (mounted)	22
Settlers from Santo Domingo (mounted)	20
Pueblo of Laguna (one mounted, others foot)	6
Pueblo of Ácoma (foot)	12
Settlers from Sandía (mounted)	4
	85

3rd Division

Troop of Nueva Vizcaya (mounted)	23
Settlers from La Cañada (mounted)	14
Settlers from Santa Fe (mounted)	21
Settlers from Santo Domingo (mounted)	3
Pueblo of Zuñi (foot)	25
	86

62. *Ibid.*, 48 and 269.

63. Letter of the Commandant General Giving Notice of Peace Concluded with the Comanche Nation and Its Reconciliation with the Ute, July, 1786, AGN, Provincias Internas 65, Expediente 2, paragraph 46.

64. Diary of the Campaign that Left the Villa of Santa Fe, New Mexico under the Orders of Commandant Inspector [*sic*] Don Antonio Rengel, Today, 21 October 1787, AGN, Provincias Internas 128, Expediente 2.

4th Division

Troop of Santa Fe (mounted)	13
Settlers from La Cañada (mounted)	25
Settlers from Santo Domingo (mounted)	13
Pueblo of Laguna (foot)	28
Pueblo of Zuñi (foot)	5
	84

From this organizational plan it may be noted that each division was a separate "army" in itself, complete with experienced regular troops and leaders, settlers and Indian auxiliaries. Pueblo Indians, principally from the western pueblos of Zuñi, Ácoma and Laguna, still comprised the major portion of the Indian auxiliaries, but they continued to be afoot in spite of the horses provided for their use.

Money payments were to be rendered to the friendly tribes as a reward for their military assistance,⁶⁵ and some six thousand pesos were sent, along with horses and carbines, for use on these expeditions.⁶⁶ The agility and physical stamina of the Pueblos was noted in 1788 by the new governor, Fernando de la Concha, who admired the obedience of the Indians to his campaign summons.⁶⁷

By this time there were 2,647 soldiers and officers in Santa Fe, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, Keres, Alameda, Albuquerque, and Taos, in addition to the Indian auxiliaries organized jurisdictionally as follows:⁶⁸

Recognizing the importance of Indian allies, *commandante general* Ugarte advised Governor Fernando de la Concha to save the lives of his Apache prisoners so that they could be converted to the Spanish way of life and thus continue to reduce the number of enemies in the region.⁶⁹

65. Fernando de la Concha, Bando, Santa Fe [undated, but presumably in 1788], NMA, Document 1025.

66. State Which Depicts the Number of Settlers and Indians Which This Province Has Capable of Taking-up Arms, Santa Fe, 20 June 1788, AGN, Provincias Internas 65, Expediente 7.

67. General Report of the Governor of New Mexico about the State of That Province, Year of 1788, AGN, Provincias Internas 254.

68. State Which Depicts the Number of Settlers and Indians Which This Province Has Capable of Taking-up Arms, Santa Fe, 20 June 1788, AGN, Provincias Internas 65, Expediente 7.

69. Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola to Fernando de la Concha, 23 January 1788, NMA, Document 998.

<i>Jurisdiction</i>	<i>Pueblos of Indians</i>	<i>Cpts.</i>	<i>Lts.</i>	<i>Pvts.</i>	<i>No.</i>
Santa Fe	Tesuque	1	1	50	52
La Cañada	Abiquiú	1	1	54	56
	San Juan	1	1	47	49
	Santa Clara	1	1	62	64
	San Ildefonso	1	1	85	87
	Pojoaque	1	1	26	28
	Nambé	1	1	40	42
	Picurís	1	1	55	57
Keres	San Felipe	1	1	105	107
	Santo Domingo	1	1	140	142
	Cochití	1	1	160	162
	Santa Ana	1	1	115	117
	Zía	1	1	120	122
	Jémez	1	1	118	120
Alameda	Sandía	1	1	94	96
Albuquerque	Isleta	1	1	90	92
Taos	Taos	1	1	118	120
Laguna	Laguna	1	1	204	206
	Ácoma	1	1	240	242
Zuñi	Zuñi	1	1	294	296
Pecos	Pecos	1	1	95	97
9 Jurisdictions	21 Pueblos	21	21	2,312	2,354

New concepts, particularly pertinent to Indian auxiliaries, dominated the period after 1788. Pueblos often are mentioned only incidentally on military campaigns and sometimes it appears that they did not participate at all. Increasing use of Comanches, converted Apaches, Navahos and Utes seems apparent. However, numerous Pueblo Indians were included on special campaigns, such as those conducted against the Natageé Apaches in 1790,⁷⁰ and on retaliatory expeditions against raiding hostiles.

New Mexico had reached a state of relative tranquillity when compared to its position during the previous two decades. The quantity of mules and cattle increased markedly

70. Instructions to 2d Alferéz Pablo Sandoval for the Conduct of the Campaign against the Apaches, Santa Fe, 14 July 1790, NMA, Document 1087. Other documents also reflect the absence of Pueblo allies. See, for example, Concha to Nava, 1 November 1791, NMA, Document 1164(8) and Concha to Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, 6 May 1793, NMA, Document 1234.

and horses were in plentiful supply by 1791.⁷¹ Probably the greatest problem by the last decade of the eighteenth century was maintaining unity among the auxiliaries since there were long-standing hatreds of one for the other. The antipathy between the Utes and Comanches is an outstanding example of this disunity.

Both offensive and retaliatory campaigns continued against various Apache bands. Raiding Natageés in the vicinity of Tomé and Belén were pursued by fourteen Indians, mounted bareback, from Isleta Pueblo during June, 1791,⁷² and Gila Apaches were pursued in a more extensive western campaign during 1793. In this latter expedition forty Indians from Ácoma and Laguna, led by the *alcalde mayor* of Ácoma, caught up with the fleeing hostiles after a chase of some twenty-five miles, but they were ambushed when a band of twenty-two Apaches attacked from behind, killing three Pueblos and putting the rest to flight.⁷³ To punish the victorious Gileños the governor personally led a large military expedition composed of most of the troops of the Santa Fe Presidio, militia forces, and Indian auxiliaries, as well as scouts, from the pueblos of Laguna, Taos and Jémez.⁷⁴ Heavy snow and inability to locate any major groups of Apaches rendered the campaign generally unsuccessful.

In his summary of his term of office for his successor Fernando Chacón, Governor Fernando de la Concha provided a complete analysis of the Indian situation in 1794. He cited the alliance and friendship of the intrepid Comanches, the Utes, the Jicarilla Apaches, and the Navahos since their close relations with the Gila Apaches had been severed in 1788. Then he emphasized the need for continued warfare against

71. Fernando de la Concha to the Commandant General of the Provincias Internas del Oriente Pedro de Nava, Santa Fe, 1 November 1791, NMA, Document 1164(3).

72. Fernando de la Concha to Conde de Revilla Gigedo, Santa Fe, 1 July 1791, NMA, Document 1129.

73. Fernando de la Concha to the Commandant General Pedro de Nava of the Provincias Internas del Oriente, Santa Fe, 30 April 1793, NMA, Document 1231.

74. *Ibid.* Although the governor states that the last-named were "Tiguas," it is probable that he meant Jémez Indians. He refers to that pueblo as an ally in this campaign during the course of his letter of 19 November 1793 to Pedro de Nava. See NMA, Document 1266 for this correspondence.

the one enemy, Apaches — variously known as Faraones, Mimbrenos, Natageés and Gileños.⁷⁵ After outlining the need and provisions for maintaining interpreters, citing some of the Indian hatreds and friendships, and examining the practice of giving the visiting heathen tribes presents of clothing, hats, mirrors, knives, cigars, oranges, and indigo before they left Santa Fe,⁷⁶ the outgoing governor turned to the defense of the province.

In this analysis Fernando de la Concha reviewed Anza's organization of militia companies under *alcaldes mayores* and lieutenants. He stated that both settlers and Indians should be considered for campaigns, designating the former by name and title and the latter only by number.⁷⁷ Apparently he had become disillusioned with the role played by the settlers for he warned Chacón not to give them anything other than munitions, pointing out that in addition they would always ask for horses and provisions.⁷⁸

Contrary to his impressions regarding the settlers, those concerning the Pueblo Indians were of praise for their exemplary characters. He noted that they never would ask for anything except the munitions to which they were entitled,⁷⁹ that they were truthful and obedient, and that they were not guilty of stealing.⁸⁰ He further pointed out that the six Keres pueblos should not be counted in the total available for service with the auxiliaries since they maintained their own detachment to counter the entrance of Apaches into the realm. From the remaining total of Indians, however, the new governor should count on each for fifteen days of service every two years, whereas from the settlers fifteen days of service were required every six years.⁸¹

75. Instruction Formed by Colonel Don Fernando de la Concha, Past Governor of the Province of New Mexico, In Order That His Successor Lieutenant Colonel Don Fernando de Chacón May Adapt from It Whatever May Seem Convenient for the Good Tranquillity and Growth of the Same Province, Chihuahua, 28 June 1794, AGN, Historia 41, Document 10, para. 3-8.

76. *Ibid.*, para. 9 and 10.

77. *Ibid.*, para. 13 and 14.

78. *Ibid.*, para. 15.

79. *Ibid.*

80. *Ibid.*, para. 23.

81. *Ibid.*

For the next decade the province enjoyed a settled state of affairs among the Spaniards, Pueblos, Navahos, Utes, Jicarilla Apaches and Comanches.⁸² However, there were problems with the Pawnees and, as always, with the Apaches. There were infrequent general campaigns during the period, but military action seems to have been limited largely to retaliatory expeditions at irregular intervals. Some reluctance on the part of both settlers and Indians to participate in the campaigns may also be observed.⁸³ Indian companies were formed, and apparently Pueblo Indian auxiliaries were still much in demand, for the Commandant of Troops in the El Paso area requested that Taos Indians be sent to aid him in his campaign of 1800 against the southern Apaches.⁸⁴ During the early part of the nineteenth century Apache raids struck largely at horse herds and cattle. In 1801, for example, Alameda, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, Taos, Pecos, and the Rio Arriba country all felt their impact.⁸⁵

Far more important, however, were the renewed hostilities with the Navajos after 1804. To combat the threat created by their rebellious bands in the western portion of the province, Governor Chacón dispatched a campaign force of more than three hundred men, commanded by Lieutenant Antonio Narbona. Arriving at Zuñi Pueblo on 21 November 1804, the commander of the expedition split his troops into two groups to pursue the warring bands of Navahos. These two groups included Pueblo Indians as auxiliaries. They came from Laguna, Ácoma and Isleta,⁸⁶ totaling approximately one hundred plus two scouts from Zuñi.⁸⁷ Lieutenant Nicolás Farín of Laguna commanded the second group while Narbona took charge of the other in a campaign hindered by

82. Pedro de Nava to Governor Chacón, Chihuahua, 31 December 1794, NMA, Document 1803a.

83. Pedro de Nava to Governor Chacón, Chihuahua, 29 August 1799, NMA, Document 1461.

84. Joseph Manuel Ochoa, Commandant of Troops in the El Paso Area, to Governor Chacón, 30 November 1800, NMA, Document 1519.

85. Diary of Governor Chacón, Santa Fe, 31 August 1801, NMA, Document 1565.

86. Chacón to Lieutenant Nicolás Farín, Santa Fe, 20 November 1804, NMA, Document 1774.

87. *Ibid.*

heavy snows. Little success was attained by the expedition, and Navaho disturbances continued intermittently for the next three years.

The status of Pueblo Indians as auxiliaries in the Spanish army had undergone considerable change during the past four decades. No longer were they denied horses or firearms as had been their experience in the year 1762-1763 when Spain secured Louisiana from France, thus causing great changes in basic Spanish Indian policy. Muster roles of the New Mexico militia in 1806 revealed that Pueblo Indians, although listed separately, still comprised an important part of that force. Thus, there were 199 Pueblo Indians at the four pueblos of Sandía, Cochiti, San Felipe and Santo Domingo, for example, who were mounted and armed. There were more than three hundred Pueblos at these same four locations who were dismounted and armed, and the four towns reflected the possession of seventy-six firearms.⁸⁸

By 1808 there were three companies of militia, consisting of sixty-one men each, enlisted to aid the regular troops. They received no pay for their services and usually had to furnish their own uniforms, provisions and most of their equipment.⁸⁹ The Indian auxiliaries did likewise in their campaigns against hostile Apaches and occasionally rebellious Navahos. Furthermore, they were employed in scouting expeditions against real and suspected encroachments by North Americans.⁹⁰

88. Muster Rolls of New Mexico, San Carlos de Alameda, 19 July 1806, NMA, Document 1995.

89. Hubert H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1889), Volume XVII of thirty-nine volumes *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft*, 305. Although the author used Pino's *Exposición* (see note 93) as his source on the militia at this time, there is some discrepancy in his figures for that source says there were three companies of sixty-nine men each.

90. Governor Real Alencaster to Lieutenant Nicolás de Almanza and Lieutenant Ignacio Sotelo, Instructions, Santa Fe, 18 April 1807, NMA, Document 2049, describes the dispatch of a military and Indian expedition to observe the known passes of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains. Interim Governor Alberto Maynez later issued instructions to the Commandant of the Taos Detachment for two scouting forces to depart every eight days, one to the Río de las Animas (perhaps the Purgatoire River of Southern Colorado since its lengthy name was the Río de las Animas Perdidas en Purgatorio) and the other to the Río Arriba del Norte (undoubtedly the Upper Río Grande). The purpose of both of these reconnaissance expeditions was to report suspected North American encroachments. Pueblo Indians participated in these ventures. Each member was supplied with two horses and a mule. See Maynez, Instructions, Santa Fe, 20 June 1808, NMA, Document 2122.

For their role as loyal allies, Pueblos and other tribes were rewarded with gifts of commercial articles and clothing. The interim governor of New Mexico was advised to use all possible means to acquire and maintain their friendship, but particularly he was to offer gifts and trade articles which they especially appreciated.⁹¹ It is apparent that Indian auxiliaries were also rewarded with food when on campaigns, because cattle were slaughtered to provide them meat.⁹² The policy of giving presents, which had been initiated by Anza in 1786, was continued for all tribes. These gifts included coats and blue capes with red lapels for the chiefs, three-cornered hats, medals, food and wine.⁹³

A detailed study of New Mexico's defense was made in 1812 by Pedro Bautista Pino. He reviewed the continuous state of war experienced by the province since its settlement, concluding that in spite of being surrounded by thirty-three nations of "gentiles" (hostile or non-Christian Indians), the Spaniards had not lost one handful of land from New Mexico's original boundaries.⁹⁴

To retain the territory, however, it was necessary to have 1,500 men under arms,⁹⁵ consisting of a "veteran company" (Presidio of Santa Fe), militia and auxiliaries. The "veteran company" was composed of 121 troops, of which thirty always guarded the horse herd, fifteen were on guard duty in the capital, seven were at Sevilleta to watch the Apache frontier, and the scattered remainder were supported at the expense of the settlers.⁹⁶ To augment these inadequate forces, militia troops in three companies, each commanded by a captain,⁹⁷ were recruited from the citizenry since each person

91. Commandant General Nemesio Salcedo to Interim Governor Joseph Manrique, Chihuahua, 14 May 1810, NMA, Document 2321.

92. Bill of Sergeant José Alaxi, 7 March 1810, NMA, Document 2296.

93. Don Pedro Bautista Pino, *Exposición Sucinta y Sencilla de la Provincia del Nuevo Mexico* (Cádiz: Imprenta del Estado Mayor General, 1812), found in AGI, Guadalajara 561. This printed document is included within the cited tomo itself. In addition, there is a translation of it in H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard (trans.), *Three New Mexico Chronicles* (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1942).

94. *Ibid.*, 14.

95. *Ibid.*, 15.

96. *Ibid.*, 16.

97. *Ibid.*, 19-20.

(including Indians) was obligated to present himself for an annual tour of duty. Serving without pay, each had to bring his own horses, shotguns, pistols, bows and arrows, and provisions for a forty-five-day tour which sometimes was extended to reach a total of two or three months.⁹⁸

Since the province now contained more than 24,000 Spanish settlers and about 16,000 Indians,⁹⁹ the depredations of hostile Indian groups were not so widely felt as in the previous century. Yet, campaigns continued and Pueblo contingents played a major part in their success. Sporadic disturbances by Faraon, Mescalero and Gila Apaches, plus marauding bands of Navajos, led to Pueblo retaliatory actions and requests of other Indian tribes, such as the Utes, for assistance of the Pueblos against the "Naciones del Norte."¹⁰⁰ Success must have been achieved occasionally for one authority noted that the Pueblo of San Juan had on display the heads of three Apaches taken in 1810.¹⁰¹

General campaigns during the period 1810-1821 were not only conducted against rebellious Apache and Navajo bands, but for reconnaissance purposes against reported United States' encroachments. For an unstated purpose, but one which was probably to investigate the reported presence of North Americans, in 1817, one circular sent by the interim governor of New Mexico clearly reveals the manner in which campaign forces were recruited and collected. This circular served as an official order to the *alcaldes* of Cochití, Alameda, Albuquerque, Belén, Santo Domingo, Laguna, Zuñi, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, Abiquiú, Taos, Vado, Jémez and El Paso.¹⁰² It stated the rendezvous points for an expedition of fifty days and ordered all who reported to assembly points to

98. *Ibid.*, 15.

99. *Ibid.*, 47.

100. Circular of Joseph Manrique to Alcaldes Mayores, Santa Fe, 5 October 1812, NMA, Document 2459.

101. Manrique to Salcedo, Santa Fe, 16 July 1810, NMA, Document 2339.

102. Circular of Interim Governor Pedro María Allande to the Alcaldes of This Province and Those of the Governor of El Paso, Year of 1817, NMA, Document 2686. This campaign was probably to locate a large party of North Americans which friendly Apaches had reported seeing. Reference NMA, Document 2714.

do so "equipped and armed."¹⁰³ Each *alcalde* was ordered to select a certain designated number of men in his jurisdiction and dispatch them to the appointed rendezvous, being certain that they arrived on the specified date. Here an appointed officer, either from the Presidio or the militia, would take charge of the unified force for the ensuing campaign.¹⁰⁴

Indian auxiliaries, of course, were obtained in this manner, as may be noted from a close scrutiny of the addressees in the above circular. Another expedition in the following year, led by Second Lieutenant José María de Arce, to search for "foreigners" encroaching upon Comanche country, involved 120 settlers and Indians of the Pueblo of Taos. Included were twenty-nine mounted Indians and twenty-three on foot, armed with thirty-three guns, thirty-nine lances and numerous bows and arrows.¹⁰⁵

Navajo hostilities again occupied the majority of Spain's defensive forces in New Mexico from 1818 to 1821. Pueblo Indian auxiliaries, now organized into companies of both cavalry and infantry as at Cochití, for example,¹⁰⁶ were employed during the uprising. After raids of isolated Navajo groups in midsummer, 1818, the Spaniards collected extensive campaign forces, including Indian allies, at Jémez and Zuñi pueblos. Campaign contributions of the pueblos included more than just troops, for food¹⁰⁷ and livestock, such as bulls, cows and oxen, were furnished from both pueblos and Spanish settlements.¹⁰⁸

Jémez contributed greatly to these Navajo campaigns. *Alcalde* Ignacio María Sánchez Vergara maintained constant direct communication with the governor, advising him of ex-

103. *Ibid.*

104. Numbers of persons, commanders, designated rendezvous points and dates established may be examined for the 1817 campaign in the document cited in f.n. 102.

105. Alfred B. Thomas, "Documents Bearing upon the Northern Frontier of New Mexico, 1818-1819," (Santa Fe, 1929). This is a reprint of the author's earlier article in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

106. Company of Cavalry and Infantry, Alcaldía of Cochití, 5 November 1819, NMA, Document 2857.

107. See the Returns of Socorro, Sevilleta, Belén, Tomé, Jémez, Taos, etc., 18 September-16 November 1818, NMA, Document 2747.

108. See the Returns of the Alcaldías of Belén, Albuquerque, Alameda, Cochití, Jémez, etc., 5-22 May 1819, NMA, Document 2812.

peditionary activities and compliance with his orders. Interpreter Antonio García of Jémez aided the Spanish forces on various operations and auxiliaries from Zía and Santa Ana made their rendezvous with Jémez Indians at that pueblo before their departure to the West.¹⁰⁹ Although the field forces by 1821 involved 225 men, 136 shotguns, 150 lances, 155 bows, 3,625 arrows, 141 horses and 126 mules,¹¹⁰ they were insufficient to subdue the rebellious Navajos.¹¹¹

When Spanish rule in New Mexico ended and the Mexican Republic was born, Pueblo Indian auxiliaries continued to be used as an important integral part of military forces. Throughout the last six decades of Spanish occupation these Indian allies had played a vital role in the defensive concept adopted by Spain. Indeed, they had helped greatly to preserve settlements in the region for without their aid, the province would have been in dire straits.¹¹²

Although the use of Indian auxiliaries, including Pueblo Indians, had not been a new concept in 1763, the Spanish reliance upon such forces increased over the next half-century. The Iberians exploited the Pueblo hatreds of the *indios bárbaros*, enlisting the former on their side in lengthy campaigns. In addition, Spanish authorities made use of the Pueblos' knowledge of geography and Indian military tactics to increase their offensive and defensive capability against hostile tribes.

The employment of numerous Pueblo Indians as auxiliaries served as an example to other tribes. It did so in many ways, of which three are noteworthy. First, it attracted hostiles toward the allies because they could observe the favoritism, gifts, and privileged status which the Pueblos obtained from their conquerors. Second, it demonstrated that warfare need not be abandoned by the warlike tribes, only reemployed

109. Sánchez Vergara to Governor Allande, Jémez, 29 June 1818, NMA, Document 2728.

110. General State Manifested of the Number of Men United in This Pueblo of Jémez to Operate on the Expedition to Navajo under the Command of Captain Antonio Cabeza de Vaca, NMA, Document 2994.

111. Facundo Melgares to the Ayuntamiento of Santa Fe, 27 August 1821, NMA, Document, 3019.

112. Reeve, "Navaho-Spanish Diplomacy, 1770-1790," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXXV, No. 3 (July, 1960), 210.

on behalf of the Spaniards against the common foe. Third, auxiliary forces were always an integral part of the Spanish armies, and as such were acquiring provisions, horses and firearms, three of the basic goals of the hostile tribes, with out endangering continued tribal existence.

Most important, however, was the precedent set by the Pueblo Indian auxiliaries. Their use, particularly during the period described when Spain was endeavoring to defend her tremendous territorial expanse in the largely uninhabited north, set the standard for the future recruitment of all New Mexico auxiliaries. Spanish authorities gradually improved recruiting, equipping, organization, tactical employment and maintenance of Pueblo auxiliaries during the eighteenth century. Mistakes undoubtedly were made, but Spain profited from them in dealing with future friendly Indian tribes. During the crucial period from 1770 to 1786 New Mexico largely solved her problem of defense against hostile tribes, assuring her continued occupation of the region until Mexican independence was achieved.

The cultural and social ties between Spaniards and Pueblo Indians were greatly strengthened by the use of auxiliaries on campaigns. Both groups, serving in close association on repeated expeditions, established a military bond of friendship. This alliance, therefore, contributed to the interchange of ideas, customs, language and military traditions, further linking the two allies and establishing the mixed civilization which may be observed to this day.

Spain came to rely heavily upon the aid of her auxiliary forces, which swelled to overwhelming odds when six strong allies appeared to oppose one foe by 1788. Campaign forces always reflected this reliance for auxiliaries usually comprised one-third to one-half (sometimes more) of the total expeditionary force. Certainly Pueblo Indians were the most dependable portion of the New Mexico militia. But were they really members of that militia? Campaign levies and organizational plans, returns of New Mexico jurisdictions, and muster rolls indicate that Indians were always reflected and

treated separately. Yet, although they were listed apart from other militia members, they were included on these rolls. Therefore, it is apparent that Pueblos and other auxiliaries were considered as being members of the militia for administrative purposes, but for operational ones they were completely independent of the regular organization, having their own *cacique* or *alcalde*, who reported directly to the commander of the expedition.

The use of Pueblo Indians as auxiliaries for the inadequate Spanish regular army on the New Mexico frontier was only a link in three centuries of the Spanish chain of defense which relied upon Indian auxiliaries everywhere. However, this was a most important link for it enabled Spain to preserve her occupation of New Mexico after Oñate's settlement from 1598 to 1605. Gradually Spain overcame the serious menace of the *indios bárbaros* in the latter half of the eighteenth century. By 1821 the isolationism of the province, caused by the earlier complete encirclement of the settled region by hostile tribes, had been overcome.

Once comparative tranquillity had been established, New Mexico's continued occupation and growth were no longer jeopardized. The Pueblo Indians played a significant role in the achievement of this objective. Without their military aid and extreme loyalty Spain could not have achieved the pacification of her northern frontier. Just as Cortés had recognized the importance of Tlascalcan auxiliaries in the reduction of the Aztecs three centuries earlier, Spain had largely completed the "conquest" of New Mexico by 1821, using the same technique.

The adaptability of Pueblo Indians to warfare against hostile forces did not end with the Spanish withdrawal from the North American Continent. Both Mexico and the United States, each in its turn, recognized the loyalty, military usefulness and intertribal hatreds of the Pueblos. During the remainder of the nineteenth century these two countries employed Pueblo auxiliary forces, particularly on campaigns against Apaches. The precedent set by Spain was adopted

by others who discovered the necessity of augmenting inadequate military forces. Perhaps, more than any other factor, Pueblo Indian auxiliaries served their homeland to achieve its pacification and ultimate stability.

REMINISCENCES OF EMANUEL ROSENWALD

*Edited by FLOYD S. FIERMAN**

Introduction

IT IS difficult to conceive that the bearded face whose photograph is included among these pages was a frontier adventurer. This dignified gentleman, Emanuel Rosenwald, photographed by J. N. Furlong¹ of Las Vegas, New Mexico, was a rugged pioneer. He carries a name that has not been forgotten in the Land of Enchantment.

Emanuel Rosenwald and his brother, Joseph Rosenwald,²

* Temple Mount Sinai, 900 North Oregon St., El Paso, Texas.

1. Correspondence with Mrs. E. A. Medearis, the Library of the Museum of New Mexico, February 16, 1961.

2. The parents of Joseph and Emanuel were: David L. Rosenwald (born June 25, 1803, died in New York, May 15, 1877) and Amelia Gutmann (born [?], died September 6, 1861), whom he married on May 2, 1830. Besides Joseph and Emanuel, they had six other children. Helene (born July 6, 1831, died September 20, 1898) married Jacob Goldsmith (born August 29, 1827, died July 24, 1890). They lived in Trinidad, Colorado. Joseph (see notes below). Jette (born January 1, 1836, died December 23, 1904) married David Gottlieb (born May 21, 1844, died [?]) on November 27, 1868. Emanuel (see notes below). Aron (born August 23, 1840, died in Albuquerque, September 13, 1908) married Elise Uhlfelder (born June 22, 1855) of Regensburg on November 7, 1875. Julie (born February 3, 1843, died [?]) married Phillip Strauss (born [?], died [?]), date unknown. Edward (born October 5, 1845, died in Albuquerque, November 4, 1903) was married twice. Edward married his first wife, Nina Uhlfelder (born August 20, 1856, died January 25, 1883), in 1880. He married a cousin, Helene Rosenwald (born May 10, 1859, died [?]). Leopold (born July 24, 1848, died June 1, 1856).

Joseph Rosenwald was born in Dittenhofen, Germany on December 12, 1838, and died on May 14, 1888. He married Bona Levisohn (born July 13, 1850). They had five children. Leon was born March 3, 1872 in Las Vegas, New Mexico. He married Sadie Mershfield (born September 13, 1875) in 1899. Rudolph (born November, 1873, died May 15, 1874). Amelia (born December 6, 1874, died December 22, 1874). Max (born February 26, 1875 in Las Vegas, New Mexico). He married S. Lehman (born August 16, 1880) on June 20, 1901. David J., born July 18, 1898, in Las Vegas, New Mexico, married Edith Rosengarten (born January 2, 1887) on February 12, 1908. Lucian Rosenwald, Family Genealogy prepared November 27, 1930 and revised September 28, 1943.

Emanuel Rosenwald was born in Dittenhofen, May 10, 1838 and died in Las Vegas, New Mexico on April 23, 1915. He married Elise Apfelbaum of Fürth (born April 13, 1852, died in Las Vegas, New Mexico, March 25, 1913) on December 8, 1872. Emanuel and Elise Apfelbaum had four children. Cecilio, born in Las Vegas, New Mexico, November 16, 1873, died July 29, 1931, in Albuquerque, New Mexico. He married Hannchen Bonnheim of Atlanta, Georgia (born December 27, 1873) on October 9, 1898. Lucian was born in Las Vegas, New Mexico, on February 9, 1875. Lucian married Emma Floerscheim (born April 17, 1880) of Kansas City, Missouri, on September 18, 1901. David E. was born June 30, 1877. He married Jennie Kraus of Baltimore, Maryland, on January 3, 1924. Gilbert Eliseo was born February 17, 1885 and married Jennie Baum (born July 1, 1888) of Kansas City, Missouri on July 10, 1912. Lucian Rosenwald, *op. cit.*



EMANUEL ROSENWALD

were typical of the Jewish people who had the courage and the foresight to migrate to the Southwest during the last half of the nineteenth century. Like the Spiegelbergs, the Fruedenthal and Lesinsky families, the Ifelds, the Staabs and the Bibos, the Rosenwalds were freighters, sutlers, Indian traders, soldiers, government contractors, and finally bankers³ and sedentary merchants.⁴

While Emanuel Rosenwald and his family left no diaries for posterity to peruse, like the *Libro*⁵ of José María Flores of Paso del Norte, there are other sources that afford us more than a glimpse of their enterprising and daring. Both Charles F. Coan and Ralph E. Twitchell,⁶ prominent New Mexico historians, are generous in the space they have allotted to the Rosenwalds⁷ and in their comments concerning them. They are luminaries in the star-studded Coan-Twitchell biogra-

For further information concerning the children of Emanuel and Elise Apfelbaum Rosenwald (Cecilio, Gilbert Eliseo, Lucian and David Emanuel Rosenwald) in Las Vegas, New Mexico, consult: Ralph E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, Cedar Rapids, The Torch Press, c. 1917, Vol. V, p. 236. For information concerning the Rosenwalds in Albuquerque, consult: Charles F. Coan, *A History of New Mexico*, Vol. II, pp. 146-148. American Historical Society, Inc., Chicago and New York, c. 1925.

3. The Rosenwalds (Joseph and Emanuel) took part in the organization of the San Miguel National Bank in Old Town (Las Vegas) in 1880. F. Stanley, *The Las Vegas New Mexico Story*, p. 311. World Press, Inc., c. 1951.

4. Consult Floyd S. Fierman, *Some Early Jewish Settlers on the Southwest Frontier*, Texas Western Press, 1960.

5. Dr. Rex Strickland of Texas Western College is in the possession of the "Libro" of José María Flores, which, while incomplete, is a diary and record book of items of interest recorded by José María Flores in the Paso del Norte area.

6. Coan, *op. cit.* Twitchell, *op. cit.*

7. The various Business Directories record: *McKenney's Business Directory of the Principal Towns of Central and Southern California, Arizona, New Mexico, Southern Colorado, and Kansas*, Oakland, California, Pacific Press, 1882-83, p. 319, "Las Vegas" Rosenwald J. and Co. gen. mdse. *Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, Nevada, Wyoming and Arizona Gazetteer and Business Directory*, 1884-85. Chicago, R. L. Polk and Co. and A. C. Denser, p. 306, "Albuquerque" Rosenwald Bros. (Aaron and Edward) general store, Railroad Ave. and 3d. P. 332, "Las Vegas" Rosenwald, J. and Co. (Joseph and Emanuel Rosenwald) general store, SS Plaza. *Southern Pacific Director for 1888-9*, San Francisco, McKenny Directory, P. 446, "Albuquerque" Rosenwald Bros. (Aron and Edward) gen. mdse. cor. Railroad Ave. and Third. P. 470, "Las Vegas" Rosenwald J. and Co. (Joseph and Emanuel Rosenwald) gen. mdse. SS. Plaza. *Polk's New Mexico and Arizona Pictorial State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1912-13*. P. 138, "Albuquerque" Rosenwald Bros. (David S. and Sidney V.) department store, SE Corner 4th and Central Ave. Rosenwald, David S. (Rosenwald Bros., Inc. Rosenwald Bros. and New Mexico Cigar Co. SE Corner 4th and Central Avenue. [Also] Vice President, Tongue Pressed Brick, Tile, Improvement Co. Rosenwald, Sidney V. (Rosenwald Bros. and New Mexico Cigar Co. SE Corner 4th and Central Avenue.) P. 267, "Las Vegas" Rosenwald E. and Son (Emanuel and Cecilio) gen. store.

phies. The Southwest business directories are meticulous in the notations which describe their interests. The Las Vegas and Albuquerque periodicals contain their frequent advertisements, and a laudatory notice⁸ spells out their impact on new Mexico community life and economy.

A series of telegrams⁹ sent by Joseph Rosenwald and Company, from the years 1877-79, document the variety of items which they sold and the nature and extent of the Rosenwald commercial dealings. A telegram to Bartels Bros. and Company in El Moro, on June 11, 1877, which concludes, "ship by fast mule," sharply informs the reader that there was "fast freight" on the frontier as well as "slow freight," and that Joseph Rosenwald and Company had occasion to use it.

Neither were the Rosenwalds unaware of the economic opportunities to supply the Southwest army posts, which in 1859¹⁰ numbered sixteen. On the record is a contract¹¹ dated

8. See Appendix I.

9. See Appendix II.

10. "The era of military freighters upon the Great Plains dawned in 1846 with the outbreak of the War with Mexico, when General S. W. Kearney's diminutive Army of the West straggled off across the prairie to capture Santa Fe. To send an expeditionary force of 1,701 officers and men into enemy territory about a thousand miles from it, bare of supplies at Fort Leavenworth, was not as foolhardy as it might seem. The merchant freighters to Santa Fe, Chihuahua, and other points far in the interior of Mexico had already demonstrated that any amount of goods desired could be transported over the Santa Fe Trail.

"In 1846 and 1847 the army organized its own trains and hired civilian drivers or bullwhackers. Owing to ignorance of Army officers concerning the highly specialized business of freighting across the Great Plains, inefficiency of bullwhackers and efficiency of raiding Indians, this plan proved a total failure in 1847. War department officials in Washington wisely acknowledged the inability of the Army to transport its own supplies and instructed the quartermaster at Fort Leavenworth to make contracts with civilian freighters.

"By the annexation of New Mexico, and the regions of the West as far as the Pacific Ocean, the United States shouldered the heavy responsibility for keeping in subjection the fierce tribes who inhabited these areas. This task involved the establishment of permanent military posts with year-around garrisons. By 1849 there were seven of these with troops totaling 987. Ten years later the number of posts had risen to sixteen. Every one, situated as they were in barren regions incapable of supporting them, had to be supplied with goods hauled in wagons from the Missouri River." Raymond W. Settle and Mary Lund Settle, *Empire On Wheels*, c. 1949, Stanford University Press, pp. 3 and 4.

11. "Contract Between Bvt. Lieut. Col. M. I. Ludington, Chief Qr. Mr. Dist. of New Mexico, and Emanuel Rosenwald for the delivery of 300,000 lbs. of Corn at Fort Sumner, N. M., dated May 31, 1869." "Contract between Bt. Major Chas. McClure and E. Rosenwald for the supply of Beans at Forts Bascom and Sumner, N. M. from January 1, 1869 to June 30th, 1869. Price \$8.00 per pound." American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

January 1, 1869, between Brevet Major Charles McClure and Emanuel Rosenwald to ship beans to Fort Bascom, New Mexico, and Fort Sumner, New Mexico, and another contract dated May 31, 1869, between Lieutenant Colonel M. I. Ludington, Chief Quartermaster of the District of New Mexico, with Emanuel Rosenwald to supply corn to Fort Sumner, New Mexico. Such contracts could be hazardous as well as profitable. There was always a risk involved. Indian attacks, a drought, or a dishonest partner could ruin a man as quickly as a desert flash flood could speed down an arroyo. Suppliers like Emanuel were required by the government to furnish a bond guaranteeing that they would meet their part of the contract. Emanuel Rosenwald's corn contract with Lieutenant Colonel Ludington, for example, carried a \$15,000 performance bond.

But the richest lode of Rosenwald information is encountered through clues and data provided by living members of the Rosenwald family. About nine years ago, while the writer sought the old paths of Jewish pioneers now covered by piñon trees, melted adobes and new business names, he learned that Joseph's granddaughter, Miss Janet Rosenwald, resided in Santa Fe. A meeting with her resulted in the writer obtaining a copy of the "Reminiscences of Emanuel Rosenwald." According to Robert E. Rosenwald of Kansas City, Missouri, a grandson of Emanuel, these Reminiscences were dictated to his father, Lucian, by Emanuel on the occasion of Emanuel's seventieth birthday.¹²

An interview with Mrs. Samuel (Jetty) Whitehead [Weiskopf]¹³ in Albuquerque, the niece of Joseph and Emanuel and the daughter of Aaron [Aron] Rosenwald, helped to clarify and define the various Rosenwald ventures. There

12. Correspondence with Robert E. Rosenwald, Kansas City, Missouri, May 15, 1961. Miss Janet Rosenwald advises: "I am not sure that there is an original of the Emanuel Rosenwald Reminiscences. All I have is a notebook containing the story as dictated by him. The first part of the story is in my father's handwriting, the remainder in my mother's hand. It was my impression that they took this down directly from his dictation. However, the story may have been copied by them from a written account. . . ." Correspondence with Miss Janet Rosenwald, June 2, 1961.

13. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Whitehead (Weiskopf) in Albuquerque, February, 1961.

were four brothers—Joseph, Emanuel, Aaron and Edward—who were engaged in the New Mexico trade. The Rosenwald enterprises after a precarious beginning were located principally in two communities, Las Vegas and Albuquerque. These two enterprises were operated by two brothers in each community. Joseph and Emanuel exercised their efforts in Las Vegas and their younger brothers, Aaron and Edward, utilized their talents in Albuquerque. Aaron initially was employed by Emanuel and Joseph in Trinidad. Subsequently, the brothers parted amicably and Aaron and Edward went into business in Old Town Albuquerque.

It is the "Reminiscences of Emanuel Rosenwald" that imprint the early excursions of this family in the Southwest. These Reminiscences and a genealogy of the family prepared by Lucian enable us to fit together the fragmentary records of the Rosenwald activities on the frontier.

Reminiscences of Emanuel Rosenwald

We went to school in Dittenhofen. Joseph being the oldest of the family, as was customary in those days, was given the benefit of all educational advantages as our parents could afford. After he was thirteen years of age, he was sent to Uncle David Kitzinger to Mklerlbach for a commercial education. He was then sent to the dry goods firm of Joseph Bauman in Fuerth, where he remained for a few years. In 1851 he left Germany, going to the United States. I remained in Dittenhofen until my fifteenth year, going to school till thirteen years of age. Thereafter I helped my father in his livestock trading, dealing in hogs and in farming.

Joe landed in New York and from there went to Baltimore where he was started in clothing business in Staunton, Virginia, by the uncles at Baltimore.

In 1853 I left for America and landed in New York on the Fourth of July after a voyage of seven weeks on the sailing vessel Isaac Bell, sailing from Havre. I was met at the vessel by my uncle David Goodman, remained with him, till the uncles in Baltimore feared that he would keep me perma-

nently, as he had no boys, and upon the first opportunity the uncles had, I was taken to Baltimore. I remained in Baltimore for a number of weeks and then Joe came from Staunton and upon his return I went West with him. In Staunton I helped Joe to the best of my ability and during the winter I was sent to school to learn the language. The firm name was Goodman and Company.¹⁴ Jose probably received enough pay to board both himself and myself at the Virginia Hotel, the pay for my work consisted of free board.

Some months after my arrival at Staunton in 1853 a railroad was built into Staunton. The firm of Goodman and Company then opened the second store of which Joe took charge, while I was put in charge of the first store. We carried a line of men's clothing manufactured by H. Goodman and Bros. at Baltimore. Business at the new store was not highly satisfactory. On Yom Kippur¹⁵ of 1854 as I was fasting, Joe took care of the store of which I had charge. He then concluded that the second store was not profitable and the following day combined the two stocks. Shortly thereafter we concluded that the business did not pay and therefore moved our stock to Richmond. We opened business in Richmond, where we remained about a year, but did not meet with success. We then concluded to go West and removed to Burlington,¹⁶ Iowa,

14. A perusal of the newspapers in Staunton, Virginia from 1860 through 1895 discloses no record of advertisements for Goodman and Company. The census records of 1850, 1860, and 1870 are also unrevealing. The deed indices in the Staunton city clerk's office have no record of Goodman and Company. Inquiries made to the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland, the Virginia State Library at Richmond, Virginia, and the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Virginia, were equally unrewarding.

15. Yom Kippur is a Jewish Holyday. It falls on the tenth day of the Hebrew month of Tishri. Rosh Hashonah is the Jewish New Year and falls on the first day of the Hebrew month of Tishri. The ten days between Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur are days of penitence which culminate on Yom Kippur which is a day of total fasting from sundown on the previous day to sundown on Yom Kippur. It appears that Joseph Rosenwald was not as observant a Jew as was Emanuel for Emanuel informs us that Joseph kept the store open and remained there all day while Emanuel fasted.

16. "Burlington is in Des Moines Co., on the Mississippi, and Fort Des Moines, now the city of Des Moines, is on the Des Moines river, about central in the State. Our various county histories do not seem to have the name of Rosenwald. Our first city directory for Des Moines is 1875, and the Rosenwalds were not listed. Our first Burlington directory is 1874 and there is not a listing for the Rosenwalds. It is possible that the family moved just enough not to be listed in the county histories." The State Historical Society of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, March 27, 1961.

In 1829 the present site of Burlington was occupied by a branch of the American Fur

where we were in the same line of business with stock furnished by Goodman and Company. Shortly after going into business in Burlington, Joe decided to open a store at Fort Des Moines, Iowa. I remained in Burlington about a year and as Joe desired to go further West, we moved our Burlington stock to Fort Des Moines. During these days I was not a partner, but was learning the business.

About 1856 Joe started from Des Moines to find another location, going up the Missouri River as far as Sioux City. He bought some fine town lots which were soon thereafter converted into the Missouri River. He had been fairly successful in Des Moines as his total assets were covered by the lots which he bought in Sioux City. He then returned to Fort Des Moines, and we moved our stock to Wyandotte, Kansas,¹⁷ where we also invested (where we got the money I do not remember) in the Wyandotte Town Co.'s townsite. We were in Wyandotte some length of time doing fairly well, trading with the Indians. For a short time I had a little branch store at Parkville,¹⁸ but soon moved [the Parkville] stock back to Wyandotte. Thereafter, we removed to Lawrence, Kansas. There Jacob Goldsmith,¹⁹ who had married my sister Helene, joined us.

When we left Wyandotte, we quit trading with Goodman and Co. and declared our independence of them even though we were owing them considerable money. From Lawrence I went to New York to buy a general line of men's furnishing goods on credit.

Company, which had established a trading post which went into effect June, 1833. The Black Hawk treaty was signed September 21, 1832, and went into effect June, 1833. The pioneers built cabins and ferries, and the city developed rapidly. Augustine M. Antrobus, *The History of Des Moines County*, S. J. Clark Co., c. 1915.

17. Wyandotte, Kansas, later became Kansas City, Kansas. "On March 6, 1866, Kansas City, Armourdale, Wyandotte and Armstrong combined as first class city and took the name Kansas City." William Frank Zornow, *Kansas*, University of Oklahoma Press, c. 1957.

18. Parkville. In the early 1840's, this was one of the most important towns on the Missouri River, ranking with or even surpassing Kansas City. In the 1850's, when the slavery question caused unrest and bloodshed all along the Kansas border, the citizens of Parkville were active on both sides. Sponsored by the Missouri State Highway Department, *Missouri*, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, c. 1941, p. 496.

19. Jacob Goldsmith (born August 29, 1827, died July 24, 1890) married Helen Rosenwald, Emanuel's sister (born July 6, 1831, died September 20, 1898). They spent their latter years at Trinidad, Colorado.

Philip Strauss²⁰ was at that time living in Leavenworth. Joe formed a partnership with him and Henry Rosenfield.²¹ They bought a trainload of spirits on credit and started for Camp Floyd,²² Utah by bull team from Leavenworth. They were on the road three months, undergoing the most severe hardships. Majors-Waddell and Co.²³ provided the train for transportation at Camp Floyd, the firm [Joseph Rosenwald and Henry Rosenfield] manufactured whiskey from the spirits they had transported, bottling the goods at night and selling their entire production each day. The firm made considerable money there and would have cleared more had not Henry Rosenfield taken out in trade what was due the firm from the saloon keepers to whom the firm sold some of their goods. At this point the firm also had a cargo soldier trade. Joe narrowly escaped being killed by these soldiers at various times.

They finally sold out and Joe went to Denver. In the meantime I was endeavoring to sell our stock at Lawrence and then accompanied Goldsmith and family to Baltimore. After a short stay there I started on my trip to meet Joe in Denver. I had money enough of my own to take me there, but when I arrived at Leavenworth, I went to Wyandotte where we had a law suit for some money due us on some lands and instead of getting money out of the case, I had to pay what little

20. Phillip Strauss was married to another sister of Emanuel, Julie. Julie Rosenwald was born February 3, 1843, in Dittenhofen. There is no reference to the date of her death or to the birth or death date of Philip Strauss.

21. Henry Rosenfield of Leavenworth. The Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, replies: "We have no information on Henry Rosenfield." Correspondence with Miss Alberta Pantle, April 3, 1961.

22. Camp Floyd, Utah, was a military post near the town of Fairfield, in Cedar Valley, about forty miles to the Southwest. Troops were stationed at the post, at first called Camp Floyd and later Fort Crittenden, until 1861, when they left for more urgent duty. Robert E. Stowers and John M. Ellis, Charles A. Scott's "Diary of the Utah Expedition, 1857-1861," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, April, 1960, p. 157, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

23. "From 1855 to 1861, [William H.] Russell, [Alexander] Majors, and [William Bradford] Waddell, were regarded as the most influential, most substantial businessmen in the West. Their notes, acceptances and drafts were readily negotiable anywhere and for any amount within the broad limits of reason. Their purchases of oxen, corn, hogs and other farm produces bolstered agriculture in Western Missouri and Kansas Territory, and the wages paid their employees constituted a financial back-log for the same area.

Settle and Settle, *op. city.*, p. xiv.

money I had for costs and lawyer's fees in the case which left me without means to reach Denver. My good friends had insufficient funds to aid me. By Pony Express Joe then sent me the required amount for transportation. I went to Denver by Overland Mail Coach, saw thousands upon thousands of buffaloes, deer, etc. upon the plains. In Denver we bought two ox wagons fully equipped and one mule wagon, sufficient groceries and liquors and started down to the Arkansas river where Fort Wise [Colorado] was building at the time. Joe drove one wagon, I drove the second and a man who had come with Joe from Camp Floyd drove the third arriving near the side of the Fort. We camped there till part of our stock was sold and we [left when we] received orders from [the] commanding officer to move on.

We took the remainder of our stock from here to Pike's Peak. On our way up we were followed by a band of Indians they being on the opposite side of the river. We, however, escaped them. We traded our entire remaining stock for potatoes, took them to Denver, peddled them out and after finishing with their sale we sold our oxen wagons and started in our mule wagon for Wyandotte, Kansas. [Mules were faster than oxen.]

From Denver we took along as an act of charity a doctor who was stranded there without means. Before leaving Denver, we were informed by the man who had been with us in Arkansas that some desperados were watching for our departure to follow and rob us. We evaded them, lost but little time on the road, making the trip via the cut-off and reached the Platte River camping ground during the night. In due time after a tedious journey we reached Wyandotte late in the Fall of 1860. That Fall the Confederate Flag was raised in Kansas City. The Wyandotte residents were very much perturbed and troubled by this. We remained in Wyandotte during the winter during which time we made preparations to take a stock of goods to the Rocky Mountains. We ordered ten ox wagons made to order in Westport, contracted for our cattle and in the Spring of 1861 we loaded the train with

provisions which we bought in Kansas City and started on our journey, for California Gulch²⁴ now Leadville [Colorado]. Our train consisted of ten freight wagons, three yoke of cattle to each wagon and a number of extra cattle for emergency use. Joe acted as wagon boss. [The company consisted of] the oldest son of Silas Armstrong,²⁵ a Wyandotte chief, assistant wagon boss, [and] a cook. I had the pleasure to exercise myself in driving the extra cattle which were very wild and could run faster than I could ride. Occasionally I relieved some wagon driver. The three horses we had were used by Joe Armstrong and myself. Our first camp was near Westport. In those days tents were not known for use except in the army and bedding other than a buffalo robe and some blankets was not carried. Usually our berth was under some wagon. During the first night we had a severe rain which continued for many days making travel very slow and difficult. We usually slept in the rain till thoroughly soaked. As a last resource we would remove to some of the wagons and there complete the night. After getting out of the territory of Kansas on the Platte we encountered warm weather to such an extent that we had to set tires [?] almost every day. The

24. California Gulch. "Later in the autumn a party of prospectors . . . crossed the range and discovered good diggings in a gulch on the headwaters of the Arkansas river, which they named California. . . . The first house erected in the new mines was on the present site of Leadville, and the place was called Oro City. The post office, which was established at this place, being removed in 1871 two and half miles up the gulch, the name followed it and Oro City left its first location open for subsequent development by other town locaters. California Gulch was thickly populated for six miles and had two important towns besides Oro, namely Malta and Slabtown." Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming*, The History Company, 1890, Vol. XXV, pp. 504-505.

25. "We have no information about any of the men you mention except Silas Armstrong. A genealogical sketch of his family is found on page 308 of *The Provisional Government of Nebraska Territory and The Journals of William Walker*, edited by William E. Connelley, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1899. . . .

"Two blocks north of Barnett Avenue and a block south of Minnesota Avenue, the principal street of the city, is Armstrong Avenue. No Indian name is better known on the West Side than that of Armstrong. Silas Armstrong was a great chief of the Wyandottes and was president of the company which laid out the old city of Wyandotte. Armstrong was a man of intelligence about the average. He died December 4, 1865, at the age of 55 and was buried in the Huron cemetery.'"

Quoted from *Kansas City Star*, June 3, 1906. Correspondence with Alberta Pantle, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, April 6, 1961.

[The answer to the question mark in brackets, inserted by Rabbi Fierman, might be that the wooden wheels shrank in the warm dry weather which would cause a loosening of the iron tire. It could be tightened by inserting pegs at intervals between the tire and the wooden wheel. F.D.R.]

only article on the plains were buffalo chips (the dried manure). We managed to commence climbing the Rockies, passing through Canon City [Colorado]²⁶ and with a great deal of trouble we finally reached California Gulch which was also at times called Oro (Gold) City. [See Reference 24]. We unloaded our goods and commenced business. We bought a long house large enough to hold all the goods and enough space for living rooms. Our wagons and teams we sent back to Wyandotte and wintered the cattle there. All sales were paid in gold dust, credit business was unknown. Gold dust was handled as rapidly as coin is today. We remained there all winter. Wagon transportation over the mountains during winter was impossible. Any goods had to be brought in at that time loaded on burros. At times snow came to the level of the roof of our cabin. We kept an open way for our customers. We remained there over a year trading with the miners. At intervals we took the gold dust to Denver where it was sold to Kountz Bros.²⁷ (same firm as now in New York) and other banks. We made considerable money there in merchandising. We also did placer mining which did not prove profitable. Had it not been for the terrible climate and character of the miners we might have remained there. We opened a branch at "Buckskin Joe"²⁸ leaving J. Goldsmith and Sam Jeffers [?] in charge at California Gulch.

26. Canon City, Colorado, is the chief town and county seat in Fremont County. In 1884, it had a population of 3,000. Large silver and copper smelters were located here. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 606-608.

27. The *Rocky Mountain News*, December 2, 1862, reads: "*New Banking and Exchange House.* Mr. Kountz from Omaha, will open today or tomorrow at the corner of Blake and L Streets, in Cheeseman and Company's brick Store, an exchange and gold dust office. He will pay the highest figures for gold dust in exchange for coin, Treasury notes, and first class bank currencies. Mr. Kountz is a gentleman of high business character, Substantial, Straightforward and Solvent for anything and everything he may do."

"The bank was nationalized, and the name changed from 'Kountz Brothers' to the 'Colorado National Bank of Denver,' on August 1, 1866." Correspondence with Mrs. Laura Allyn Ekstrom, The State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, Colorado, April 5, 1961.

28. Buckskin Joe was in Park County. *The Colorado Magazine* place name series has this to say about it: "Many of the towns that grew up at placer mining claims took the name of the discoverers of the claims; Buckskin. Joseph Higginbottom, nicknamed Buckskin Joe for the leather garb he affected, made a placer strike here, his claim proving ex-

"Buckskin Joe" was also a mining camp. We remained there only a short time. In the fall of '61 we moved to Canon City, remained there during the winter selling out our stock of goods. Goldsmith closed out at California Gulch and moved to Denver starting a business there. Before moving to Canon City, Joe went East and during the fall brought three loads of apples to Denver where I met him, Phil Strauss taking charge of our Canon City store. My object in going to Denver was to inform Joe of the death of our mother. Do not recall how long we were in Denver or where we went.

Thereafter Joe went to Fort Smith,²⁹ Arkansas, and procured settlership [sutlership] for a Kansas regiment (settlershship—merchandising privilege for a regiment.) Goods were shipped him from Leavenworth and Eastern points.

I went to Fort Scott,³⁰ Kansas, and went into business. Phil Strauss followed later on, remained a short time, and joined Joe in Fort Smith. While here we had repeated scares

trremely rich. The camp adopted his name, but in 1861 the district was reorganized and the town was named LAURETTE, in honor of the only two women residents—Mrs. Laura Dodge and her sister, Mrs. Jeanette Dodge. The following year, however, the post office adopted the old name of Buckskin, although the camp continued to be known as Laurette. No trace of the old town now remains (1940)." Correspondence with Mrs. Laura Allyn Ekstrom, The State Historical Society of Colorado, Denver, Colorado, May 26, 1961.

29. "Fort Smith [Arkansas] was one of the earliest of the great chain of frontier posts. Its founding dates back to 1817, when a permanent military post was required for the increasing white population in Western Arkansas and also for the civilized Indian tribes in the Osage territory. . . . The post was named in honor of General Thomas A. Smith. . . . Fort Smith, in 1858, was described as a town containing 2500 inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison. The place supported two newspapers; one, the *Fort Smith Times* . . . Banks were unknown, gold and silver being the only currency. The chief trade was with the Cherokees and the Choctaws in the Indian territory. Fort Smith could be termed the western outpost of civilization. There was not another town of equal size or importance on the entire route [Butterfield Route] after leaving here until Los Angeles, California, 1900 miles distant, was reached." R. P. Conkling and M. B. Conkling, *The Butterfield Overland Mail* (1857-1869), A. H. Clark Company, c. 1947, Vol. 1, p. 217.

30. "The site [of Fort Scott] was selected in April, 1842, because it was ideally located on the Military Road from Fort Leavenworth south to Fort Gibson. . . . The strategic position on the Marmaton River was finally decided upon as the best possible situation. . . . The primary reason for the selection of the site was to afford protection to the Military Road then being surveyed. . . . Throughout the first generation of its long and exciting history, Fort Scott provided the stage for the activities of a variety of important figures in the history of Kansas in particular and the upper-Trans-Mississippi West in general. . . . Fort Scott was finally abandoned as a United States Army Post on April 16, 1873." Dudley T. Cornish, *The Historical Significance of Fort Scott, Kansas*, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas; *A Guide to Fort Scott, Kansas*, Compiled by WPA in the State of Kansas, Sponsored by Fort Scott Chamber of Commerce, 1941.

on account of Quantrell.³¹ We were repeatedly called out at night time to the Town Hall to be prepared to defend the town. The building I occupied was put up by Rothschild³² of Leavenworth as on account of local conditions it would have been dangerous for me to put it up. Before doors and windows were in, I moved stock into it, to prevent the Government from taking the place. The Government could take any unoccupied building, but once occupied could not do so. In the rear of the main store we had a stone building with iron doors used for warehouse. Remained at Fort Scott a short time. I was taken seriously ill with typhoid. Upon recovery went to Leavenworth.

In the meantime, Joe left Fort Smith for Leavenworth, leaving Phil Strauss in charge. In Leavenworth we had a furnishing goods business. At this time the price of gold was declining rapidly. We had a great deal of high priced goods which Joe could replace for much less money. This condition worried us much. On one of our customary walks I suggested that we take the high priced goods to New Mexico. Joe agreed and next day we hired three mule wagons from Ed Shumaker³³ [Shoemaker] of Fort Union and shortly thereafter started these wagons on the Santa Fe trail in New Mexico.

31. "History records that William Clarke Quantrell (1837-1865), whose guerrilla-fighting militia struck terror to thousands during the Civil War, died from gunshot wounds in Kentucky during the Spring of 1864. Frank Dalton, uncle of the notorious Dalton gang and cousin of Frank and Jesse James . . . says Quantrell did not die in Kentucky, but recovered and later taught school in Texas for many years. . . ."

"The true name of Quantrell was Charles Hart. He graduated from a military school in 1860 and went to Lawrence, Kansas. . . ." Garland R. Farmer, "A Dalton Tells the Story of Quantrell," *Frontier Times*, Bandera, Texas. Vol. XVIII, No. 1, October, 1940. pp. 443-444.

"In August, 1863, the then notorious outlaw, William Quantrell, and those under his command staged the outrage at Lawrence, Kansas, which has come to be known as "The Lawrence Massacre," in which innocent persons were killed. United States cavalrymen were ordered in pursuit of the raiders, which was made by virtue of the famous "Order No. 11" by the terms of which the desperadoes were to be hunted and harassed constantly." Major Morris U. Lively, "Breakup of the Notorious Quantrell Gang." *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 256, 257.

32. Rothschild of Leavenworth. The Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas, replies: "We have no information on Rothschild of Leavenworth." Correspondence with Miss Alberta Pantle, April 3, 1961.

33. Ed Shumaker [Shoemaker] was a sutler at Fort Union, New Mexico, north of Las Vegas. The Shumaker family became a prominent family in San Miguel County; Fort Union is now a national monument.

Then Joe started for New York to buy cheaper goods. We bought considerable goods in Leavenworth to complete the assortment for New Mexico. Amongst these were prints costing us 40 cents a yard, coffee, sugar, whiskey, etc. We paid freight from \$18.00 to \$20.00 per 100 [pounds].

While Joe was in New York, Phil Strauss shipped all the Fort Smith goods to Leavenworth. The greater portion of these were stolen by the U. S. troops. About this time all business houses at Leavenworth were closed when General [Sterling] Price³⁴ started moving through Missouri. All able bodied men were pressed into militia service. I had no one to look after our place as the young man who was with me was put into service too. We were kept at Fort Leavenworth doing regular military duty.

Just before being sent from Fort Leavenworth, Phil Strauss arrived. Before knowing that the troops were to leave, I procured a pass to see Phillip as I had a letter to deliver to him notifying him of the death of his mother. I remained with him somewhat longer than my pass permitted. I had been ordered from Fort Leavenworth to Brush Creek,³⁵ Missouri, and I sneaked into the ranks while the troops were being loaded into wagons for transportation to Kansas City. We arrived at Kansas City about noon. From there I telegraphed "goodbye" to as many relatives as my money could pay for. We marched to Westport—on the way out we met a great many soldiers returning from the battlefield at Brush Creek. These were deserters who informed us that we would soon be doing the same thing. Arriving at Westport late in the afternoon, we saw the wounded brought into town. While marching we heard the firing on the battlefield at Brush

34. General [Sterling] Price was born in Virginia and he served in Missouri. On July 20, 1847, he was made a Brigadier General in the Missouri Volunteers. He was given an honorable discharge, November 25, 1848. During the Civil War he served as a Major General in the Confederate Army. He died September 29, 1867. F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army (1791-1903)*, Washington, D. C., Vol. 1, p. 807.

General Sterling Price engaged in the battle of Pea Ridge and was wounded at Elkhorn Tavern. An inscription reads "Here was fought the most important Civil War engagement west of the Mississippi. . . ." Conkling and Conkling, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 196-197.

35. "Brush Creek was a small post office located in Laclede County." The State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, May 31, 1961.

Creek. After a slight rest at Westport landing³⁶ we were marched to the battlefield at Brush Creek to camp there for the night. During the night an aide-de-camp from the Governor of Kansas brought an order to the officer in command to return to Kansas City early the next day to take the boat to Leavenworth. We did not know why we were so suddenly ordered returned as we supposed the enemy had gotten into Kansas. At Leavenworth we were discharged. Served about six weeks in State Militia for which we had to date received no pay.

Upon our return to Leavenworth, the landing was crowded with the families of those who had been sent out with the militia. I was agreeably surprised to find Joe there with Phil Strauss. A few days afterwards I took the stage from Kansas City to Las Vegas, New Mexico. We had to stop at Fort Dodge (now Dodge City) as we had to await the stage which left Kansas City a week after we did, as we had to travel from there with military escort. We had to cross 240 miles which was entirely unsettled at the time and the Indians were very unfriendly to the whites. The tramp from Kansas City to Las Vegas cost \$160 and we were obliged to do our own cooking. We ran entirely out of provisions a day before reaching Fort Wise,³⁷ Colorado (afterwards Fort Lyon) and

36. "After the *Independence* had proved the Missouri River navigable by steamboats in 1819, and the Indians had been removed in 1825, western Missouri began filling in with settlers. Jackson County was organized in 1826, with the county seat some ten miles east of Chouteau's settlement at Independence; this rapidly became the principal outfitting point for wagon freighting to Santa Fe. . . . The trail to Santa Fe lay west from Independence, crossing the Big Blue River some four or five miles south of the Missouri River.

"West of this ford and the long hill beyond it, John Calvin McCoy built a store in 1832. . . . The following year he platted Westport. . . . The town vied with Independence as the eastern terminus of the Santa Fe Trail.

"Meanwhile the settlement at Chouteau's Post, called 'Westport Landing' by both Westport and Independence, had grown into a prosperous community. . . . When Ceran St. Vrain and William Bent, famous fur traders on the upper Arkansas River, began hauling their freight direct to the landing, they established a precedent that was followed by others. Soon 'Westport Landing' was an active community with a thriving trade of its own." Missouri, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.

37. "In 1853, Colonel William Bent, having abandoned his great trading post on the Arkansas River, moved downstream about forty miles and established a second post called Bent's New Fort. The following year it was leased to the United States Army and renamed Fort Fauntleroy in honor of Colonel Fauntleroy of the old First Dragoons. In 1859, the post was purchased by the government and was named Fort Wise for Henry Alexander

were fortunate enough to meet some Mexicans in camp who provided us with food. At Fort Wise we were permitted to start along again and travelled alone encountering terrible weather. We, however, reached Las Vegas none the worse for the trip, late in the winter of 1862.

Here I awaited the arrival of the goods which in due time reached me. These were disposed of in total to W. H. Moore³⁸ and Company of Fort Union, New Mexico. There was no difficulty in disposing of the goods as many dealers in town actually begged for portions of them. They would have bought anything that came along. Payment for sale was made in Government drafts and notes which I forwarded to Joe at Leavenworth.

After this sale, I started on return trip via Denver, Colorado. On the Divide at the Stage Station which we reached late at night in extremely cold weather we stopped for supper being about half frozen when we reached there and where we took off our arms and coats. After supper we started out again and after an hour's trip we heard horsemen coming after us. [They] stopped the stage and accused me of having stolen a pistol. After some argument with them assisted by a true friend, a Captain in the Army, I gave them my address in Denver at which I would be found in case they had any evidence against me. Finally, they let us go and arrived in due time in Denver. There I remained a few weeks. During that time they had a cloudburst and Cherry Creek³⁹ which usually

Wise, governor of Virginia. When Virginia joined the Confederacy at the outbreak of the Civil War, the fort was again renamed, this time in honor of General Nathaniel Lyon, the first Union general killed in the war. In 1866, the river cut away the bank, making the fort untenable; a new Fort Lyon was built about twenty miles up the river. . . . Kit Carson died on the Fort Lyon reservation, May 23, 1868. The old post is now a Veterans' Psychopathic Hospital." *Colorado Magazine*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, January, 1941.

38. William H. Moore was prominent among the stockholders in the Moreno Placer Fields. Other stockholders of note were Lucian B. Maxwell and William Kroenig. *Mines and Minerals of New Mexico*, New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, Santa Fe, New Mexico Printing Co., c. 1901.

39. Cherry Creek was named because of the abundance of chokecherries on its banks. It is a right hand branch of the South Platte River. At the juncture of the two streams in the late summer of 1858 a camp was located within the present limits of Denver and it was designated by the camp as "Cherry Creek," but later the settlements, one on each side of the creek, were called Auraria and Denver, finally both were known as Denver.

was dry the greater portion of the year carried such a torrent of water that the flood undermined some of the best business buildings in Denver.

I then took [the] stage to Leavenworth being detained by high water numerous times. At one of the rivers in Kansas we found the ferry boat on our side without any one to handle it. The ferry boat was what today is called a barge. We however managed to get over the river with it. Finally [I] reached Leavenworth in good condition though thoroughly worn out by the trip.

We then determined to quit Kansas and come to New Mexico as my first trip had been so successful.

Joe went East to purchase our supplies. We engaged thirty prairie schooners which we started in the spring of 1863. All came to Las Vegas in good order except seven wagons which were attacked by Indians near Fort Dodge. Some of the people were killed and a great many goods stolen by the Indians. When we learned of this attack, I telegraphed Joe at Leavenworth. He sent Joe Jeffers [?] to see that the wagons were again started. In the meantime the military authorities at Fort Dodge had returned to Dodge with a great many of our goods the soldiers [had] appropriated.

The wagons were again started and reached Las Vegas. We unpacked the goods and found everything in confusion. Soaps, silks, baking soda, all pell-mell. We found quite a large loss in damaged goods and a large amount stolen.

Some months later Joe came to Las Vegas. We had our goods partially stored but had such a large supply that Joe took a large train load to Mesilla and from there to Juarez, Mexico, where he disposed of all [of it].

The designation of "Cherry Creek" was given in the *Rocky Mountain News*, December 25, 1882, p. 16, C. 1.

There were several Cherry Creek floods, the 1864 one being particularly disastrous. The *Rocky Mountain News* office was built over the creek and was washed away in this flood. In recent times Denver has built a retaining wall for the creek and other control measures have been adopted. Correspondence with Mrs. Laura Allyn Ekstrom, The State Historical Society of Colorado, Colorado, May 26, 1961.

Robert Rosenwald advises: "Martin Ismert, who was a philatelist and local historian, told both my father [Lucian] and me that he was personally convinced that Emanuel Rosenwald was the first Jewish trader at Cherry Creek, later Denver. This might be true, although I have no way of knowing." Correspondence with Robert Rosenwald, May 16, 1961.

We continued our business at Las Vegas as J. Rosenwald and Company just as it had been in Leavenworth. Joe, Phil Strauss and myself remained here together. In 1866 Phillip and myself left for Germany. Joe continued the business at Las Vegas.⁴⁰ There were but very few white families living in Vegas.

On my return from Europe, I brought over my father, sister, Julia, and Edward. Aron was on his way to the United States while I was going over. I had no knowledge of this till I arrived in Germany. Shortly after I returned to Las Vegas, Joe and Phillip Strauss went to New York and started in the business of John Stadterman and Company, manufacturing trimmings. During this absence from Vegas, Joe was married to Doris Adler, lost his wife within a year. I then sold out the business at Las Vegas and returned to New York with Aron R. who had been with us for some time, in the belief that I was to be taken into the firm of Stadterman and Company, not having been advised that the firm at Las Vegas had failed. When I arrived in New York I found myself without means as all the money from the sale of the firm at Las Vegas had been dissipated. We had to find some means of making a living and I started a clothing business with Aron at Westerly, R. I. We remained in Westerly all winter and then determined

40. The custom in New Mexico when engaging in trade was to obtain a commercial license. Such a grant was given to Joseph Rosenwald to trade in Las Vegas, San Miguel County in 1866.

Territory of New Mexico

County of San Miguel

Commercial License

Joseph Rosenwald and Company has made application before the undersigned in the COURT OF PRUEBAS to obtain a license to sell his affects and merchandise in the city of Las Vegas for a period of six months, certifying that affects and merchandise do not exceed the value of 22,000 pesos.

Under the laws governing those things the applicant, Joseph Rosenwald and Company, has license to sell the affects and merchandise in the city of Las Vegas, for a period of six months, beginning the 18th day of September, 1866. The applicant has also promised to pay the county a tax of a sum of 120 pesos.

Testimony given before me the

Court Official

Pruebas, Vegas, New Mexico

4/1866

/Signed/ José L. Rivera

Scribe

He was also granted a license to trade in Doña Ana County from November 28, 1865 to May 28, 1866.

to return to New Mexico either alone or with Joe. When I suggested this to Joe he was perfectly satisfied to go with me. I rented my store building by correspondence, completed my memoranda during the winter and in the early spring forwarded our stock from Westerly to New York to be held there. We purchased our stock of goods and Aron and I started for New Mexico. Stadterman and Company compromised and finally closed out, sending the remainder of their stock to New Mexico.

In 1869 or '70 Joe was married to Bona Levisohn. He then came to Las Vegas and brought Leopold Goldsmith with him.

APPENDIX I

Telegrams sent by Joseph Rosenwald and Co., Las Vegas, New Mexico, 1877-79.

To: P. L. Strauss, 92 Duane St., New York June 11, 1877
Are you all well? Bought business of Romero Bros. and Co. Possession this week Telegraph answer.

JR and Co.

To: Rosenwald Bros. Trinidad, Colo. June 11, 1877
Send by mule wagon 5 doz. each 30, 40, 50 white spools; 3 doz. linen handkerchiefs; 1 bale $\frac{3}{4}$ Manta, 5 pieces cheap cottonade; 3 doz. cheap brown overalls; 2 cases women's pegged shoes; 1 case women's cheap sewed shoes; 10 doz. ladies' sewed shoes. Assorted goods: 1 case men's common Balmorals; 2 doz. children's pegged shoes, eleven to thirteen; 2 doz. boys' brogans, one to five; 1 case men's common hats assorted; 50 suits cottonade and union cassmir assorted, the highest not to exceed mvo [this seems to be a price code]; 2 sacks best flour; 40 a very small assortment of ladies', misses' and children's hats; 10 boxes each soap and candles; 2 boxes soda; 1 barrel each rice and table salt; 25 pounds fancy candy.

To: Rosenwald Bros. Trinidad
Send one medium-size Charter Oak cooking stove.

JR and Co.

To: Rosenwald Bros. June 12, 1877
Send with wagon one kitchen safe and rolling board and pin, two large deep bread tin pans, 30 pounds heavy sackey [?] twine and two doz. large sack needles.

- To: P. L. Strauss, 92 Duane St. New York June 14, 1877
Ship immediately one 240 pound Fairbanks platform counter scale,
one smaller and one 1500-pound scale.
- To: Greely Bros. & Co. St. Louis June 15, 1877
Send immediately 10 sack coffee each medium and prime; 10 sacks
sugar each extra C and A; 10 each yellow erasive and palen No. 1;
20 candles; 1 barrel each rice, dd apples, flour; 100 lbs. bar lead;
3 soda; 1 vinegar.
- To: A. Armigo, Albuquerque June 25, 1877
Will you take twelve and one half cents for your washed white
wool? (Chge)
- To: P. L. Strauss, 229 E. 52 St. May 4, 1879
Eureka: Depot opposite town very satisfactory to me.
JR
- To: Rosenwald Bros. Trinidad Colo. July 12, 1879
Ship immediately 2500 pounds good Trinidad flour in sacks 50 and
100 pounds.
- To: Guadalupe Ascarate, Las Cruces July 30, 1879
Francisco Veltrain passed with train three days ago.
JR and Co.
- To: Staab and Bros. Santa Fe July 30, 1879
Send immediately ten ounces chloroform.
JR and Co.

APPENDIX II

Joseph Rosenwald was laid away this afternoon in that dreamless sleep from which none ever wakes, till the trumpet of Gabriel announces the resurrection morn.

A large concourse of friends attended the funeral this afternoon—the largest ever seen in Las Vegas. It has been well said that in the death of Joseph Rosenwald Las Vegas has lost one of her most enterprising citizens; the community, a member whose integrity, tested on many occasions, was found of sterling quality; and the wide circle of his private friendship, an inestimable and congenial companion. While his decease leaves a void in these associations, his demise is an irreparable loss to his family, by whom he was revered as husband and father.

His death recalls some of the incidents of his useful and honorable life, which deserve more than a passing notice. His foreign birth and the immature age at which he embarked upon the troublous sea of active life, under the disadvantage of being a stranger to our language and customs, and his eminently successful career as a merchant, afford

another illustration, among the many, of the value of sterling worth accompanied by energy, perseverance, and ardent appreciation of our republican system . . . successful life of a citizen. The land of his adoption was to him in verity a fatherland. His love for our institutions was intensified by contrast with the narrow sphere of action afforded in the country of his birth.

He was a native of Bavaria, a subject of the eccentric King Ludwig. His quick apprehension and acute mind had suggested his being reared for a profession, but the adversity which befel his father interrupted his studies before their completion; so that at the age of fifteen he left the paternal roof and landed in New York. Obtaining employment in Virginia, he was for a few years thrown into the company of a class of men whose mould of manners and thought was calculated to impress a youth with ideas of the value of culture and honorable conduct. By struggling thrift he soon accumulated some means, and finding that the Old Dominion lacked the opportunity for the exercise of youthful energy, he soon took in the scope of the situation and determined upon the adventurous hazard of frontier life.

About 1856 he went to Wyandotte and Leavenworth, and from those points his adventures began. He freighted to Pikes Peak, Utah, and other, at that time, remote and almost unknown places. In all his undertakings he was successful; but it was with regret that in after life he referred to the mistakes in his career, and not the least in casting aside his chances for large ownership in what is now Denver and the amazing increase of the then insignificant colony of Salt Lake.

In 1864 he fixed his permanent home in Las Vegas, where he resided till his death.

Success naturally induced a longing to return to the scenes where refinement and culture were realities, and buckskin and camp life were unknown except in adventurous recitals.

But although in New York he was fortunate enough to meet and marry the lady who has been through his remaining years his companion and blessing, he soon tired of the great metropolis and again returned to the Rocky mountain region. Since 1871 he has been known as one of New Mexico's most enterprising and reliable merchants. His business has been large and profitable, and has always been conducted on the broad-gauge plan peculiar to the west.

The almost unlimited credit which his house enjoyed at purchasing centers, was due not so much to the belief in the bonanza wealth of those who were then known as the Santa Fe traders, as to confidence which his well-known integrity inspired.

With the sagacity indicative of his character, he was impressed with the evident possibilities of his surroundings, and was foremost among the citizens to encourage development. His influence was of as-

sistance to the introduction of the railroad; and if his prescience was rewarded with the usual result of such foresight in business matters, it must be the subject of congratulation. The gas company, the street railway, in both of which he was an original promoter, and over the corporate existence of which he was the presiding genius, owe much to his executive ability. The San Miguel bank was in its inception another enterprise to which he added the force of his mental vigor. The numerous town additions, in which he was interested and from which he justly reaped large returns, are other evidences of his hopeful enterprise and his abiding faith in the prosperity of our town.

The street cars have been draped in mourning today, because of the funeral of J. Rosenwald, a leading stockholder and promoter of the enterprise. . . .

The pallbearers at the funeral of Joseph Rosenwald this afternoon, were Jefferson Reynolds, J. D. O'Bryan, S. L. Leon, J. M. Cunningham, Eugenio Romero, F. A. Manzanares, S. Floersheim and Chas. Ifeld. *The Daily Optic*, Las Vegas, May 22, 1888.

JOHN BAPTIST SALPOINTE, 1825-1894

By SISTER EDWARD MARY ZERWEKH, C.S.J.

(Continued)

As determined by Bishop Lamy, Father Salponte, who had been given the faculties of Vicar Forane for the Territory, was to be pastor of Tucson with Father Boucard for an assistant. Father Boucard would also take care of San Xavier. Father Birmingham was assigned Gila City.^{27a} A few weeks after their arrival in Tucson, Father Salponte went to Gila City with Father Birmingham to install him in his parish. This town, with about one thousand inhabitants, had sprung up since May, 1854, when gold had been discovered. Upon his return, Father Salponte installed Mr. Vincent as teacher of the Papago Indians at San Xavier Mission, but because the Indians were irregular in their attendance the school was moved to Tucson.

In Tucson, school had to be taught in the priests' house "which consisted of but one room 15 by 22 feet and a little alcove."²⁸ This condition lasted for about six months. "The furniture of the priest's house comprised three chairs, a writing table and a pigeon hole case for papers, the whole of which had been left in the care of W. S. Oury by Father Bosco, for his successors."²⁹

The circumstances under which the priests lived were very meager as the following illustrates.

The people were generally inclined to help their priests, but knowing the circumstances in which they were, the missionaries refrained from asking anything for themselves, except when it was absolutely necessary. Those located at Tucson had for two years to depend for their personal expenses mostly on what they had saved of the money they had received from their Bishop for their journey to Arizona. It must be said,

27a. See note 16. F. D. R.

28. Salponte, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

29. *Loc. cit.*

though that these priests were not extravagant in their way of living. Very often they cooked for themselves; for beds they had the clay floor of their room or of the yard, and the blankets they had brought from New Mexico. When they had to visit the scattered settlements, it was necessary for them to wait until some other people would have to travel in the same direction, as they could not afford, many times, to hire a man to accompany them. The scarcity of material resources was felt especially, even later, by the priests who had to start new missions.³⁰

Also in Father Salpointe's own words we learn of the dangers the early missionaries faced from the presence of the warring Apache Indians.

The life of the priests in Arizona, for some years from 1866, was one of hard work and privation. The frequent and long journeys in a country infested by wild Indians made it dangerous for them even to go a few miles out of their residence. Whenever the mail came in, it brought invariably the news of people having been murdered here or there by the Apaches, so that when a journey had to be undertaken, one would think of it for days and weeks in advance, fearing that he might not come back to his home. This was expressed by a missionary who used to say: "When I have to leave my house for a visit to the distant settlements of my missions, I write to my mother as if it were for the last time."

Speaking for myself, the writer of these notes, who, during the nineteen years he spent in Arizona, had to travel in all directions through the Territory, always experienced a kind of painful apprehension for a few days before starting on a long journey; though he must say, he had never any trouble from the Indians in Arizona. He saw their tracks on the roads; he was once told by a mail carrier that he (the missionary) had been followed by the Apaches for two nights and one day, but was not attacked, very likely because he was known to the savages, who did not wish to kill him, but were looking for an opportunity to steal his horses without being noticed. Other missionaries, and especially Rev. Boucard, found themselves in great danger; still none of them had to suffer by it since 1866. Indeed they must acknowledge that there has been a special Providence watching over them.³¹

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 256-257.

31. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.

The hardships Father Salpointe and the other pioneer priests had to meet did not deter them from accomplishing the work God had entrusted to their care. The first task to be done in Tucson was to complete the construction of the church begun by Father Reghieri. The walls had reached a height of about nine feet. With the help and contributions of the people these walls were raised to a suitable height.

A difficulty was met, though, when it came to putting a suitable roof on the edifice. Lumber in Tucson was too expensive to even consider collecting enough money from the parish to purchase it. Southeast of Tucson runs the Santa Rita Mountain range, but the pine trees were up too high for cutting. Thus, except for constructing a temporary roof across the sanctuary end, the finishing of the church remained at a standstill.

In 1867, a school and convent, combined in the same building, was begun next to the church. It did not take long to erect the walls, but again came the problem of obtaining lumber for the roof. In this case, however, Father Salpointe had the cooperation of both Catholic and Protestants, because all were anxious to have the Sisters' school start as soon as possible. Therefore, no objections were made at a new collection which obtained enough money to procure lumber for both the church and the school. Eighteen men agreed to go to the Huachuca Mountains³² and cut the necessary lumber. Overcoming many obstacles, the wood was finally brought to Tucson towards the end of 1868 and both buildings could be completed.³³ While his school was still under construction during 1868, Father Salpointe, through Bishop Lamy, asked for Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet to staff it, but was refused at that time because there were no Sisters available.³⁴

In Tucson, 1866, there was a fever disease which was very prevalent. It was believed to have been introduced and propagated by the many Mexicans coming from Sonora and was probably contracted from using polluted water. During the

32. A mountain range about eighty miles southeast of Tucson.

33. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-254.

34. Sister M. Lucida, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

three years when it was prevalent, the priests were kept busy with sick calls and in the administration of the Last Rites made necessary by this epidemic. It was probably this disease that Father Salpointe contracted in July, 1866.

Four months had elapsed before word was received from Father Birmingham who was stationed at Gila City. Because of illness, he had left his mission and had gone to California to improve his health. Father Salpointe decided to go immediately to Gila City and to administer the Sacraments to the people. He left Tucson in July, when the heat of the desert was at its height, and traveled for seven days covering the three hundred miles, mostly on horseback. He reached Gila City on a Sunday, said Mass and preached as usual, but in the afternoon fell ill with chills and fever. Father Salpointe had to remain four months at Gila City before he was well enough to travel. "During this time the priest was given hospitality and all possible care in the house of Joseph M. Redondo, one of the principal citizens of the place."³⁵ While recuperating, he had the church, begun by Father Birmingham, finished by adding the roof. With Father Birmingham's departure only two priests were left in the entire missionary Territory of Arizona.³⁶

On September 25, 1868, Arizona was raised to a Vicariate Apostolic and Father Salpointe appointed its Bishop. He had to wait until early in 1869 before going to France to be consecrated. As soon as a priest from New Mexico came to relieve him, he started on his journey. On his arrival in France, he went directly to the Bishop of his native diocese, the Right Reverend Louis C. Feron, Bishop of Clermont Ferrand, and asked him to be his consecrator. "The heart of the venerable prelate warmed up again in his old age at such an honor conferred on him by the Almighty, as he used frequently to express it."³⁷ Thus, "Bishop Feron had confirmed the boy, ordained the priest and consecrated the Bishop."³⁸

35. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253, 256.

37. Defouri, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church In New Mexico*, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

38. *Loc. cit.*

The ceremony took place on June 20, 1869, with Bishop Lebreton of Le Puy, France, and Bishop Dubuis³⁹ of Galveston, Texas, assisting. After the celebrations Bishop Salpointe received permission to recruit volunteers for his mission from among the clergy. He succeeded in obtaining six volunteers.⁴⁰

Before Bishop Salpointe returned to the United States, he made his *ad limina Apostolorum*⁴¹ visit to Pope Pius IX in company with Bishop Machebeuf, Vicar Apostolic of the newly erected Vicariate of Colorado. In Rome they stayed with Reverend Francis Chatard⁴² and had their private audience with the Pope.⁴³

. . . They asked for a common audience from Pope Pius IX, who received them kindly, and inquired about the extent of the territory, the population, and many things concerning religion in the new Vicariates. In the same audience the Holy Father, having been apprised of the scarcity of priests in Arizona as in Colorado, very willing dispensed the two new Bishops from the obligation of remaining in Rome for the Vatican Council.⁴⁴

44. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

When Bishop Salpointe had arrived in France, the news awaited him that his school was finished and ready for occupancy. He immediately wrote to Mother St. John Facemaz, Superior General of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, requesting Sisters.

39. Claude Mary Dubuis, Bishop of Galveston (1862-1892); Titular Bishop of Arca (1892-1895). He was born March 10, 1817 at Iche, Coutouvre Loire, and ordained on June 1, 1844 at Lyons. He did missionary and pastoral work in the diocese of Galveston, 1844-1862. He was consecrated on November 22, 1862 and attended the Vatican Council in 1870. He died on May 22, 1895 in France. Cf. Code, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

40. Reverends Peter Bourgade, Anthony Jouvenceau, Agustin Morin, Agustin Bernard, John Chaucot and Andrew Escallier. Cf. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-261.

41. Official visit paid by bishops to the Pope.

42. Francis Silas Chatard was born in Baltimore, December 13, 1834, and ordained at Rome in 1862. He was consecrated Bishop of Vincennes, Indiana on May 12, 1878. Cf. *The Memorial Volume, A History of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore*, *op. cit.*, p. 90. He died on September 7, 1918. Vincennes became the Diocese of Indianapolis on March 23, 1898 and on December 19, 1944 was elevated to an Archdiocese with Indianapolis its See City.

43. Father S. [ilas] M. Chatard, Rome, to Archbishop J. B. Purcell, June, 1869, (Notre Dame University Archives, South Bend, Indiana).



PARISH CHURCH OF JOHN BAPTIST SALPOINTE
ST. MAURICE DE POINSAT, PUY-DE-DOME, FRANCE

I did not see you when I passed through St. Louis, because my schoolhouse was not finished when I left Tucson, and I had no hope it would be before my return to this place. Now I have received notice that the said house will be prepared by the middle of next month and that our people is [*sic*] very anxious to receive the Sisters.⁴⁵

Bishop Salpointe's letter of August 19, 1869, verifies the promise he received of obtaining the Sisters for his Vicariate.

It was only on my return from Rome day before yesterday that I was able to take note of your good letter of last June 24. I thank you, Mother Superior, and your good Sisters for the interest that you show and especially for the assurance you give me that I shall find, when I stop at St. Louis, Sisters quite disposed to leave for Arizona. . . .

I hope to leave here on the 9th of September and be in St. Louis toward the end of the same month to continue the trip to Arizona with the little colony of Sisters.⁴⁶

On his trip back to Arizona with his recruited priests, Bishop Salpointe stopped at St. Louis, arriving in the fall of 1869. But, he was obliged to depart without the desired Sisters. Mother St. John promised him, however, to send the Sisters after the annual profession of vows in March. Bishop Salpointe agreed but in a letter to Mother St. John he said, ". . . the people of my capital of Arizona are grieved to hear that I shall arrive without the Sisters, whom they have waited so long with impatience."⁴⁷

And, in a letter sent after he arrived in Tucson :

On my arrival in Tucson I had the pleasure of finding the house of the Sisters of St. Joseph (this is the name we are giving it) entirely furnished and all my people almost in anger against me because the Sisters had not arrived. For a long time

45. J. B. Salpointe, Lyon, France, to Mother St. John, Carondelet, June 5, 1869, (Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet Archives, St. Louis, Missouri). Hereafter referred to as S.J.C.A.

46. J. B. Salpointe, Clermont, France, to Mother Superior, Carondelet, August 19, 1869, (S.J.C.A.)

47. J. B. Salpointe, Las Cruces, New Mexico, to the Superior General, Sister St. John, Carondelet, (Original in French), January 6, 1870, (S.J.C.A.)

we have been in quest of the money which is sufficient for this journey and which I will have reach you in a few days.⁴⁸

As Mother St. John promised, seven Sisters⁴⁹ left St. Louis on April 20, 1870, for Tucson. After an arduous trip, coming the long way through San Francisco and San Diego, they arrived in Tucson on May 26, 1870, Ascension Thursday, amid a spectacular reception from the people, including the ringing of bells, fireworks, and the discharging of firearms.⁵⁰

It was the beautiful day of the Ascension at nightfall when the pious colony made its entrance into the capital. The good Sisters in their humility had chosen this advanced hour, thinking thus they would not attract any attention. . . . As to the celebration, nothing was lost; everybody was in the street of the town, Protestants and Catholics alike, to give welcome and fêteing [*sic*] to those sent by Providence.⁵¹

The school was a success from the beginning, and the coming of the Sisters to Tucson was considered by friends of education and civilization as the opening of a new era for Arizona. This was the first Catholic school in Arizona.

Another school opened a few years later, 1875, by the Sisters of St. Joseph was the Sacred Heart School at Yuma, Arizona. This school was discontinued in February, 1891, because the Gila River flooded and swept away the school and convent.⁵²

In the part of the Vicariate which formed part of the state of New Mexico a school was opened at Las Cruces by the Loretto Sisters from Santa Fe in 1870. A boys' school was established in the same town in 1873 by Bishop Salpointe under the direction of a priest and a lay teacher, but it was short-lived because of a flood in 1875.⁵³

48. J. B. Salpointe, Tucson, Arizona, to Madame, Sister St. John, Carondelet, (Original in French), February 17, 1870, (S.J.C.A.).

49. The members of the group were: Sister Emerentia Bonnefoy, as Superior, Sisters Ambrosia Arnichaud, Euphrasia Suchey, Monica Corrigan, Hyacinth Blanc, Maxime Croisat, and Martha Peters. Cf. Sister M. Lucida, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

50. Sister M. Lucida, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-254.

51. J. B. Salpointe, Tucson, Arizona, to Mother St. John, Carondelet, (Original in French), June 3, 1870, (S.J.C.A.).

52. Sister M. Lucida, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

53. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 262-264.

The Sisters of Loretto opened another school at San Elizario in July, 1879,⁵⁴ at the request of Father Peter Bourgade,⁵⁵ the pastor. Although the same Sisters were requested for the parish of Mesilla, New Mexico,⁵⁶ they were unable to send any Sisters to staff the new school. Therefore, Sisters of Mercy⁵⁷ were obtained and arrived in 1880 to open the school. Three years later the Sisters of Mercy staffed the parochial school at Silver City, New Mexico.⁵⁸

Bishop Salpointe watched over all these educational endeavors with a paternal eye, conscious that these children educated in Catholic schools would activate and preserve the ancient Faith which the early missionaries gave their lives to implant.

Another work of mercy inaugurated by the Sisters and promoted by Bishop Salpointe was the caring for the sick. In 1878, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet commenced a small hospital in Prescott, then the seat of the Territorial government. In this venture they were encouraged and also received financial aid from John C. Fremont, appointed Military Governor in that year.⁵⁹

In Tucson, on April 24, 1880, Bishop Salpointe officiated at the blessing of St. Mary's Hospital which he had built. It was about a mile and a half west of the city near Mount St. Joseph, novitiate of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet.⁶⁰ This hospital was placed under the supervision of the Sisters

54. *Annals of San Elizario, Loretto Foundation, 1879*, (Loretto Motherhouse Archives, Loretto, Kentucky).

55. Peter Bourgade was born on October 17, 1843 in France and ordained on November 30, 1869 in Santa Fe by Bishop Lamy. He was appointed Vicar Apostolic of Arizona on February 7, 1885. He became the first Bishop of the See of Tucson on May 8, 1897 and Archbishop of Santa Fe on January 7, 1899. He died on May 17, 1908. Cf. Code, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

56. J. B. Salpointe, Tucson, to Mother M. Dafrosa, Superior of Loretto Academy, Santa Fe, May 16, 1879, (Loretto Motherhouse Archives, Loretto, Kentucky).

57. The first superior was Mother Josephine Brennan, who came from the convent of Mercy, Moate, Ireland. In 1881, two Mercy Sisters went to Ireland and procured five postulants who volunteered to work in the missions. Cf. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

58. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

59. Sister M. Lucida, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-259.

60. This novitiate was begun in 1878 and closed in March, 1890. Cf. Salpointe, Tucson, to Mother St. John, Carondelet, (Original in French), November 3, 1871, (S.J.C.A.). On the closing of this novitiate cf. Sister M. Lucida, *op. cit.*, pp. 257-260, and Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

of St. Joseph and remained under diocesan control until October 7, 1882, at which time it was purchased by the Community.⁶¹

Soon after Arizona had been made a Vicariate, the parishes of Mesilla in New Mexico and Isleta and San Elizario of El Paso County, Texas, were added to it by the Holy See. These parishes had been under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Durango, Mexico. Since Bishop Salpointe did not receive any communication from the Bishop of Durango transferring the jurisdiction of these parishes, he was not able to assign to them the missionaries he had recently brought from France. Although the trip to Durango was an arduous and long one, requiring fifty traveling days alone, Bishop Salpointe undertook it, but found that the Bishop of Durango was absent, at a distance of four hundred miles. Therefore, Bishop Salpointe left for Tucson hoping that the Bishop of Durango would receive his papers from Rome upon his return. After waiting a few more months, Bishop Salpointe, in 1871, set out again for Durango.⁶²

The only way to travel was on horseback or in private conveyances. The country was sparsely settled, and dangerous to go through on account of the two political parties then at war against each other, and roaming in bands, here and there around the settlements or ranches, rather in search of something to eat than their foes.

The Vicar Apostolic made his two journeys, about 3200 miles, going and returning, in company with one of his priests and a servant. . . . Their means of transportation consisted of a buggy for the Bishop and his priest, and a light spring wagon to carry the little baggage and the victuals. No need to say that they had to cook for themselves and to camp out most of the nights.⁶³

This second trip was also to no avail because the Bishop of Durango had not received any direct information from the Holy See on the matter. However, a few months later the

61. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-269; Sister M. Lucida, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-261.

62. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 261-263.

63. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

Bishop of Durango wrote to Bishop Salpointe that he had received the pontifical decree and, therefore, transferred the jurisdiction of the parishes of Mesilla, Isleta, and San Elizario to the Vicariate of Arizona.⁶⁴

A portion of his flock that were never forgotten or neglected were the Indians within the Bishop's Vicariate. In December, 1872, Bishop Salpointe received a letter from Archbishop Blanchet⁶⁵ of Oregon urging him to join with the Archbishop in authorizing the Archbishop of Baltimore to appoint a Board or an Agent to represent the interests of the Catholic Indian missions at a meeting to be held by the Secretary of the Interior early in January, 1873. He also asked Bishop Salpointe to give the Archbishop of Baltimore details concerning the Indian tribes and agencies in the Arizona Vicariate as they existed at that time. Archbishop Blanchet enclosed in his letter the letter which he had received from Reverend George Deshon, a Paulist Father, who at the request of a friend had interested himself in the plight of the Indian agencies and was making this meeting known to the frontier Oregon Archbishop.⁶⁶

Bishop Salpointe must have responded because he left Tucson for Washington, D. C., in 1873, to negotiate for the opening of a school at the Papago Indian mission of San Xavier del Bac. On his way he stopped at the Motherhouse of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet in St. Louis and asked for Sisters to teach in this mission school. On his return, three Sisters accompanied him back to Tucson on the overland route, via Denver. In Trinidad one of the Sisters, Sister Martha, was recognized by Sister Blandina Segale,

64. *Ibid.*, pp. 262-263.

65. Francis Norbert Blanchet was born on September 3, 1795, at Quebec, Canada. He was ordained on July 19, 1819. He did missionary and pastoral work in New Brunswick and Montreal, Canada. In 1837, he was named Vicar General for the Oregon Territory and on December 1, 1843 was appointed its Vicar Apostolic. He was appointed Bishop of Oregon City on July 24, 1846, and also was named its Archbishop on the same date. He is regarded as the Apostle of Oregon. He died on June 18, 1883 in Portland, Oregon. Cf. Code, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

66. F. N. Blanchet, Archbishop of Oregon City, to J. B. Salpointe, December 14, 1872; George Deshon, Cong. St. Paul, Sandusky, Ohio, to F. N. Blanchet, November 28, 1872, (Diocesan Archives, Tucson, Arizona).

from the time Sister Blandina had stayed at Sister Martha's convent in Kansas City while waiting for a train.⁶⁷ The caravan passed the Christmas holidays in Santa Fe and then pressed on towards Tucson, arriving there at the end of January, 1874.⁶⁸

The school at San Xavier had been started in September, 1873, by three Sisters from Tucson. When the Sisters arrived at the Mission they found the buildings in a ruinous condition and no traces remained of mission life of former days. Adjoining the Church were six rooms which the government fixed up for classrooms. Evidently obstacles did not deter nor discourage the missionaries as shown in the following letter of Bishop Salpointe about San Xavier.

One year ago, in September, 1873, a school was opened at the mission for the Indian children who are there taught by the Sisters of St. Joseph under the director of the Catholic Church. This school is supported by the United States Government. Although but little time has elapsed since the establishment of the school, it may be safely said that the results have equalled the expectations: The Indian children have proved themselves intelligent, attentive, and anxious to learn. Their progress considering that they have to be instructed by teachers ignorant of the Indian idiom, has been highly satisfactory, and everything tends to inspire the greatest hope for the future in both a material and a moral sense.

The same results could confidently be expected from the introduction of Catholic Schools among other Indian Tribes in Arizona. . . . Unfortunately in spite of their inmost wishes and of the often expressed desires of the tribes themselves all initiative has been taken out of the hands of the Catholic clergy by the fact that our Government has bestowed the care of all the Indian tribes of the Territory, except the Papagoes, to the Dutch Reformed Church.⁶⁹

Although the school for the Papagos was meeting with success, it was discontinued in April, 1876, by order of the

67. Sister Blandina Segale, S.C., *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail*, (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1948), p. 40.

68. Sister M. Lucida, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.

69. J. B. Salpointe, Tucson, to John Gilmary Shea, New York, October 1, 1874, (John Gilmary Shea Letters, Collection of American Historical Society). Cf. "Church in Arizona, Letter Oct. 1, 1874," *American Catholic Historical Record*, XL (December, 1949), 226-227.

Department of the Interior because the Papago agency was combined with that of the Pima's. The Sisters were not recalled to teach again at the mission until 1888. Thus, the Papagos remained for twelve years without an agent or any educational provisions.⁷⁰

According to De Courcy and Shea, the Catholic population of the Vicariate in 1874 had

. . . sixteen churches and chapels, and was estimated at sixteen thousand two hundred and twenty, including fifteen hundred Papagos. These were at first placed by the government under Catholics, but in a short time, they were taken away, in defiance of every principle, and given to a Protestant denomination in order to harass and provoke the Catholic Indians and their Catholic teachers, successors of those who had shed their blood on that very soil while announcing the Christian faith.⁷¹

With the number of towns increasing and the population proportionally growing the task of Bishop Salpointe's visitation of his Vicariate became more exhausting. On July 2, 1877, he started on a visit to the missions of the Rio Grande in New Mexico and Texas, accompanied by Octaviano A. Larrazolo,⁷² having just spent the month of May visiting his missions in central Arizona.

This visitation is recounted by Bishop Salpointe in a letter to the President of the Propagation of the Faith.

. . . My equipment, as usual, consisted of a little covered wagon drawn by two horses, containing, behind the seat occu-

70. Sister M. Lucida, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

71. Henry De Courcy and John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States: From the Earliest Settlement of the Country to the Present Time With Biographical Sketches, Accounts of Religious Orders, Councils*, (New York: P. J. Kennedy, 1879), p. 688.

72. While confirming in San Elizario, Texas, Bishop Salpointe saw a bright little Mexican lad. He learned that the boy was a native of San Buenventura, near Chihuahua and because he was an orphan had come up to live with relatives. The Bishop asked the boy if he would like to go and live with him, to learn to read and write. In return he would serve Mass and accompany the Bishop in his travels. The boy eagerly agreed. The boy was Octaviano A. Larrazolo (1859-1930), later to become one of New Mexico's greatest statesmen and orators. He was Governor of New Mexico (1919-1921) and also represented New Mexico in the Senate of the federal government at Washington, D. C. Cf. *The Old Faith And Old Glory*, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15; Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 266; 75 [sic] *Years of Service, 1859-1934*, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 115.

ped by myself and the young man who accompanied me, the blankets for camp beds, a few kitchen-wares, some food and the vestments or liturgical objects I was to need. This way of traveling which may seem very primitive to you is the one we still have to resort to either because it is the least costly or because the stage-coach lines do not reach all the points we have to go to. So, for more than one reason, I had to put up with a sacrifice of time and personal comfort and subject myself to a slow trip. . . . On the third day . . . I reached Fort Bowie . . . they had just heard that the Indians had revolted along the route I had to follow. . . . Through superstition, or any other motives of the Indians, it is believed that they hardly ever attack during the night. That is the time I chose to continue farther. . . . On July 24 I arrived at San Elizario, Texas . . . to begin my pastoral visitation.⁷³

The report is quite lengthy and describes each town, giving approximate population, brief historical background, condition of the church building and financial status of the area, notes the principal industry or crops, and states the number who received the Sacrament of Confirmation.

In one area outside of Las Cruces, New Mexico, Bishop Salpointe encountered an epidemic of fever.

The sickness of the fever was spread throughout this locality, causing me to make up my mind, after visiting the sick who asked my ministry, to postpone Confirmation at the time of my return from other populations I still had to visit. . . . After an absence of 25 days . . . I still found the people in the same condition of health if not in a worse condition. Impossible to find in the village a family where there was not a number of sick people to nurse. . . . I had . . . resolved to stay to visit the sick. . . . Useless to say that I easily found something to occupy myself. I hardly had time to recite my breviary and take some food when my companion had managed to find me some.⁷⁴

After visiting all his missions, Bishop Salpointe went to Silver City to meet Father Anthony Jouvenceau with whom

73. J. B. Salpointe, Tucson, to the President of the Propagation of the Faith, Paris, France, (Original in French), November 4, 1877, (Diocesan Archives, Tucson, Arizona).

74. J. B. Salpointe to the President of the Propagation of the Faith, November 4, 1877, *op. cit.*

they would return to Tucson. The news that greeted him was that the Apaches had revolted and had killed nine persons the day before on the road they had to pass over to Tucson.

. . . Nine victims of these savages had just been buried in the same ceremony in the parish; others dangerously wounded were on the point of death; it was said that 17 persons had been killed by the Indians during the past two or three days. . . . I used the system that I had already used, that of traveling by night and as quietly as possible.

I will not mention all that the imagination can picture of gloom and hardship in front of real danger, in the places where are still strewn the remains of the carriages of the baggage of those who were assassinated only a few days ago, and this during four long days of voyage; the important thing for us is that the second of October, exactly three months after my departure, we arrived in Tucson without having the least accident.⁷⁵

During those three months, Bishop Salpointe, according to his own figures, covered one thousand six hundred eighty-seven miles and administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to one thousand seven hundred seventy-three individuals.⁷⁶

On February 12, 1875, Santa Fe was raised to an Archdiocese with the Vicars Apostolic of Colorado and Arizona as suffragans. The Pallium was brought to New York by Monsignor Roncetti, who had also been delegated to carry the customary red biretta to Archbishop John McCloskey⁷⁷ of New York on the occasion of his elevation to the cardinalate. Because Bishop Salpointe was in New York at this time he was delegated by Monsignor Roncetti to invest Archbishop Lamy with the Pallium. The ceremony took place on June 16, 1875, in the house of the Christian Brothers, St. Michael's College, Santa Fe, because the old St. Francis' Cathedral was

75. J. B. Salpointe to the President of the Propagation of the Faith, November 4, 1877, *op. cit.*

76. *Loc. cit.*

77. Archbishop McCloskey, first American Cardinal, was born on March 10, 1810, and ordained on January 12, 1834. He was consecrated on March 10, 1844 as coadjutor bishop of New York; translated to the See of Albany on May 21, 1847; promoted to New York on May 6, 1864; created Cardinal priest on March 15, 1875; died on October 10, 1885. Cf. Code, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

too small. It was a joyous day marking a new epoch in the history of the Church in that region.⁷⁸

Another event of deep significance and jubilation was the civic celebration in Tucson on March 17, 1880, to inaugurate the opening of the railroad to California. Eloquent addresses were given and telegrams sent to notable personages. The following was sent to the Pope.

Tucson, Arizona
March 17, 1880

To His Holiness, the Pope of Rome, Italy:

The Mayor of Tucson begs the honor of reminding your Holiness that this ancient and honorable pueblo was founded by the Spaniards under the sanction of the Church, more than three centuries ago, and to inform your Holiness that a railroad from San Francisco, California now connects us with the Christian world.

R. N. Leatherwood, Mayor

Asking your Benediction

J. B. Salpointe, Vic. Ap.⁷⁹

Thus, Bishop Salpointe's duties and office often brought him into contact with the civic leaders of city and state as the highest local representative of the Church exercising jurisdiction in Tucson and the Territory of Arizona.

In 1883, Archbishop Lamy went to St. Louis with Bishop Salpointe. From there, at the request of Archbishop Lamy, he went to Rome to attend the meeting of the Archbishops of the United States. The purpose of the Roman conference was to prepare the agenda for the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore to be held the following year.⁸⁰

On April 4, 1884, Bishop Salpointe was back in Tucson where a reporter obtained the following statement from him.

. . . "I have been in Tucson such a length of time. How long? Eighteen years, from February, 1866, I came to America in October, 1859, and my time has been spent in New Mexico and Arizona." "Had you made a previous trip to the old world?" "Yes, in 1869. You might add . . . that I brought with me

78. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 265-266.

79. *Arizona Weekly Star*, (Tucson), March 25, 1880, (10), p. 4, col. 4.

80. Warner, *Archbishop Lamy, An Epoch Maker*, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

from France, Father Monfert and Reverend Lebreton who will assist in missionary work in this Diocese. Two more will come the latter part of the year, when they have finished their theological studies. One is in Baltimore, the other at the American Seminary at Louvain, Belgium."⁸¹

The article goes on to say, "The Bishop is enjoying excellent health, and has already resumed his duties in Tucson, with the same vigor as that of the past."⁸²

On April 22, 1884, Bishop Salpointe received his appointment as coadjutor to the Most Reverend John B. Lamy of Santa Fe with the right of succession. He remained in Tucson, as administrator of the Vicariate, until his successor, the Reverend Peter Bourgade, pastor of Silver City, was appointed to succeed him on February 7, 1885.⁸³

In leaving Arizona to labor in the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, Bishop Salpointe's work was not forgotten. The foundations he laid for the future Diocese of Tucson, the impression he made on his contemporaries, and the example he showed in his own private life are lasting tributes to him. A favorable impression of the frontier Bishop Salpointe is thus recorded by one who observed him at this time.

Another important factor in the formative period of Arizona's growth is this figure walking briskly by, clad in a cassock of an ecclesiastic. It is Bishop Salpointe, a man of learning, great administrative capacity, and devoted to the interests of his people. He preaches little, but practices much. In many ways unknown to his flock he is busy with plans for their spiritual and worldly advancement, and the work he accomplishes in establishing schools, both in Tucson and in the Papago village of San Xavier is something that should not soon be forgotten by the people benefited. He is very poor. All that one can see in his house is a crucifix and a volume of precious manuscript notes upon the Apaches and Papagoes. He seems to be always cheerful. His poverty he freely shares with his flock, and I have often thought that if he ever had any wealth he would share that too.⁸⁴

81. *Prescott Weekly Courier*, April 12, 1884 (III, 15), p. 1, col. 7.

82. *Ibid.*

83. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 271; Code, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

84. John G. Bourke, *On the Border With Crook*, (2d ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), p. 77.

IV. Archbishop of Santa Fe, 1884-1894

During the time when Bishop Salpointe was awaiting in Arizona the appointment of his successor, he was raised on October 11, 1884, to the dignity of a Titular Archbishop being given the ancient See of Anazarba. He also attended the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in company with Archbishop Lamy and Bishop Machebeuf in November, 1884.

It was February 19, 1885,¹ before Archbishop Salpointe arrived in Santa Fe to assume his duties as coadjutor to Archbishop Lamy. During the preceding twenty years Archbishop Lamy had endeavored, without success, to obtain government aid which would enable him to open Indian schools.² Archbishop Salpointe took up the work and began corresponding with the Indian Bureau in Washington, D. C., in an effort to supply New Mexico and Arizona with government support and to have Indian Agents appointed for Arizona and New Mexico.³

Meanwhile May 1, 1885, the appointed day for the consecration of Bishop Bourgade arrived.⁴ Archbishop Lamy was the consecrator in the Santa Fe Cathedral, assisted by Archbishop Salpointe and Bishop Machebeuf of Denver.

The procession having entered the Cathedral the imposing ceremonies of consecration commenced. The venerable Archbishop himself addressed the vast assembly in Spanish, and Rt. Rev. Bishop Machebeuf [*sic*] in English. After the ceremonies the procession returned to the Archiepiscopal residence, and the balance of the day was spent in festivities termination [*sic*] in the evening, as on the eve, by a fine display of fireworks and the booming of the cannon. A day never to be forgotten in Santa Fe, as it was the first ceremony of the kind that ever took place in the ancient city.⁵

During the summer of that year, on August 6, 1885, Archbishop Salpointe received letters from Rome giving him no-

1. Diary Account of Archbishop Salpointe, (A.A.S.F.).

2. *The Old Faith and Old Glory*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

3. Diary Account of Archbishop Salpointe, (A.A.S.F.). Notation, March 30, 1885.

4. *The Weekly Arizona Star*, (Prescott), May 1, 1885, (XXI, 8), p. 1, col. 7.

5. Defouri, *Historical Sketch of the Catholic Church in New Mexico*, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

tice of his appointment as Archbishop of Santa Fe.⁶ On August 26, 1885, Archbishop Lamy formally resigned his office. This resignation was read in all the churches of the archdiocese on September 6, 1885. The introduction of it follows.

For some years past we have asked for a coadjutor from the Holy See to take from us the great responsibility which weighted [*sic*] on our feeble shoulders since the year 1850, when the supreme authority of the Church thought fit to make a new Diocese of New Mexico, and regardless of our little capacity to elect us as its first Bishop. Now our petition and resignation have been accepted. We rejoice to have for our successor Most Rev. Archbishop Salpointe, well known in this archdiocese and very worthy to administer it for the good of souls and the greater glory of God.⁷

This resignation and farewell to the clergy and faithful besides being read in all the Churches was printed in various secular newspapers of the Territory, testifying to the importance and esteem in which Archbishop Lamy was held⁸

Archbishop Lamy conferred the pallium on Archbishop Salpointe on November 21, 1885, in the chapel of the Loretto Sisters in Santa Fe.⁹ After this Archbishop Lamy retired to a small country place north of Santa Fe which he had purchased in 1853. There he had built a small house and chapel and as he said in his farewell he would "profit by the days left . . . to prepare ourselves the better to appear before the tribunal of God, in tranquility and solitude."¹⁰

Having resumed negotiations to receive government aid to open Indian schools, Archbishop Salpointe thought it advantageous to go to Washington, D. C., in January, 1886, for this purpose. He and Mr. Charles Lusk, Secretary of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, saw Mr. Oberly, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and obtained from him

6. *Diary Account of Archbishop Salpointe*, (A.A.S.F.).

7. Introduction of Archbishop Lamy's Resignation, August 26, 1885, (A.A.S.F.).

8. *The St. Johns Herald*, September 17, 1885, p. 1, col. 4.

9. Defouri, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

10. Archbishop Lamy's Resignation, *op. cit.*

contracts for four day schools, with the promise of four more, as soon as the department had the money to dispose of for these contracts. Mr. Oberly kept his promise and shortly after sent through the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions contracts for seven day schools and one for a boarding industrial school for Indian boys. Day schools were established at the pueblos of Isleta, Acoma, Pahuate, Santo Domingo, Jemez, San Juan, Taos and the village of Laguna. The boarding school for boys was first established at Bernalillo. It was not permanently located there because it was impossible to find a convenient place for sale. Therefore, it was moved to Santa Fe, using the priests' house for its quarters until St. Catherine's Indian School was completed.¹¹

St. Catherine's Indian School was commenced in the spring of 1886 and the corner stone was blessed by the retired Archbishop Lamy on June 17, 1886. This school was constructed under the auspices of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and was financed by Mother Katherine Drexel,¹² after whom it was named.

The construction of the school was slow and brought the Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Reverend Joseph A. Stephan,¹³ to Santa Fe to determine the causes of the delays. He placed the blame on the weather, the workmen, and lastly Archbishop Salpointe, as his letter to Miss Catherine Drexel brings out.

11. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273.

12. Mother Katherine Drexel was born in 1859, the daughter of Francis Anthony Drexel, one of Philadelphia's leading financiers and philanthropists. She renounced personal wealth and social position and dedicated her life and income from a seven and one-half million dollars inheritance to educational and charitable works. In May, 1891, she founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People. She died on March 3, 1955. Cf. Elinor Tong Dehey, *Religious Orders of Women in the United States, Catholic Accounts of Their Origin, Works, and Most Important Institutions. Inwoven with Histories of Many Famous Foundresses*, (Rev. ed.; Hammond, Indiana: W. B. Conkey, 1930), pp. 692-694; *Time*, 65 (March 14, 1955), 92; and John La Farge, S.J., "Mother Drexel: Great American," *America*, 92 (March 19, 1955), 645.

13. Joseph Andrew Stephan, (-1901), after laboring in various places served as military chaplain during the whole Civil War with the troops of General Thomas. He then chose the life of an Indian Missionary and in 1884 was appointed Director of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. It was he who organized the work of establishing the mission schools and secured contracts for their support. He died in 1901. Cf. McGuire, ed., *Catholic Builders of the Nation: A Symposium on the Catholic Contribution to the Civilization of the United States*. (Boston: Continental Press, Inc., 1923), II, 77; V, 145.

St. Catherine's Santa Fe, New Mexico, is progressing slowly. Constant rain for nearly three weeks, kept the workmen idle and thus the building was only ready for roofing at the 8th inst. I push everything as fast as I possibly can, but must candidly say matters were not managed well. Everybody out here is naturally lazily inclined. Instead of getting the contracts signed by the respective contractors, as I had demanded of him, in order to have the bridle in hands to hold them up to time, the good-natured Archbishop neglected that part and the contractors took advantage of it, worked on other buildings at the same time and treated St. Catherine's stepfather like. Besides the Archbishop had assured me that he would get the lumber cheaper in Santa Fe, and at the saw mill, than I could ship it from Chicago, but he was sadly mistaken! When I arrived here I found to my greatest sorrow that he could not obtain the quantity of lumber, as he had expected and bargained for, and they charged him higher prices than I could have got it delivered in Santa Fe from Chicago; thus the carpenters were delayed and complained to me. I rectified matters at once and furnished all materials needed to finish the building.

. . . The building is a fine, imposing structure and when finished will be a great ornament to Santa Fe, and an everlasting credit to the donor.¹⁴

The school was completed and dedicated on April 11, 1887, with the retired Archbishop Lamy again performing the ceremony. The Indian boys residing at the priests' house were moved to the school which was placed in charge of the Sisters of Loretto.¹⁵

Catholic Indian Schools had to be constantly competing with Protestant and government operated schools so as to retain the government contract which allowed financial aid. Father Anthony Jouvenceau, Superintendent of the Indian Schools of the Santa Fe diocese, explained this in the following letter.

. . . Manual labor is the instruction that can be given to the Indians. We do not wish to make lawyers, physicians, or scientists of them,—our only ambition is to make them good Chris-

14. Joseph A. Stephan, Santa Fe, to Miss Catherine M. Drexel, October 11, 1886, (Archives of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament For Indians and Colored People, Cornwells Heights, Pa. Hereafter referred to as A.S.B.S.).

15. Sister Richard Marie, *Light in Yucca Land*, op. cit., p. 44.

tians and honest men, to teach them how to earn their bread and become useful members of society.

. . . We must by all means at the next session have our industrial department well organized; it is the only way to compete with the Government and protestant [*sic*] schools.¹⁶

Father Anthony Jouvenceau and the Loretto Sisters remained in charge of St. Catherine's for two years. In 1889, Father Stephan did not think that the school was being properly managed as the following statistics given by him indicate.

. . . The Archbishop Salpointe is no manager and told me that he had a deficit of \$3,000 last year in keeping up the school. He gets \$12,000 annually and ought to be able to save \$2,000 at least of that sum instead of spending \$3,000 more. The trouble is this: Father Antonio Jouvenceau is careless, 2 male teachers are paid \$80 and also each Sister per month, and board besides, all the washing is given to the Chinese laundry, and paid for, and the mending likewise. The Sisters don't care and have not more interest in the Indians than an old Jew in a hog. Nothing is raised to support the house—no vegetables, no cereals, etc., and therefore I told the Archbishop that I will send teachers there myself and run the school if he allows me to do so and he consented gladly. . . .¹⁷

The Benedictine Fathers from Atchison, Kansas, took charge of St. Catherine's Industrial School in July, 1889, but were there only for one year at which time they were recalled. It was then placed under the supervision of lay teachers and Father Jouvenceau until the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament For Indians and Colored People, founded by Mother Catherine Drexel, took charge of it in September, 1895.¹⁸ The government had suppressed the contract for St. Catherine's School in 1893 because due to the lack of good farming land and water it was proved unsuitable as an industrial school. Therefore, Mother Catherine Drexel had to conduct the school without any government compensation.

16. Anthony Jouvenceau, Santa Fe, to Miss Catherine M. Drexel, June 19, 1887, (A.S.B.S.).

17. Joseph A. Stephan, Barstow, California, to Miss Catherine Drexel, February 27, 1889, (A.S.B.S.).

18. Mother Catherine Drexel arrived in Santa Fe on April 9, 1894, to arrange for her Sisters to take charge of St. Catherine's Industrial School, *Cf. Lamy Memorial, op. cit.*, p. 98.

Archbishop Lamy lived in retirement for two and a half years. On January 7, 1888, he sent word to Archbishop Salpointe that he felt ill of a cold and wished to be taken to Santa Fe. Archbishop Lamy was immediately brought to St. Vincent's Hospital, conducted by the Sisters of Charity, and given constant care by the Sisters. On February 14, 1888, at the age of seventy-three, Archbishop Lamy died and after the funeral Mass, said by Archbishop Salpointe, his remains were placed in a vault which is now covered by the main altar of the cathedral.¹⁹

One of the problems that confronted Archbishop Salpointe in Santa Fe and which he did not have to cope with in Arizona was the opposition of the Brotherhoods, called "Los Penitentes." These were societies of men who practiced bloody flagellations and similar tortures on Fridays during Holy Week, and on other occasions. This was not a new problem in the archdiocese.

Bishop Lamy knew right away that these penitents did not fit in with Church discipline in modern times and, noting the greater shock and scandal created among the ever-increasing numbers of people "from the states," both Catholic and otherwise, he felt a still greater urgency to remedy the situation as soon as possible.

Judging from the decrees of his successors, we may assume that Lamy tried at first to abolish the Penitentes, and failed. The problem was complicated by the fact that most of these people were good men, sincerely and deeply Catholic in their own simple faith, who believed that they were carrying on an old Spanish Catholic heritage. Furthermore, he could not tell them that their penances, performed by Saints in the past, were wrong in themselves. There simply was no common meeting grounds of minds whereby he could make them understand that he was not trying to destroy their Spanish heritage, and that their peculiar practices were not only contrary to present ecclesiastical order, but most harmful to their religion under the present circumstances.²⁰

19. Cf. Sister Richard Marie, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Salpointe, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-276; and *Prescott Morning Courier*, February 16, 1888, p. 1, col. 3.

20. Father Angelico Chavez, O.F.M., "The Penitentes," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXIX (1954), 99.

In the first Synod of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, May 17, 1888, called by Archbishop Salpointe, he firmly condemned the Penitentes "as not to be fostered in the least."²¹ Archbishop Salpointe urged the pastors to guide the groups in their parishes into embracing the Rule of the Third Order of St. Francis from which he believed they had departed. He likewise commanded the priests to refuse to celebrate Mass in the chapels of the groups which continued their abuses and to deny the Sacraments to those who insisted on observing their old wakes for the dead and those who opposed his legislation.²²

Not much success was met in this matter for as Father Chavez explains

. . . the Penitentes erroneously considered their Brotherhoods an essential part of Spanish Catholicism and a heritage from earliest times to be kept intact.²³

The controversies between the Catholic pastors and their local Penitentes were in many cases fomented by Protestant ministers, who were trying either to win over the Penitentes or to cause trouble for the Catholic Church.²⁴

In October, 1891, Archbishop Salpointe received a petition from the Penitentes of the county of San Miguel to the effect that they wished him to consider them as a Catholic Sodality. They wanted the Archbishop to impose on their group the rules and restrictions which would make them acceptable to the Catholic Church. Believing them to be in good faith, the Archbishop laid down certain rules for their society also offering to approve with these rules any details the group might deem necessary, provided they would not oppose his directions.

(continued)

21. *Synodus Sanctae Fidei Prima*, (Original in Latin), May 17, 1888. (A.A.S.F.).

22. Chavez, "The Penitentes," *op. cit.*, p. 100.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

24. *Loc. cit.*

Book Reviews

Florentine Codex: General History of the Things of New Spain. By Fray Bernardino de Sahagún. Translated from the Aztec into English, with notes by Charles E. Dibble and Arthur J. O. Anderson. Santa Fe: The School of American Research and the University of Utah, 1961.

After having previously reviewed six of the twelve Books into which Sahagún's *General History* is divided, one might be expected to have run out of comments. But the renewed pleasure and stimulation are as keen now, on receiving Book Ten, as they were over a decade ago on first seeing Book One. There is no need to repeat here the data about the nature of the great scholarly enterprise which Dibble and Anderson have now brought through the tenth of its eventual thirteen units, since that material by now is familiar (this Review, Vol. XXIX, No. 2; Vol. XXX, No. 1; Vol. XXXI, No. 4; Vol. XXXIV, No. 1).

It is tempting to look in Book Ten for clues not only to Aztec mentality, but to the thinking habits of 16th century Spain as well, for in what Fray Bernardino de Sahagún seemingly considered a logical unit ("which treateth of the general history, in which are told the different virtues and vices which were of the body and of the soul, of whosoever practiced them") there are what seem to us to be three obviously very different sections.

Chapters First through Twenty-Sixth list characteristics considered good and bad in Aztecs filling a list of roles: first of kinship, then of age groupings, then of social class, then of occupation. The Twenty-Sixth Chapter "telleteth of the atole sellers, and the sellers of prepared chocolate, and the sellers of saltpeter;" and without any transition at all, the next and much longer chapter is "of the intestines, and of all the internal organs, and of all the external organs, [and] of the joints pertaining to men and pertaining to women." There

follows another long chapter about human ailments and Aztec treatments for them; but the final chapter, somewhat less extensive, shifts abruptly to descriptions and histories of "the various kinds of people . . . who came to cause the cities to be founded," listing fifteen more or less distinct ethnic groups of northern and central Mesoamerica.

To be sure, virtues and defects are listed as characteristic of these several peoples, thus creating a partial parallel with the first twenty-six chapters; but what are the virtues and vices in Aztec anatomical terminology, in ailments and treatments? There is no explicit suggestion that illnesses are associated with moral standards, and most of the anatomical terms are clearly neutral in such a regard. It may be that the role of virtue and vice in illness was too obvious to Sahagún (perhaps also to the Aztecs) to deserve mention.

Sahagún felt it necessary to suppress the totality of the long Twenty-Seventh Chapter in preparing his Spanish version of this Book; the title was translated, but instead of translating the long list of anatomical terms he wrote in Spanish a discussion (which ought to be a prime source for students of cultural dynamics) of the problems of early missionaries in Mexico. For this discussion he recurs to the theme of virtues and vices, comparing the state of affairs when he was writing (about 1570?) with that of pre-Conquest times, and attempting some analysis of causes of the conditions in both periods.

There are many places throughout his work when Sahagún either failed to translate all of his original Nahuatl version, as in the present case; or translating, added something to the Spanish which did not appear in the Nahuatl; or even, at times, seems to have changed a meaning in translating. When he decided, for what ever reason (the Aztec anatomical terms may well have been too exhaustive for presentation to churchmen less sophisticated than Sahagún), that the Aztec vision of the human body should not be translated for his readers in Spain, Sahagún of course told us something by implication about his own culture. His need

to conceal the Twenty-Seventh Chapter gave us, too, an essay in its place which is of great potential utility.

Together with the interesting suppression of the Twenty-Seventh Chapter must be considered the fact that Sahagún did not find it necessary to mince words in the repeated mentions and discussions of prostitutes, panders, and various sorts of perverts. The many 16th century illustrations of course are, as always, full of data—some obvious, some to be discovered only by search and analysis—about Aztec and Spanish elements in post-Conquest life and attitudes during the decades when these were being transformed from a raw mixture into a new way of life.

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JOHN PADDOCK

Captive Mountain Waters: A Story of Pipelines and People.

By Dorothy Jensen Neal. El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1961. Pp. 103. Illustrations, maps and index. \$2.50.

This is an exceptional book. Its authenticity is impressive despite the lack of footnotes that are usually looked for to give authority to a text. It is a story of people and that most precious of all commodities in New Mexico, water. The style of writing is not that of a literary artist, but straightforward with a simplicity that keeps the reader always sensitive to the subject matter—enlivened occasionally with a touch of humor or a story that in itself reveals the time, place and the folks about whom the authoress writes. When a rancher tapped the railroad's wooden pipe line because he needed water, the leak was eventually discovered; but the rancher was quite willing to pay: "I don't have no money, but I got three hogs and nine kids. Take your pick."

The water came from the Rio Bonito. The people involved in the story raised log houses on their homesteads in the White and Sacramento Mountains or built towns in the des-

ert; served the railroad in its multiple needs; admired the rugged individual building a cattle empire; and envied the first comers, the Mescaleros, who were not fond of railroad men, or white men in general. The common thread that brought them into contact was the need for water, and the wooden pipe line held together by iron bands carried it from the mountain to the desert for steam engines, crops, and folks—and occasionally caused some one to get shot because the story began when men were toting six shooters.

The significance of water in the arid southwest is a commonplace bit of knowledge and has been dealt with in many a printed word, but this book makes it a human interest story because those who created the history of water development in the Tularosa Basin are also the prime sources of information. They illustrate Shakespeare's theory of the world as a stage. When drawing upon well-known major episodes in the history of New Mexico, such as the ruckus around Oliver Lee and Albert B. Fall's misstep, the authoress treats them adequately in relation to her story and no more; they were just people interested in water.

When the atomic bomb exploded at Trinity Site in 1945, it brought a revolution in the affairs of Alamogordo, originally a railroad and cattleman's town. The Federal Government needed water for Holloman Air Force base and had to tap the long used source, the mountain water brought to the desert—now including the underground flow.

Those born around the turn of the century should have a touch of nostalgia for the horse and buggy days when they see the several photographs. The descendants of the pioneers should rejoice at the record now available of their ancestors, and the informants should be pleased that their minds were induced to reveal knowledge based on having been there. And Judy, to whom the book is dedicated, should feel happy that she persuaded her mother to write a book rather than just an article on an old wooden pipeline.

Although a paper back publication that can sell for a low price, the manuscript attracted the talent of Carl Hertzog,

designer, and Bob Staggs artist who provided several black and white drawings.

F. D. R.

Bahía: Ensenada and Its Bay. By Thaddeus R. T. Brenton. Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1961. Pp. xiv, 158. \$5.50.

By focusing an understanding and sympathetic eye on one small corner of Mexico, and on the hearts of the Mexicans who live there, Mr. Brenton has succeeded in penetrating into the inner and hidden chambers of Mexican intimacy. His book is a catalog of affection for the people, and the land, and the sea of Mexico, yes, and the dust, and the mud, and the rain. There is an enthusiastic tenderness flowing through and pervading every page and every line that can only be qualified as youthful, and the reader wishes he could be so lucky when retirement comes to him.

The author speaks knowingly and fondly of the strange customs, the history and the oddments of Mexico. He bridges for us the cultural gap between the United States and Mexico, making it possible for the Mexican and the Gringo to shake hands across the many misunderstandings that have separated us.

The "Day of the Dead" with all its apparently morbid aspects does not appear quite so strange after Mr. Brenton explains it. Other religious practices, the bullfight, attitudes, appear more reasonable when he gives us their inner logic.

The chapter on the Mexican woman is magnificent in its insight. He says, rightly, I believe: "I believe her mind surpasses that of the Mexican man. In many ways the women of Mexico are like our *bahía*—they can take a bleak and gray negative mood, or they can scintillate in brilliance; they are omnipresent in quietude and submissiveness, or in turbulence to the danger-point; historically constituting a feature of the ages, they are actually dominant without fanfare."

Mexico affects citizens of the United States two ways mostly. There are those who fall in love with Mexico and refuse to see anything wrong with it. There are those who

hate it and can't find anything good in it. The former are maudlin and gushy. The latter are vitriolic. Neither one can be trusted.

Mr. Brenton does not belong to either group. He loves Mexico but is not blinded to its demerits. There is a healthy stream of satire throughout his book which sets off the weaknesses and foibles of the people, the government, and their ways. He criticizes with gentle humor and kindly tolerance. There is no condescending tone, no "higher than thou" attitude.

There is one major defect in his book: his constant use of Spanish in the corniest manner. "Twenty blocks from my *casa*." (p. 19) This sort of thing appears in almost every page. This may be considered cute or picturesque, but I found it most annoying. Every time a *casa* or an *olla* or a *ventana* came up I had the sensation of a pesky fly that just wouldn't let me enjoy my reading. There were also any number of errors in Spanish grammar, syntax, spelling, interpretation. Mr. Brenton would be ahead if he stuck to English.

University of New Mexico

SABINE R. ULIBARRÍ

ERRATA

The item on The New Mexico Territory Assembly, 1852-1859, published in Notes and Documents, January, 1962 (vol. 37, no. 1) was submitted by Ralph A. Wooster, Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont, Texas.

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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STATEHOOD FOR NEW MEXICO, 1888-1912

By ROBERT W. LARSON *

A FIERCE political struggle lasting more than sixty years preceded New Mexico's 1912 entry into the union of states. As part of that great tract of southwestern territory ceded by Mexico in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, New Mexico became part of the United States in 1848. On March 3, 1851, she received territorial status. At that time Arizona comprised the western half, but received separate status in 1863. New Mexico had high hopes for early statehood. An area rich in resources and vast in acreage her prospects seemed promising, but discouragement and disappointment were to be felt many times before the coveted goal was achieved.

Many of the more significant events leading to New Mexico's statehood took place in the two decades just before admission. The frontier period of the West had ended and the modern era was beginning. Populations in all the western territories were increasing and so was the demand for statehood. In New Mexico there were probably not more than a thousand residents in the territory in 1850 who had been born in the United States and the population was then over 65,000. Thirty-eight years later, in 1888, Spanish-speaking people still held a majority, but the number of easterners had swelled the so-called American population considerably. Many of

* Prof. Larson, Colorado State College at Greeley, has summarized his doctoral dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1960, in this article.

these newcomers who flocked to the territory were farmers, while others were merchants or traders, not to mention the railroad men and those interested in mining. Of all who came, however, the group which was to play one of the most important roles in influencing the course of New Mexico's fight for statehood proved to be the lawyers—lawyers of varying capabilities, but almost without exception men who had strong opinions regarding statehood.

Many of the lawyers were quick to see what a vast fortune could be built in so rich a country. They looked with unrestrained ambition upon the obscure titles of ownership to thousands of acres in the territory. The original owners of the land had received their titles under the Spanish and then Mexican rule which preceded the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Now, with many of the titles to these grants clouded in doubt after generations during which more and more members of the original family lived on the land, the American lawyers saw that they could use their legal skill to acquire a great deal of the land for themselves. Their success in this endeavor as well as in various other economic enterprises undertaken over the years was amazing. Because of the constant and close cooperation of these lawyers, their opponents soon labeled them as members of a "ring." The term generally referred to the Santa Fe Ring, although there were others of less importance.

Edmund G. Ross, appointed territorial governor by Grover Cleveland in 1885, showed toward the Santa Fe Ring the same outspoken courage he had shown in casting a decisive vote against the removal of Andrew Johnson in 1868. In a letter to a friend in St. Louis Ross described the rings as the "curse of this Territory." Quoting an unnamed veteran of the Mexican war he pictured the land ring as being "composed of Americans possessed of some legal lore with a large amount of cheek and an unusual quantity of low cunning and astuteness that always had an inclination to run in a crooked direction." The original grant holders were described as "simple Mexicans who never would have thought of claiming more

than their papers called for, but the ring soon taught them a few tricks they had never thought of." The result of this collaboration was that a number of Americans were given sizeable shares of these grants in return for their legal service. At the same time, Mexicans were voting the lawyers to Congress, thus giving them "federal as well as territorial power."

The political makeup of the land grant ring, as well as the many other rings, was bipartisan because "nearly every law and commercial firm especially the former, contained a Democrat and a Republican, apparently for prudential reasons, so that whichever side might come uppermost, the dominant party was represented, and there was an average of one lawyer for every ten Americans."

The numerical predominance of lawyers gave the Santa Fe Bar a position of great influence. Its members controlled and dominated the activities of the Santa Fe Ring which, in turn, dictated to all lesser rings. Rings were found in towns throughout the territory, but all were subservient to the "central head." Ross regarded the Santa Fe Bar as a closed corporation, manipulating the bulk of the territory's legislation.

Facts verify much of what the governor said about the Santa Fe Ring. Especially revealing were the careers of two attorneys, Catron and Elkins, whom Ross called the principal "originators and manipulators" of the land grant ring: Stephen B. Elkins, the first to come to New Mexico, arrived in 1865, two years before Catron. As a lawyer he recognized the necessity of speaking Spanish, and soon became proficient in that tongue. In 1866 he was elected a member of the lower house of the territorial legislative assembly, and in 1868 President Andrew Johnson appointed him U. S. Attorney for New Mexico. From 1873 to 1877 he served as the territory's delegate to Congress. In that capacity he nearly achieved statehood in 1875 but Southern Congressmen killed the bill by reversing their votes when Elkins unwittingly congratulated a Northern senator after he had delivered a bitter political speech dealing with events following the Civil War. Elkins did succeed in getting a bill through the Senate the next year

but failed to obtain the support of the House Committee on Territories.

Elkins had only been in the territory a short time when he moved to Santa Fe and formed a law partnership with Thomas B. Catron, an old friend and classmate from the University of Missouri. If any man could be pointed to as the leader of the Santa Fe Ring that man was Catron. After Elkins left the territory to live in New York he looked to Catron to represent his economic interests. Catron's name was continually associated with the Ring, and when the Ring was blamed for certain activities, Catron was often the scapegoat. A stout man with a gruff manner, he had moved to Santa Fe in 1867 to practice law. Shortly after his arrival the governor told him he would be appointed attorney of the third district if he could learn to speak Spanish. Catron at once moved to Rio Arriba County where he encountered few English-speaking persons, and learned to speak Spanish fluently in six months. After receiving the appointment, he continued to use his newly acquired ability and his legal background to satisfy his insatiable hunger for land. By 1883 he was one of the largest land owners in the nation.

Elkins also came to own much land. He was owner of a sizeable chunk of the large Mora Grant in Northern New Mexico and was one of the principal owners of the Ortiz Grant. Catron acquired 240,000 acres of the Mora Grant, taking in most of the northern portion of this extensive tract. His holdings in the Antonio Ortiz Grant eventually amounted to a hundred thousand acres. But his biggest holding by far was the Tierra Amarilla Grant, comprising 593,000 acres of land located in northern New Mexico and in southern Colorado.

Another important member of the Ring, despite the fact that he was often at loggerheads with Catron, was Le Baron Bradford Prince. Prince, a New Yorker, was appointed Chief Justice of New Mexico in 1879, and while serving in that position was accused of being a Ring member. Prince's public

career was matched by a legal and commercial career in which he managed to acquire a great deal of land in the territory. Prince was, however, above all else, an unceasing fighter for New Mexico statehood. Some have felt that he deserves to be called "The Father of New Mexico Statehood."

Although Catron, Elkins, and Prince were Republicans, there were several prominent Democrats active in Ring affairs including two of Catron's law partners, Charles C. Gildersleeve and William C. Thornton. In a memo from Ross' personal papers, Gildersleeve was accused of heading a clique of "land grabbers" in which Antonio Joseph, New Mexico's delegate to Congress in 1884, was a member. Gildersleeve was alleged to have bought the chairmanship of the Democratic Central Committee and also to have gotten his henchman, Joseph, elected delegate with the help of the Santa Fe Ring. Gildersleeve was also accused of collaborating with Catron in buying many native claims to the Ritaca Land Grant. Antonio Joseph's holdings in the Chama and Ojo Caliente Grants were thought to be largely due to his taking advantage of "poor ignorant Mexicans." Joseph himself was of native extraction but this did not make him unique among Ring members. Other native politicians such as J. Francisco Chaves, Mariano S. Otero, and Pedro Perea had close connections with the Ring.

The Santa Fe Ring was not without stalwart opponents, and Governor Ross was chief among them. When President Cleveland refused to withdraw his appointment despite Ring members' objections, a conspiracy to elect a legislature hostile to the new governor was effectively carried out by the Santa Fe Ring. The governor was supported in his battle by such Democratic politicians as Harvey B. Fergusson, and outspoken Democratic newspapers such as the *Albuquerque Morning Democrat* and the *Socorro Industrial Advertiser*. Native New Mexicans weren't inactive either as indicated by a secret Catholic Society called the "Association of the Brotherhood for the Protection of the Rights and Privileges

of the People of New Mexico" which vowed its purpose was "to oppose rings, cliques, monopolies and official corruption of all kinds."

Despite the efforts of these forces to effectively deter the Santa Fe Ring, they faced a powerful and vocal opponent in Max Frost, the editor of the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, who acted as spokesman for the Ring. Frost, who was at one time during his active career indicted in a land fraud prosecution, effectively used the power of the press to discredit the foes of the Ring and place the activities of the Santa Fe clique in the most favorable light.

The project most dear to the Ring was the acquisition of statehood. All Ring members, especially Catron, Elkins, and Prince, were persistent advocates of this step. And their major motive is not difficult to discern. One need only peruse the correspondence of Catron. In a letter to J. M. Freeman, Catron offered to secure a loan of \$200,000 with his vast holdings in the Tierra Amarilla Grant, stating that this property is the "finest large body of land in the arid region of the United States" and that his "selling price for the same is three dollars per acre and with the passage of the statehood bill for New Mexico it will be advanced to not less than \$5 per acre." Referring to another tract of land Catron in a second letter opined "if New Mexico is admitted as a State, each acre of that land would be worth three pesos otherwise it is not worth more than one now."

As important as this motive was, it does not adequately explain all the desires of individual Ring members. The leaders of this clique being prominent and influential naturally had political ambitions, and statehood would mean two senatorships and a representative to the lower house, plus a host of state officials to be elected. Sensing this, one newspaper, the *Hillsboro Advocate*, stated that everyone was opposed to statehood in southern New Mexico, except for "a few self-seeking politicians."

The desire for a feeling of equality was no doubt another important motive. A majority of the Ring members had come

from eastern states where statehood had been achieved and they felt that territorial status was a form of second class citizenship. This view was often expressed in their correspondence and public utterances, always louder and longer than warranted when considered in relation to the economic and political reasons they probably felt to be more vital to them, yet were careful to hide from the public.

Whatever the real objectives of the Ring members in so eagerly desiring statehood for New Mexico, they never left room for doubt as to their position in this matter. Their policy was forcibly stated by Frost in the *New Mexican* when he wrote: "As long as we obtain statehood we do not care how it comes or who brings it about. Statehood is what the people of New Mexico want and statehood they must have in order to prosper and advance."

Although members of the Santa Fe Ring and various other rings were almost always supporters of statehood, not all their opponents were against statehood. On the contrary, many of them protested their second rate status as vigorously as Catron or Prince. They were, however, very concerned about statehood being granted on the "land grabbers" terms, which they felt would be disastrous for New Mexico. Ross, for instance, was opposed to immediate statehood because the territorial legislature had failed to enact an adequate school bill, and he felt that congressional action must establish a public school system before admission would be wise. He accused Ring members in general and Catron specifically of killing the Kistler Bill, which would have established such a school system. He reasoned that the Ring deliberately wanted to keep the people ignorant so they could remain in control. Thus the forces for statehood were divided against themselves and could not wage an effective battle for a place of equality in the Union of States.

Despite sentiment for Statehood in New Mexico, action in that direction did not originate in the territory but rather in Congress. On March 13, 1888, Congressman William M. Springer of Illinois, chairman of the Committee on the Terri-

tories, reported an omnibus bill, H.R. 8466, which would "enable the people of Dakota, Montana, Washington and New Mexico to form Constitutions and State governments, and to be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States." This was the first serious attempt to admit a western territory since 1876, when Colorado was granted statehood.

During the 1880's, prior to the introduction of the Springer Omnibus Bill, New Mexico had been almost ignored while the attention of Congress was directed largely to the struggle for statehood being waged in Dakota. This was only just because with its rapidly increasing population this area had the best claim to admission. Congress' preoccupation with Dakota and a feeling that politically this was the wrong time to press her cause probably contributed to New Mexico's lack of initiative during this decade.

Springer in introducing his omnibus bill was doubtlessly more interested in New Mexico's Democratic leanings than he was in her cause. New Mexico was the only territory of the four named in the bill in which Democratic politics had a chance for success. This assumption was based primarily upon the election and re-election of a Democratic delegate to Congress.

Springer's omnibus bill was definitely New Mexico's brightest chance thus far. For one thing, Dakota's unceasing demands for statehood could no longer be ignored. It was assumed that the northwestern territories would all be Republican and that the first act of the next Congress would be to admit them. With this in mind the Democrats, who controlled the House, were willing to bargain with the Republican Senate. They would remove all opposition to the admission of Dakota, Washington, and Montana, if the Republicans would allow New Mexico into the Union. After the Republican victory at the polls in November, 1888, the Democrats were especially anxious to secure such an agreement.

But New Mexico was not allowed to slip quietly into the Union. She had been for some time under constant, often

slandrous attack by a group of eastern and midwestern newspapers led by the *Chicago Tribune*. The momentum of this attack was greatly accelerated after the 1888 Republican success. The attempt to incorporate New Mexico was looked upon as an eager effort "to secure a couple of Democratic Senators, which will offset the Senators from Dakota. . . ." The *Tribune* regarded New Mexico's population as "not American, but 'Greasers,' persons ignorant of our laws, manners, customs, language, and institutions." Its attacks on the territory's statehood aspirations were similar to the ones frequently uttered by opponents of the Ring, such as the charge that under state government the greater portion of the population, being unfamiliar with the English language, would be at the mercy of "unscrupulous rings of politicians."

Despite the bitter attacks, Springer, a good and loyal Democrat, remained undaunted. His omnibus bill finally replaced all the separate bills of statehood for Dakota, Montana and Washington. The bill, as finally introduced, was comparatively short and simple. The provisions pertaining to New Mexico called for a 75-delegate constitutional convention, empowered to create a full state government. Other provisions dealt with land grants for public schools, land for the support of public institutions, and land for the establishment of permanent water reservoirs for irrigation. A suggestion that New Mexicans vote on changing the name of New Mexico to Montezuma brought instant anger from residents of the territory and a series of resolutions were presented to the Senate demanding that the old name be kept.

Accompanying the Springer bill were a majority and a minority report, each of which reached an entirely different conclusion. The minority report recommended that each territory stand on its own merits rather than be incorporated into the omnibus bill, and that New Mexico should remain a territory. Extracts from W. H. H. Davis' *El Gringo* and critical reports of such former governors as Lew Wallace were reprinted. Citizens of New Mexico were pictured as being largely illiterate, superstitious, and morally delinquent.

Moreover, they were presented as having no desire for statehood.

The majority report tried to answer this latter charge by presenting recent newspaper discussion showing that a commanding majority of papers in the territory favored statehood. Statehood memorials and petitions also were presented by New Mexico's delegate to Congress.

Despite the strong differences of opinion in Congress, the Springer bill was passed by the House in late January, 1889. New Mexicans were elated. The *Silver City Enterprise* confidently predicted that the Senate would follow suit. The legislative assembly passed a memorial requesting statehood and a statehood convention was held at Santa Fe the same month as House action.

But only disappointment came when the Republican Senate dropped New Mexico from the bill. Consequently on February 14 the House had to consider the conference report of the House and the Senate and reconcile differences between the two bodies. There were three major ones. First, the House declared for New Mexico, while the Senate opposed inclusion of that territory. Second, the House wanted to submit the question of the Dakota's division to her voters while the Senate opposed such an action. And, thirdly, the Senate in order to prevent delay favored a proclamation by the President to bring in these northern territories.

The deadlock was finally broken when Congressman Samuel S. Cox of New York offered an amendment proposing that the House recede from its original position of favoring New Mexico. The amendment also called for the admission of South Dakota by presidential proclamation without a new vote on the question of division. North Dakota, Washington and Montana also were to be admitted by presidential proclamation. A roll call vote was then taken which would decide whether New Mexico would be included in the statehood bill. The result was 134 votes in favor of New Mexico's omission, 105 against, with 84 abstentions.

Prior to the decisive roll call, New Mexico was strongly

defended in a speech by Antonio Joseph, who argued that the United States Congress was, at its discretion, obligated under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to admit New Mexico at an early date. He also contended that statehood was the only solution for settling the titles of more than 10,000,000 acres of land in Spanish and Mexican grants.

Opponents, on the other hand, insisted that if the House did not recede from its position but continued to insist on the inclusion of New Mexico, it would impair the chances of the other territories for admittance. Republicans denied any political motives in this regard, asserting that New Mexico's last two territorial legislatures were heavily Republican. But Congressman Francis B. Spinola of New York did not believe them. The Republicans would oppose anything which would have "the least shadow of a tendency" to strengthen the Democrats. He also accused statehood opponents of trying to prevent New Mexico's admission because of the religious opinions of a large number of its inhabitants.

The Democratic Party had held out for New Mexico as its lone hope for partisan advantage, but when it realized that the jig was up it surrendered and the four northwestern territories minus New Mexico were admitted into the Union on February 22, 1889.

Although the Springer bill had failed to secure statehood for New Mexico it did clarify various shades of opinion in the territory. The local press, led by the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, was entirely favorable to the statehood movement. According to the *New Mexican*, the two strongest local objections to statehood seemed to be the increased taxation which supposedly would accompany the increased expenses brought by statehood, and fear that native people would control the state.

During the congressional proceedings it had been suggested at least twice that New Mexico was not interested in statehood because her people had not made the effort to draft a constitution to present Congress for inspection. To remedy this situation the territorial council on February 28, 1889,

authorized a convention in September to draft such a document. The bill, introduced by Colonel George Pritchard, an influential Republican from San Miguel County, provided for 73 delegates to be apportioned among the counties of the territory.

No sooner had the bill been introduced when it became the center of a lively partisan controversy. Democratic leaders attacked the bill's apportionment provision, which they felt gave too much representation to Republican counties. Governor Ross allowed the bill to reach the statute books without his signature, but other Democratic leaders remained adamant and a deadlock soon developed. Despite attempts by leaders of both parties to achieve a compromise, Democratic cooperation was not secured, and the Democratic Central Committee on June 22, 1889, attacked the "inequalities of representation" and expressed fear regarding the effect of Republican apportionment on the political complexion of the new state legislature.

Although the Republican party tried to insert a note of nonpartisanship into the election of convention delegates, lack of Democratic cooperation led to a very small vote in the territory. The vote was so inconsequential in Las Vegas that the *Las Vegas Daily Optic* predicted that any constitution drafted by the convention would not be carried if left to a vote of the people. Nonetheless, a number of prominent territorial political figures were elected to the convention, including Catron, Frank Springer, Bernard S. Rodey, Pedro Perea, and Judge L. S. Trimble, the lone Democrat. J. Francisco Chaves of Valencia County was elected to preside over the convention.

The convention assembled on September 3, and immediately went to work to frame a suitable instrument of government for the territory. Twelve committees were organized to handle such topics as the legislative and executive departments, the judiciary, a Bill of Rights, and election procedures.

The establishment of a secular school system was perhaps the knottiest of the convention's problems. The Roman

Catholic Church had enjoyed a position of primacy in this field and naturally looked with suspicion toward any incursions in this sphere. The Most Reverend J. B. Salpointe, Archbishop of Santa Fe, demanded a system of elementary schools which would give "citizens of the territory, of every shade of belief, equal facility to educate their children in a manner they believe will conduce to bring about their happiness."

Whether the archbishop's statement was a plea for a measure of church control in educational affairs or a hint for state support of church schools was not made clear; but, whatever its intention it was totally ignored. Instead, a school clause was enacted in which a system of public schools was established "under the absolute control of the state, and free from sectarian or church control; and no other or different schools shall ever receive any aid or support from public funds." One observer wrote Prince that he could name a hundred people who would stick to the Church on the school question. Yet all the native delegates supported the school clause.

There are several apparent reasons for the strong school clause. Undoubtedly there was strong pressure from the "anglo" population, imbued as it was with the tradition of separation of Church and State. An article appearing in the *New York Tribune* a month or so after the convention revealed another reason. The delegates to the constitutional convention were writing a constitution as much for the eyes and approval of the rest of the nation as for the people of their territory. They were very conscious of the many charges by outsiders that the new state government would be unduly influenced by the priesthood.

Opposition to the new constitution in the territory was largely caused by the school provision, but there were other kinds of opposition. Antonio Joseph, on the floor of Congress, attacked the apportionment of delegates to the convention as an act of "outrageous partisanship." He pointed out that of 32,000 voters in New Mexico only 7,000 participated in the election of convention delegates. Joseph's stand could only be explained in terms of politics. Economically he had a great

deal to gain by immediate statehood, as his landholdings and Ring affiliation would testify.

Democratic sniping soon had its effect. One proponent of the constitution, former Governor Axtell, later asserted that while in Washington he had been told in so many words to submit the constitution to the people for ratification, after which the territory would be admitted if the people gave their approval. Consequently, on August 18, 1890, a meeting of convention delegates was held and October 7, rather than the regular election day in November, was set for a vote on the constitution by the people.

Lively controversy preceded the October 7 vote. Supporters of the constitution were accused by having made an instrument which would further their own "land grabbing" inclinations by allowing the land grant holder to almost completely escape taxation. The *Socorro Industrial Advertiser* warned of future Ring control and charged that because of unscrupulous manipulation assessments on large land grants would be kept down to one-tenth of their value, and taxes would be kept small by a constitutional limit of one percent on taxable property.

But the most explosive issues by far were the apportionment and public school provisions. Despite the fact that convention delegates at the August 18 meeting had amended the education article to make only a vague and general reference about raising adequate school taxes, opposition was still lively. An alarmed Catron in discussing the school issue wrote Senator William Stewart of Nevada that "many of the priests of the Catholic Church have been delivering sermons against it [the constitution]." Democrats were accused of using this issue to turn the Spanish-speaking people of the territory against the proposed instrument.

The result was a convincing defeat for the Constitution of 1889. The vote was 16,180 against and only 7,493 in favor. Governor Prince, fearful of adverse reaction in Washington, forcefully denied that this vote was any indication of a "dis-

inclination on the part of the people to assume the condition of statehood."

Defeat of the Constitution embittered Republicans and undoubtedly weakened the statehood movement. The admission of Idaho and Wyoming the following year, however, brought Prince back into the fray. "We have a greater population than Wyoming and Idaho combined and in wealth and natural resources surpass either of these states."

During the next few years, Delegate Joseph was more active than anyone else as he introduced a number of statehood bills. Among the factors responsible for the ultimate failure of these bills was the fact that many easterners, including President Cleveland, blamed the Panic of 1893 on the drain of gold reserves caused by "cheap" silver. New Mexico's silver sentiments did not endear her with this faction. Joseph's alleged obstinancy may have weakened statehood chances, too. In 1893 during House debate on H.R. 353 Joseph was pressed to incorporate into the bill the phrase: ". . . in all of which public schools the English language shall be taught." Joseph objected vigorously because this suggestion had been made 7 or 8 years ago and since that time the educational system had been expanded so that English was taught in each of the 619 public schools in the territory.

The failure of Joseph's last statehood bill was not only a setback for the statehood movement but it probably cost Joseph his re-election as well. Having served the territory as delegate for ten years, he based his campaign almost exclusively upon the statehood issue. His Republican opponent, Catron, campaigned for the restoration of protective tariffs on wool and mining products, and won handily in the 1894 election.

Catron's one term as territorial delegate was not a particularly satisfying or successful one, despite his many connections in the Senate and his unceasing, energetic work for statehood. The silver question was now sweeping the country, and most New Mexicans did not find Catron's moderate views

on this issue pleasing. A conservative, high tariff Republican, Catron was inclined to oppose the free and unlimited coinage of silver, while New Mexico was definitely a "free silver" territory. Despite the fact that he did everything in his power to make statehood and tariff the chief issues in the territorial election of 1896, free silver could not be totally erased from the minds of New Mexicans. The Democrats nominated Harvey B. Fergusson, an unequivocal advocate of free silver, who eventually received the support of the territorial Populist Party. Catron's reputation suffered too as he was vigorously attacked by opponents for his Ring connections. Criticism even reached Congress, where letters from New Mexicans accused Catron and Elkins, now a senator from West Virginia, of land grabbing. Consequently, it was no shock when Fergusson triumphed in the territorial delegate race.

Fergusson's serious handicap as delegate was that he went to Washington as a Democrat during a Republican year. Nonetheless, he was loyal to the cause, introducing two unsuccessful statehood bills during his term in Congress. He did secure the passage of two significant laws. The first was a measure which permanently located the capitol of the territory at Santa Fe. The second was the famous land law of 1898 which paved the way for New Mexico's admission into the Union.

The land measure, called the Fergusson Act, gave the Territory of New Mexico immediately, before admission, sections 2, 16, 32, and 36 of every township for educational purposes. In addition, 100,000 acres of land were granted for educational and other public purposes. Ordinarily such grants were conferred only upon admission, but the operations of the recently created Court of Private Land Claims had opened up for public entry thousands of acres of land on Spanish and Mexican grants which would be taken quickly if the school system were not provided for immediately. After submission to the Committee on Public Lands the Act was reported favorably, but altered to grant only 2 land sections from each township.

During Fergusson's term as delegate, a new governor was chosen in the territory. Miguel Otero's unexpected appointment by President McKinley ushered in a new era in New Mexico politics. Catron, the old Republican boss, now faced a real challenge. Although he had strongly supported Pedro Perea of Bernalillo rather than Otero, Catron at first accepted the President's decision with little complaint. But soon the independent "Little Governor," as Otero was called, began to aggravate Catron, and Republicans in the territory were forced to take sides in the bitter feud that followed. Most of the young political leaders—Colts as they were called—threw in their lot with Otero.

The feud had special significance for the statehood campaign. The election of Catron's close friend, Perea, over Fergusson in 1898, placed the new delegate right in the middle of the crossfire. Otero, recognizing him as a Catron man, opposed and later dismissed his term in Congress as a do-nothing one. Perea in turn accused the governor of working against him. The result was that little was accomplished at this time in the struggle for statehood.

Perea was succeeded by Bernard S. Rodey, whose persistent, driving personality lent strength to any cause he undertook. In alliance with Otero the two men silenced almost completely all opposition to statehood which had existed in the territory since the failure of the Constitution of 1889. It became unpatriotic, to say the least, to be anything but enthusiastically for New Mexico statehood. "Every man who doesn't want statehood is our enemy," warned Rodey. He was backed by the *New Mexican* which again took leadership in the statehood movement. Of two thousand bills introduced in the house the first day of the new session Rodey's statehood measure was number two. This dynamic approach continued throughout his term as delegate.

Other developments seemed to favor New Mexico's cause. Roosevelt's succession to the presidency after McKinley's death was regarded as significant. Otero had earned the new president's gratitude by extending complete cooperation in

raising Roosevelt's beloved Rough Rider regiments in New Mexico. During the first Rough Rider reunion at Las Vegas in June, 1899, Roosevelt, who was then governor of New York, promised his full support if New Mexico wanted to become a state.

Economic developments at the start of the twentieth century were also important. The depressed conditions which had produced such movements as Free Silver and Populism had also caused great suffering in New Mexico. The important industries—railroads, mining, and cattle—were at a low ebb as the result of a series of depressions during the eighties and nineties. By 1900 a gradual revival of these industries had begun. The population, which had been declining, started to rise again. Optimism soon replaced gloom. The change was generally regarded as a good omen for statehood.

New Mexicans once again actively pushed their cause. A statehood convention in 1901 passed a series of resolutions at the governor's request. But far more important was the introduction of H.R. 12543, an omnibus statehood bill bearing the name of William S. Knox of Massachusetts, chairman of the House Committee on the Territories. Rodey took credit for having convinced the delegates of Arizona and Oklahoma that their only chance for statehood within the near future lay in combining their resources with New Mexico and making the fight together.

The House began consideration of the Knox Bill on May 7, 1902. "Praise the Lord from whom all blessings flow" telegraphed an enthusiastic Rodey. Only two days of debate were consumed before the House passed the measure. With the prestige of Knox's committee chairmanship behind it, influential Republicans as well as Democrats backed the bid. Knox pointed to the affirmative stand on statehood in both party platforms and emphasized the bipartisan aspect of the movement. But perhaps the most interesting development during debate was the proposal by Jesse Overstreet of Indiana to admit Arizona and New Mexico as one state to be called Montezuma. It was argued that this would bring the two ter-

ritories into the Union on such a basis as would make their representation in Congress bear some fair relation to their population.

When the bill reached the Senate, the figure of Senator Albert J. Beveridge cast an ominous shadow. The Indianan had been appointed chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories in December, 1901, following a colorful career in the upper house which began in 1889. His enthusiastic advocacy of American imperialism had brought him into close communion with President Roosevelt and other expansionists. His oratorical ability had given him national reputation. The Senator also had positive ideas on statemaking. The creation of a new state was to him of paramount concern because once admitted the act could not by constitutional arrangement be rescinded.

Although he was deluged by letters from citizens in the territories asking that favorable action be taken on the omnibus measure, Beveridge was very hesitant because of the unusual concern for New Mexico shown by certain corporate interests. He was especially curious as to why one of his committee members, Matthew S. Quay, was so deeply interested.

Quay was a shrewd and unscrupulous politician who dominated politics in Pennsylvania as if the state were his personal bailiwick. During Cleveland's second administration he had admittedly speculated in sugar stocks while manipulating the sugar schedule of the Wilson-Gorman tariff. Consequently, when Quay tried to discharge the Committee on Territories from further consideration of the Knox Bill on June 23, Beveridge balked.

Despite Quay's insistence that the bill be considered by the Senate immediately, he was finally forced to withdraw his demand when it was agreed unanimously that the bill should be taken up on December 10 and made the regular order of unfinished business until disposed of by the upper chamber.

Beveridge determined to precede any further debate of the Knox Bill with a thorough on-the-spot investigation of

the territories. With the clever Quay as an adversary he believed extensive documentation would be necessary. Despite assertions to the contrary his investigation was not to be an impartial one. Beveridge had close friends in the journalistic fraternity and through them he hoped to influence public opinion. For instance, he wanted Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, to contact university professors who by their experiences could testify as to "the soil, its aridity, the impossibility of further population till irrigation shall have done its work[,] and the character of the present population" of the southwest territories.

The investigation began when Beveridge's committee of three, accompanied by a staff of stenographers and interpreters, held its first hearing in East Las Vegas, New Mexico, on Wednesday, November 12. As the group continued on to Albuquerque, Las Cruces, and Santa Fe, most New Mexicans presented a fairly united front in favor of statehood, although one volunteer witness, Martinez Amador, claimed native New Mexicans were not ready for statehood yet "because most of the people here is [*sic*] ignorant."

Arizona and Oklahoma were also visited on the "flying trip." More than a third of the witnesses questioned in Arizona were census enumerators who were asked about nationalities in the territory and the need for interpreters. The aridity of the soil and provisions for irrigation were also a source of interest to the committee. In Oklahoma the major line of questioning pertained to the willingness of the Oklahoma and Indian Territories to unite and seek admission as a single state.

Beveridge continued to be suspicious of Quay, attributing the Pennsylvanian's interest in New Mexico to a desire to help an old friend and lieutenant, William H. Andrews, secure a seat in the U. S. Senate and sell bonds for a new railroad being built in New Mexico. Andrews, having been retired from office by the voters of his Pennsylvania county, had moved to New Mexico to pursue an interest in gold mining. Later he became involved in railroading and the result

was the Santa Fe Central Railway, of which "Bull" Andrews was made president. Capital for the railroad was supplied by a group of Pennsylvania investors headed by W. H. Torrance, and a Sierra county cattleman, Willard S. Hopewell. The road, which was completed in December, 1903, stretched 116 miles from Torrance to Santa Fe. According to the *Chicago Tribune* the road was part of a syndicate which wanted to see statehood for both territories because if it came the railway would be assisted by the two new states "to the amount of \$15,000,000." The bonds of the railroad would also be sold "for several points higher."

When Congress convened in December, 1902, Beveridge was ready with the majority report of the committee which recommended that Oklahoma and the Indian Territory be admitted as one state, but that statehood for New Mexico and Arizona be withheld indefinitely. His major objection to the latter territories was that they lacked sufficient population to become states. Other criticisms were that a majority of people in New Mexico were Spanish, and a large percentage could speak only their native tongue. Illiteracy was high, and the arid conditions of the southwest imposed serious limitations on agriculture.

Quay and the Democratic minority submitted separate reports which did not allow Beveridge's conclusions to go unchallenged. Territorial papers joined in an attack on the Senator's methods of investigation. The *Optic* criticized the closed-door procedure used by Beveridge and likened his refusal to receive voluntary statements to the course of a paid lawyer trying to secure evidence to justify an argument.

Quay, confident that he had enough support, called for a vote on the Knox Bill the day after the Beveridge Report was given. But Beveridge was able to hold off the vote until after Christmas vacation. When the holiday recess was over he began a three months filibuster described by the *New York Evening Post* as the "longest continuous hold-up in the history of the country." Beveridge cleverly used his supporters in relays to keep the filibuster going continually. His backers

constituted the power block in the Senate and included such men as Nelson Aldrich, Henry Cabot Lodge, Mark Hanna, and Knute Nelson.

Quay did not stand alone in his fight to admit the territories, but was ably supported by such Republicans as Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio and Senator Elkins. Foraker had a brother, a former New Mexico stockman who was now United States Marshal for the territory, and this may have been one of his reasons for supporting the omnibus measure. He contended, however, that he was just being true to the Republican platform of 1900 which pledged the admission of the remaining territories. The Democratic minority was almost unanimously in favor of statehood. Conspicuous among this group was Henry M. Teller of Colorado, the "Defender of the West."

On March 4, 1903, Congress adjourned without taking action on the Knox Bill, despite the fact that Quay had made a total of twenty-seven motions to secure action on the matter. Beveridge had successfully used every parliamentary device possible to keep the issue from coming to a vote. He had even hidden secretly in Gifford Pinchot's home for a week knowing that no vote could be taken unless he, as chairman of the Committee on Territories, was present.

During the lengthy proceedings, joint statehood for the two southwestern territories was again considered, but rejected, as a compromise measure. Yet the strength for this movement did not subside. There were strong motives behind the effort. The East had long been jealous of the growing political power of the West. Admission of New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma, and Indian Territory separately would mean eight new western senators. In addition, western tendencies to accept radical ideas such as Free Silver and Populism made this area suspect. Easterners saw no reason to give the West any more power than necessary, and consolidation of territories would limit new representation.

Joint statehood as a solution was definitely not the result of any desire on the part of residents of Arizona and New

Mexico. Each territory had pressed for statehood but always single statehood. There was no animosity between the two areas, but rather a lack of mutual interests. New Mexico in her business and trade relations faced east, while Arizona faced west.

One of the first important territorial figures in New Mexico to be converted to jointure was her congressional delegate, Bernard Rodey. Rodey had reached the conclusion that separate statehood was impossible, and that joint statehood was better than remaining a territory. "I am going to agree to jointure, if terms are favorable and we can get it."

Rodey's support was timely, for two months later on April 1, 1904, Edward L. Hamilton, chairman of the House Committee on Territories, introduced a bill providing for the admission of Oklahoma and Indian Territory as one state, and Arizona and New Mexico as another. The latter two were to come into the Union under the name Arizona with the capital at Santa Fe. The bill, a Republican measure, passed the House on April 19, and was sent to the Senate the following day. But when Congress adjourned a week later no action had yet been taken.

Territorial politicians largely remained opposed to jointure, although many of them like Catron might have gained financially by the acquisition of statehood. Catron estimated that the value of his immense land holdings would double six months after admission. Yet he and Otero agreed for once in their belief that New Mexico must have single statehood. Otero broke with Rodey saying jointure was neither acceptable nor desirable.

The following year jointure was again considered in the Senate, and this time the audacious Foraker offered an amendment requiring a separate referendum on the matter in each territory. Thus, jointure could not become law without the consent of both New Mexico and Arizona. This was to have a significant bearing on the future of jointure.

Meanwhile New Mexico politics were far from peaceful. The split between Otero and Rodey over jointure and other

political matters led Otero to support Andrews in the next election. Although Andrews defeated Rodey in 1904, Otero's political career was damaged by the chaos and bitter feuding within the Republican party. To restore harmony President Roosevelt requested Otero's resignation in terms that could not be refused and the governor acceded.

New Mexico's fortunes were to be affected adversely by Andrews' election as delegate. Before he had completed a year in office, Andrews was blamed for a \$300,000 shortage found in the Enterprise National Bank of Allegheny, Pennsylvania. In a suicide note left by the bank cashier it was claimed that funds were advanced to Andrews to finance the Santa Fe Central Railway. The revelation brought about an investigation and a suit for \$52,000 against Andrews for money the delegate allegedly received. The *Pittsburgh Post* had no doubt about his guilt and felt that the incident would "materially affect the whole action of congress on the question of making new states."

An even more serious threat to jointure than Andrews' character was the bitter and vocal opposition of Arizonans to jointure. Beveridge, now an enthusiastic advocate of jointure, was especially angered by Arizona Governor J. H. Kibbey's opposition. "Does it not . . . appear to you that it would be well for the governors of these territories to keep their hands off this question which is a policy affecting the nation?" he wrote Roosevelt. Arizonans were even able to convince a group of touring congressmen led by Representative James A. Tawney of Minnesota that jointure was not for Arizona.

Despite these efforts to obstruct joint-statehood, the jointure campaign opened with real force during the 59th Congress. On December 5, 1905, President Roosevelt recommended jointure in his presidential message to Congress. Although this action was attributed to the President's love of the West, he later wrote a friend: "The only reason I want them in as one state now is that I fear the alternative is having them as two states three or four years hence."

Senator Foraker urged that his amendment calling for a separate referendum in each territory be adopted. Beveridge, fearing the power of special interests in Arizona, violently opposed the Foraker amendment declaring that it would give 10,000 people in Arizona an opportunity to control the destinies of 300,000 to 400,000 people in both territories. He reasoned that there were only 21,000 voters in Arizona, and because it was impossible to get all registered ones to the polls, 10,000 could determine the outcome of jointure. There were 10,000 men employed by the powerful Copper Queen Mining Company alone.

The Indiana Senator firmly believed that Arizona's opposition to jointure was inspired by "nothing in the world except a desire to escape taxation." To a certain extent this was the case in both New Mexico and Arizona. A very light tax burden was carried by railroad companies in the two territories. Mining companies were under assessed. Arizona cattle barons, realizing that the public domain which they had long used would be affected with statehood, already had sent an anti-jointure memorial to Congress. Lumber barons in New Mexico opposed statehood because their large land holdings, such as those in Valencia and McKinley counties, were assessed at less than one-tenth their true value.

There were, however, reasons for opposing jointure that could not be categorized as strictly selfish. New Mexico's population in 1900 was 195,310, certainly sufficient to warrant separate statehood. The contrast between New Mexico's predominantly Spanish-speaking population and Arizona's "anglo" majority would create an incompatible combination.

Proponents of jointure felt that together the territories would balance each other by supplying a variety of minerals, farm produce, and land. The tax burden although greater would be shared by more people, and the number of state officials would be only half as many as in single statehood, thus the people would pay fewer salaries.

Senate action on joint statehood during the 59th Congress led to a deadlock between the House and the Senate. The Sen-

ate surprisingly chose to eliminate all mention of New Mexico and Arizona in the bill; the House held to the original proposition. A conference of House and Senate leaders in June, 1906, resulted in the Carter Compromise. Whereas the Foraker proposal allowed the people of Arizona and New Mexico to vote as separate territories at a special election solely on the question of consolidation, the compromise amendment suggested that each territory should not only vote on the jointure question but should at the same time choose candidates for a constitutional convention and elect officers for the proposed state. It was hoped that candidates for state offices would influence voters to support joint statehood.

Expediency was the key word in describing the attitude of New Mexico Republican leaders. Prior to the enactment of the Carter Compromise, newspapers such as the *New Mexican* and the *Optic* were hostile to jointure. But four days after the Carter Compromise Max Frost, editor of the *New Mexican*, declared that his paper was now strongly in favor of jointure. This was significant because on March 9, 1906, two very prominent Republicans, Holm O. Bursum and Solomon Luna, had purchased 18,750 shares of capital stock in the New Mexico Printing Company which published the *New Mexican*. Perhaps the strategy of Republican leaders was best expressed by Major W. H. H. Llewellyn, Republican and Rough Rider friend of Roosevelt, during the debate over the Hamilton bill. If the Foraker amendment is adopted, he advised, Arizona will vote the jointure proposal down and then New Mexico can make her demand for separate status. Thus the full burden of opposing the administration-sponsored jointure measure would be borne by Arizona, while New Mexico would support the measure and be admitted later on the basis of her loyalty to the national administration.

Once the party had committed itself to jointure its problem was to win the backing of party workers and a majority of voting citizens in the territory. Bursum, as chairman of the Republican Central Committee, carried on correspond-

ence with New Mexico leaders and prominent citizens urging their support. Frost, through the *New Mexican*, hoped to convince the average citizen by blanketing the territory with pro-union literature.

Bursum's efforts were hampered because of a bitter feud between him and the new territorial governor, Herbert J. Hagerman. Bursum believed that Hagerman was opposed to the re-election of Andrews, and equated this resistance with opposition to the jointure movement. This was unfair for as the *Albuquerque Morning Journal* reported, the governor used every spare moment to campaign for statehood.

Jointure men were at a great disadvantage in Arizona where the two major parties were united in opposition to joint statehood. At both party conventions, held September 6, 1906, in Bisbee, jointure men found their efforts thwarted. Pro-jointure delegations were refused recognition, while contesting delegations pledged against joint statehood were seated.

When voting day finally arrived, on November 6, 1906, Arizona surprised no one by killing the jointure proposal with a convincing vote of 16,265 to 3,141. New Mexicans, however, responding to pressure from Republican leaders approved the proposed union by a vote of 26,195 to 14,735. Only northern counties like Santa Fe, Taos, Rio Arriba, Sierra and Union recorded majorities against it, probably reflecting the opposition of Catron and Otero. But consolidation efforts were not a complete failure as Oklahoma and the Indian Territory accepted jointure. This resulted in Oklahoma's admission into the Union on November 16, 1907.

New Mexicans were not particularly disappointed as they had rather expected a negative vote in Arizona. New Mexico's acceptance of jointure could only be interpreted as a victory for Bursum and the territorial Republican organization. But in the delegate race there was cause for concern, as Andrews squeaked by his Democratic opponent, Octaviano A. Larrazola, by the narrow vote of 22,915 to 22,649.

There were charges of irregular procedure and actual dis-

honesty, but efforts for a new referendum were soon dropped. Even Senator Beveridge seemed willing to concede that jointure as a movement was dead. The question remaining then was whether the two ill-fated territories would soon have another opportunity for admission.

Notwithstanding relief on the part of many that the jointure attempt had failed, pessimism characterized the thinking of most New Mexicans. The *Albuquerque Morning Journal* quoted an unnamed senator who declared that no other conditions for statehood would be considered except jointure. Moreover Beveridge still remained adamant in his attitude toward New Mexico and Arizona, believing that their populations would never fully entitle them to four senators.

Especially detrimental to future statehood prospects were the New Mexico land fraud cases of 1907 which culminated in the much publicized Hagerman Affair. As a reform governor, Hagerman was appointed with the idea that as an outsider he would not be aligned with any of the factions that had been formed as a result of Otero's feuds with Hubbel, Rodey, and Catron. Roosevelt had given Hagerman a free hand to deal with leaders of the territorial "machine." But when Hagerman removed Bursum from his job as superintendent of the state penitentiary for "inefficient and irregular" administration, he was severely criticized by many including Max Frost of the *New Mexican*. From that time on, the governor's reform movement was greatly weakened, as his political enemies included such potent figures as Delegate Andrews, Major Llewellyn, and Wallace Raynolds, secretary of the territory. Democrats, needless to say, did all they could to widen the breach.

Enemies of the new chief executive received their opportunity for revenge when Hagerman delivered land deeds to the Pennsylvania Development Company. The Fergusson Act contained a section which restricted the sale of public lands to one quarter section per individual, corporation, or association. In 1901, "Bull" Andrews, on behalf of himself and his

associates, wished to buy some ten thousand acres of timberland in Valencia County at three dollars per acre. After his offer was refused by the Board of Public Lands, it was suggested that he arrange to have various individuals file applications for the land, each person asking for not more than one quarter section. This was done by Andrew's friend, W. S. Hopewell, who represented the Pennsylvania Development Company, a corporation made up of Pennsylvania politicians and capitalists. Much land was acquired in this fashion by employees of the Pennsylvania Development Company, the Santa Fe Central Railway, or the New Mexico Fuel and Iron Company, corporations apparently under the control of the same men. Deeds for the property were recorded in the Territorial Land Office but not delivered to the applicants. In August of 1906, Hopewell asked Hagerman to give him the deeds, which he did, accepting for them a check totaling about \$11,000.

Although Andrews was a principal figure in this affair, he was among the opponents of Hagerman who used this episode to discredit the governor. Had Hagerman not consummated a transaction which was clearly fraudulent? Was his action not in violation of the Fergusson Act? On March 4, 1907, the territorial legislature passed a resolution charging Hagerman with misconduct in the Pennsylvania Development Company matter. This report eventually reached the President and put Hagerman in a very bad light. Meanwhile Andrews was doing everything he could in Washington to make it appear that unless the Governor were removed he would ruin the Republican party in New Mexico. Hagerman was called to Washington to explain his position and, on April 13, 1907, the day after his arrival, was asked by the President to submit his resignation.

Hagerman had to accede to the President's request, but he conducted a stout defense of his position in a series of long letters which passed between him and the President. He maintained that his reason for turning over the deeds to Hopewell was to secure compensation for valuable timber

already cut. But the assistant attorney general, Alvord W. Cooley, advised the President that this was unnecessary. The territory had "ample power under the statutes to proceed either civilly or criminally" to recover the value of the timber cut. Actually there is evidence of political expediency in Hagerman's removal. The President had remarked to a friend, "Hagerman is a good fellow, but has made an impossible Governor." Hagerman's father wrote Elihu Root on April 27, 1907, saying that Major Llewellyn had "stated to several reputable men that he knew . . . six weeks before that the President would remove Hagerman. . . ." Moreover, George Curry, Hagerman's successor, admitted later that the governorship was tendered to him as early as February, 1907.

Unquestionably Hagerman was a political liability, but Roosevelt was highly sensitive to hints that he had been unfair or discriminating. He dispatched two attorneys from the Department of Justice, Ormsby McHarg and Peyton Gordon, to investigate the situation. The two men proved extremely energetic, bringing suit against a number of corporations allegedly involved in the illegal purchase of lands and timber from the territory. Newspapers in the territory were soon attacking the two investigators as friends of the "late, fake reform ex-governor."

When McHarg almost vindicated Hagerman by ordering distribution of the money received from the Pennsylvania Development Company, Roosevelt took decisive action. Curry was furious and threatened to resign. Consequently the two agents were instructed by the President to complete their investigation the following month and turn all unfinished business over to Captain David H. Leahy, appointed to succeed Major Llewellyn as United States District Attorney. Moreover, nineteen indictments, which had been brought in connection with alleged fraudulent coal land entries uncovered in the investigation, were eventually dropped. Both men were quite unhappy, with McHarg becoming a rather outspoken critic of the President.

Curry's friendship with Roosevelt, dating back to their

Rough Rider days, prompted the *Albuquerque Citizen* to interpret his appointment as presidential willingness to at last support single statehood. But Roosevelt told Curry that "before you can get statehood you must clean house in New Mexico. . . ." Despite the President's admonition, New Mexicans had reason to be pleased the following year when the National Republican Convention included for the first time an unequivocal statehood pledge in the party platform. On December 8, 1908, Roosevelt recommended separate statehood, saying: "This should be done at the present session of Congress." In response to his call a bill for separate admission of New Mexico and Arizona passed the House unanimously on February 15 and was sent to the Senate.

In the upper house, Beveridge made use once again of every detrimental piece of evidence available in a last stand against New Mexico and Arizona. The land fraud scandal was sprung during hearings of his committee, and derogatory statements made by McHarg and Hagerman were submitted with effectiveness. The 60th Congress and Roosevelt's term both ended with no statehood for New Mexico.

Taft, anxious to please his predecessor, had no idea of deserting the statehood cause although New Mexicans were rather fearful before his inauguration. It soothed their worries when Representative Hamilton, still chairman of the House territorial committee, introduced on January 14, 1910, H.R. 18166, a bill to enable the people of New Mexico and Arizona to form separate governments and be admitted into the Union. New Mexico was permitted two representatives to the lower house and was to receive two sections of nonmineral land in each township in addition to the two previously granted for common schools under the Fergusson Act. Approximately 3,000,000 acres of nonmineral land for the payment of valid debts would be granted the new state.

Although the *Outlook*, a magazine supporting Beveridge, brought up the old, time-worn argument that New Mexico's insufficient population did not entitle her to statehood, Beveridge himself was tiring of the long campaign. The party

platform, the stand of the Taft administration, and the vote on jointure all made further opposition seem quite futile. Beveridge accepted the inevitable, but determined to push a statehood measure free of "jokers" hurting the people's interests. Thus the Hamilton bill, having already passed the House, was reported favorably by his committee, but altered by an amendment which left nothing of the original bill except the enacting clause.

The generous land provisions were cut drastically and the process of constitution-making was placed under the close supervision of the federal government. For the first time a new state was required to return its ratified constitution to both the President and Congress for final approval. Rigid safeguards on the disposal of public land were inserted in the amended bill, no doubt reflecting suspicion caused by the land fraud scandal.

The Senate version of the bill represented the eastern viewpoint to a greater degree than had the original House measure. Whereas the House bill permitted the teaching of languages other than English, the Senate version provided that schools should be conducted in English only. State legislators as well as state officers were required to read, write and understand the English language well enough not to need interpreters. A more stringent polygamy restriction was incorporated because of fear of Mormonism, particularly in Arizona Territory.

New Mexicans naturally disliked the Senate version, but saw no alternative but to support it. Bursum wrote Beveridge: "I have told our friends down here that New Mexico will obtain statehood by the grace and good offices of Senator Beveridge."

After waiting for an administration-backed conservation bill to be passed, the Senate on June 16 finally voted on the Beveridge amendments to the statehood bill. The vote closely followed party lines, Democrats preferring the original measure, but the amended version was accepted. Now the views of the two houses had to be reconciled. The President had

been reported to favor the House version and Representative Hamilton felt confident of support when he called upon the President a day later to discuss the matter. But to Hamilton's amazement and chagrin he was told that the Senate measure was preferred and that the House should accede.

Therefore, on June 18, 1910, the lower house unanimously accepted the Senate version. The long document was taken to the President on June 20 where in the presence of Senator Beveridge, the territorial delegates, and other prominent figures, Taft affixed his signature to the enabling act. "Rejoice together in the new day that is borned unto us," trumpeted the territorial *Melrose Enterprise* in response.

In complying with her enabling act, New Mexico's first duty was to hold a constitutional convention. An attempt for a nonpartisan convention failed because the Republicans, as the dominant party, refused to enter into any such agreement with the Democratic central committee. The lack of cooperation between the two major parties only aggravated the fundamental problems faced by citizens of the Southwest. New Mexico and Arizona, as the last continental territories to be admitted to the Union, were soon to become a battleground for the great issues of the Progressive Movement, particularly direct legislation in the form of initiative, referendum, and recall. While Harvey Fergusson, a Democrat swept by the mood of the times, led the fight for progressive reform in New Mexico, the Republican party apparently preferred to remain noncommittal on many of the key political and social issues. According to the party platform of Doña Ana County, the questions of "initiative and referendum, statewide prohibition or local option" were to be left to the vote of the people, not written into the constitution.

Republicans had dominated New Mexico since the turn of the century, and it was no surprise when more than two-thirds of the delegates present for the convention opening on October 3 were Republicans. A number of familiar faces were in evidence at the Santa Fe meeting: the aging Catron, Solomon Luna, chief representative of the native element;

and Fergusson, leader of the so-called "irreconcilables" who demanded a "thoroughly progressive constitution." Other prominent leaders included Bursum, Fall, Charles A. Spiess, Charles Springer, and José Sena.

Thirty-two lawyers comprising the largest occupational group, reflected the leading role played by tough frontier lawyers. Because law and land had long been associated in New Mexico, one delegate was prompted to remark that the land grant clique was the most powerful special interest group at the convention. There also was a sizeable delegation of Spanish-speaking people. This group had an understandable concern for the welfare of traditional native customs and culture.

Republicans were assured control of the convention on the third day when a 26-member Committee on Committees was formed with Solomon Luna as chairman. This group established 27 lesser committees assigned to draft the various sections of the constitution. Each committee had a Republican chairman and majority to ensure the enactment of favorable provisions.

Although the Republican majority looked with askance at the comparatively new and untried instruments of direct legislation, they dared not give too negative a response to the most popular issues of the day. Consequently the convention drafted a watered down referendum measure and difficult amending provision. Constitutional safeguards also were inserted to guarantee the rights of Spanish-speaking people. Woman's suffrage and prohibition, the other two key issues, failed because of Republican reluctance.

Control of corporate institutions and legislative apportionment were hotly contested issues. The progressives wanted monopoly regulation and restrictions on Big Business. But Holm Bursum, chairman of the Corporation Committee, was opposed to any measure which might discourage corporations from coming into the new state. The result was the establishment of a weak corporation commission, limited in power to function.

The controversy over legislative apportionment took its traditional American form. A "Gerrymandering" operation was so effectively employed by the Republican majority that although the Democrats in the first state election elected the governor and one of their candidates to Congress, the Republicans achieved a two-thirds majority in both the senate and house of the state legislature.

January 21, 1911, was set by New Mexico's governor, William J. Mills, as the date of ratification for the constitution. The Democrats drew up a list of objections to the conservative constitution at Santa Fe on December 19, 1910, but did not bind party members to vote against it. It thus remained for individuals to carry on the fight against ratification. Harvey Fergusson was foremost in the battle, continually challenging the lack of one sincerely progressive measure. He described the amendment article as 'difficult and improbable' and the referendum measure as "mere make believe."

But the constitution had many defenders. Newspapers commended the convention for having drafted a worthy document, and the threat that statehood would be delayed if the constitution were not approved was effectively employed. As expected, it was ratified by a vote of 31,742 to 13,309.

New Mexicans considered their conservative constitution a likely candidate for approval despite the Democratic victory in the congressional election of 1910. At the time the constitution was completed, a "lame duck" Republican Congress was still in session, and a President known to be conservative was in the White House. But New Mexico had not reckoned with the effect of Arizona's newly framed and very liberal constitution. It contained measures for initiative, referendum, and recall, and a child labor provision. Most controversial, however, was a provision for the recall of judges. Many prominent politicians felt that these radical ideas could only lead to a breakdown of American government, but Arizonans did have one important figure on their side; Theodore Roosevelt gave the new document his wholehearted support.

Despite the raging controversy over Arizona's constitu-

tion, President Taft did approve New Mexico's effort, and the constitution was sent to Congress for approval on March 1. A reluctant Beveridge was forced to let the document leave his committee and be reported on the floor of the Senate. At this point, Senator Robert Owen, a Democrat from Oklahoma, objected to passing the resolution until it included approval of the controversial Arizona constitution. A lengthy filibuster by Owen finally moved the worried President to tell Owen that an extraordinary session of Congress would be called immediately after the close of the 61st Congress. Owens ended his filibuster but New Mexico had to wait until the extra session. A disappointed and embittered Fall saw partisan politics in Owens' action. "Naturally, the Democrats want Arizona admitted along with New Mexico, as the latter will probably send two Republican senators and the former two Democrats."

At the extra session of Congress a series of hearings were held on the merits of New Mexico's constitution, which forced the territory to air its dirty linen in public. Opponents such as Fergusson and J. D. Hand, Democrats; and Hagerman and Richard Hanna, insurgent Republicans, were on hand to criticize the new document. Former Senator Henry W. Blair of New Hampshire was there to repeat a charge made earlier by prohibition groups that the ratification election was crooked. Eventually the House agreed on the Flood Resolution, a provision that New Mexico should vote on an easier amending procedure at the first state election, while Arizona would vote on eliminating the recall of judges, the outcome of each vote to have no bearing on admission.

In the upper house Senator Nelson offered an amendment which would have made it mandatory that Arizona give up her recall of judges provision before admission. Despite real concern for a free and independent judiciary as expressed by such influential men as Elihu Root and William Borah, the Nelson resolution was defeated and the Flood resolution accepted.

Taft could not in accord with his conscience have accepted

the Flood Resolution which would have allowed Arizona to retain her provision for recall of judges. Referring to the recall in his veto message he declared: "This provision of the Arizona constitution, in its application to county and state judges, seems so pernicious in its effect, so destructive of independence in the judiciary, . . . that I must disapprove a constitution containing it." The reaction was explosive. New Mexicans, because their statehood hopes were dashed too by the veto, were bitter. An "act of wanton, without reason, without justification and without precedent" screamed the *Roosevelt County Herald*.

There was talk in Congress of overriding the presidential veto, but cooler heads prevailed. Senator William Alden Smith, new chairman of the Senate territorial committee, presented a resolution which would amend the Flood measure by requiring that the recall clause be eliminated from the Arizona constitution before admission—such action to be voted upon by the people of the territory. New Mexico would still vote on an easier amending clause, but be admitted regardless of the outcome of the vote. This compromise resolution was approved by the Senate the following day 53 to 9. The House adopted the resolution unanimously. At 3:08 p.m., August 21, 1911, President Taft signed the resolution admitting New Mexico and Arizona into the Union. New Mexicans were overjoyed as evidenced by the statehood meetings held throughout the territory.

November 7, 1911, was the date set in New Mexico for election of governor, two representatives to Congress, members of the first state legislature, and a host of county and state officers. New Mexicans would also vote on a simpler amending procedure whereby any change could be proposed by a simple majority in each legislative house, and be ratified by a majority at the "next election after adjournment," or in a special election. Amendment ballots would be separate and "printed on paper of the blue tint, so that they might be readily distinguishable from the white ballots provided for the election of county and state officers. . . ." Because of the

color specification this amendment became known as the "Blue Ballot" amendment.

Writing William Jennings Bryan, Fergusson was deeply concerned over the approaching election. "As a willing tool of corruptionists long in control here, the governor called the election for November 7, the shortest time possible. They know their machine is all ready with abundance of money—that we are without money or effective organization." The letter concluded with an urgent plea for money.

Fergusson's belief that money could do the trick was not without substantial basis. Republicans were sharply divided and events of the next few months were to show how severe the split was. Bursum's selection as gubernatorial candidate met with bitter opposition, and the choice of Curry as candidate for one of the two House seats did not satisfy all the delegates. While Elfego Baca, the other choice, endorsed the stand taken by the convention against the Blue Ballot amendment, Curry told convention members that condemnation of the Blue Ballot was a mistake.

It was announced October 2 at the Democratic meeting in Santa Fe that a group of "Independent Republicans" headed by former Governor Hagerman and Hanna would join the Democrats in forming a fusion ticket. They were given two spots on the ticket while top jobs went to leading Democrats. William C. McDonald was nominated for Governor and Fergusson and Paz Valverde were selected as candidates for the national House of Representatives.

The combination of "Independent Republicans" and Democrats was strong enough to defeat Bursum and also elect Fergusson to the House. Curry was elected because he refused to campaign against the Blue Ballot amendment which was carried by a vote of 34,897 to 22,831. The apportionment provision of the constitution saved the day for Republicans who won handily in the legislative races.

The election of New Mexico's first two senators had been delegated to the newly-elected legislature scheduled to convene in the spring. These two posts were regarded as rightful

prizes by some of the territory's most vigorous statehood proponents. Andrews, Catron, Fall, and Governor Mills were considered top contenders. By all odds Andrews should have secured one of these seats. As delegate to Congress when the enabling act was achieved he had increased his popularity with the people. He had the support of powerful eastern financial interests as well as influential men in Congress. Senator Boise Penrose, heir to Quay as political boss of Pennsylvania, had assured Taft in the presence of Andrews that he would support the Delegate's political aspirations.

In September, 1911, apparently sensing a lack of support for his candidacy among Republican leaders of the territory, Andrews came out for a direct primary in electing senators. But his aspirations were doomed to failure. Although Mills was not an active candidate, Fall and Catron were, and two shrewder, more formidable opponents could not be found.

The actual account of how Catron and Fall won the two senate seats is a confused one. One report states that Andrews nobly withdrew his candidacy during a secret meeting attended by Luna, Bursum, Catron, and others. This version fails to account for Andrews' bitterness following the selection of Catron and Fall. He, along with Governor McDonald and the *Albuquerque Journal Democrat*, questioned the legality of Fall's election. Apparently 17 members of the House joined the Senate in electing Fall the night before the joint assembly ratified the action. This procedure caused an uproar but Fall in stubbornness continued in public life destined for a career which in all respects was sensational.

According to another report submitted by the Burn's Detective Agency, four Spanish-speaking legislators, all supporters of Andrews, were lured into the old Palace Hotel in Santa Fe by Elfego Baca, where they were arrested for allegedly trying to sell their votes. The four were forced to resign their offices and jailed. A request by the sergeant-at-arms that they be released was ignored for 18 hours, although the four were later exonerated of charges preferred against them and declared entitled to their seats. The conclusion of

this report was that the whole incident was a frame-up initiated by Baca, Spiess, Sena, Springer, Llewellyn, and Bursum to advance the candidacy of Fall, who would be assured of victory if the four were removed.

Statehood had, however, been safely achieved before Catron and Fall were elected senators. Arizona had complied with the wishes of the President by eliminating the recall provision, at least until she had been admitted as a state. On January 5, while crowds gathered in Santa Fe to hear the eagerly awaited news that Taft was signing the proclamation of statehood, the last delay occurred. The Department of Justice wanted the signing of the statehood proclamation delayed until it could dismiss some of the actions taken in the old timber cases. Taft was very displeased at this and his irritation caused the Justice Department to dismiss the cases immediately.

On January 6, 1912, a delegation including Andrews and the two congressmen-elect from New Mexico witnessed the signing which occurred at 1:35 p.m. Taft then turned and smilingly said: "Well, it's all over. I'm glad to give you life. I hope you will be healthy." Arizona, so long associated with New Mexico in the fight, was proclaimed a state on February 14, 1912. Consequently almost sixty-four years after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the sister territories of the Southwest were brought into the Union.

SHEEP HUSBANDRY IN NEW MEXICO, 1902-1903

*Edited by William J. Parish**

Introduction

The American Shepherd's Bulletin, from which this series of articles is reprinted, was near the end of a lineage of magazines devoted to the sheep and wool industry in the United States. The first of the group (although there was an antecedent) was the *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Wool Growers' Association of the United States*¹ of which Volume 1, No. 1, was published July, 1896. Central offices were in Washington, D.C. and branch offices in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York City. S.N.D. North, Secretary of the National Wool Manufacturer's Association, was the editor. He had been the editor of the *Bulletin of the National Wool Manufacturer's Association* since November, 1864. With Volume 3, No. 3, of March 1898, the new magazine became the *Monthly Bulletin of the National Wool Growers' Association of the United States* with headquarters in Boston and branch offices in Philadelphia, Chicago, New York City, Atlanta and San Francisco. It had a Legislative and Association office in Washington, D.C. Frank P. Bennett became the editor and remained the editor of the series of publications that followed.

Franklin Pierce Bennett (who signed his name and referred to himself as Frank P. Bennett) learned the typesetting trade as a very young man and, as a journeyman, traveled extensively through the Middle West and out to the range states where he became well acquainted with people in those areas who were sheep raisers. He became editor of several newspapers and eventually turned this experience, together with his interest in the sheep industry, toward the founding, in 1887, of the *American Wool Reporter*. This publication soon became the *American Wool & Cotton Reporter* and, subsequently, *America's Textile Reporter*, a current publica-

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1. The titles of this lineage of publications were obtained from the mastheads of a bound set loaned by the library of the Department of Agriculture, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington D.C.

tion. A few years after the founding of the *American Wool Reporter*, Bennett also started the *United States Investor*, a periodical still being published.²

Frank P. Bennett, grandson of Franklin Pierce Bennett, wrote: "Because of my grandfather's interest in sheep husbandry, plus his acquaintanceship with the late Senator Warren, the late Senator Reed Smoot and the second elder Smith of the Mormon Church, he got himself into the sheep raising business. He started the Associated Wool Growers' Company with elder Jesse Smith and in 1896, commenced the publication of the *American Shepherd's Bulletin* with offices in Boston, Chicago and Salt Lake City."³

The Shepherd's Bulletin of the National Wool Growers' Association of the United States was the new name (Vol. 3, No. 12, Dec. 1898) for the series of sheep and wool magazines which stemmed from the *Bulletin of the National Wool Manufacturer's Association* published as early as 1864. With Volume 6, No. 1, January 1901, the title was changed again to *The National Shepherd's Bulletin of the National Wool Growers' Association*. Since November 1899, the publishing offices had been Atlanta and Boston. A Salt Lake City office had been added. With the April, 1901, issue the name of the National Wool Growers' Association disappears from the masthead, although the Legislative and Association offices in Washington, D.C. remains. With Volume 6, No. 9, September 1901, the title was changed to *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*. By September, 1902, the Legislative and Association office in Washington, D.C. was not being mentioned. From Volume 12, No. 7, July, 1907 until May 1908, the magazine was entitled *The National Livestock Bulletin*.

The only near complete set of these volumes generally available is to be found in the library of the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., although a partial set may be found at the University of Massachusetts library, Amherst, Massachusetts.

2. Letter to Wm. J. Parish from Frank P. Bennett, Boston, Jan. 22, 1958.

3. *Ibid.*

*"The Young Observer" In New Mexico**

Sheep Raising and Ranch Life in the Territory—
Albuquerque, Las Vegas and Wagon Mound.

SPRINGER, N. M., Jan. 10, 1902. After reaching the town of Albuquerque, which is surrounded on two sides by high mountains, and located in the fertile valley of the upper Rio Grande river, I went immediately to call on the management of the scouring mill of that town. They are a pleasant set of whole-souled fellows to talk to, and always seem to be willing to give all the information you wish on the country and the conditions that govern sheep raising and wool producing.

Mr. Jas. Wilkinson,¹ the manager, kindly took me all through the mill, and showed me the different processes, from sorting, which is done by Mexican women, to where the scoured wool is put into sacks, and trucked into the cars that are waiting on the side track. They run one scouring machine NIGHT AND DAY, most of the year, and this year they rolled up a grand total of 3,683,533 pounds of wool scoured. The mill was started in 1879 [1897] by the present manager, Mr. Wilkinson.² He ran it for two years alone, and then took in

* (From Our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 2, February, 1902.

At this writing "The Young Observer" has not been identified. By his own admission he was not the same person as "The Old Observer" (Mar. 1902 article, p. 8 manuscript) whose articles on the sheep industry in various states and territories appeared contemporaneously. Unless he was being facetious in one remark, he must have been a very heavy man (*ibid*, p. 12 manuscript). "The Young Observer" was neither as expressive, as observing, or as accurate as "The Old Observer." Some of the inaccuracies of "The Young Observer" must be ascribed to either a difficult handwriting or a careless editing of his manuscripts after they had been mailed to the publishing office.

1. Louis A. McCrae, who came to Albuquerque from Nova Scotia, March 29, 1891, remembers Wilkinson "as a jovial fellow" (Interviewed by Wm. J. Parish, July 20, 1955, Albuquerque). See R. E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, Vol. 3, The Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1917, p. 62 for biographical sketch.

2. Wilkinson began his proprietorship in 1897. He does not appear in the Albuquerque City Directory of 1896 though he does in 1897 (*City of Albuquerque Directories*, Hughes & McCreight, Press of the Daily Citizen, Albuquerque, UNM Library, p. 78). The business was incorporated in 1900 with John H. Bearrup as President, V. P. Edie as Secretary-Treasurer, and James Wilkinson, Vice-President and General-Manager. The minutes state: "Whereas, Bearrup, Edie & Wilkinson have heretofore carried on a copartnership business under the name and style of the Albuquerque Wool Scouring Mills . . . each partner will now receive 83-1/3 shares each in corporation . . . fully paid and non-assessable." Rather

two partners, Mr. J. H. Bearup [Bearrup]³ and Mr. V. P. Edie,⁴ both of Albuquerque. The capacity is 12,000 pounds in 10 hours. They hire 35 women and 14 men.

They make a market for all of the tallow in the country around, as they make their own soap for scouring purposes. THE BUSINESS OF THIS MILL is steadily increasing on account of the practical and honest methods of doing business, which prevail there. The wool that is scoured is a grade wool, short in staple, and quite a few fall clips are still marketed, but the majority shear only once a year.

I have heard of one man who will shear three times in two years as an experiment.

In and around Albuquerque there are still many native sheep that have never been graded with Merinos. Some clips that I have seen have

A MIXTURE OF LINCOLN BLOOD, but where they are graded they are generally with Merinos. There is also a firm in Albuquerque (Chadwick & Hamm)⁵ which does a large business in supplying eastern feeders with lambs for feeding purposes. The members of the firm are hustling young men. There is a free, openheartedness about the people of New Mexico which an eastern man cannot help but liking. They take every man to be a gentleman until he has proven himself otherwise. You go to a man's ranch and stay as long as you want to, ride his horses, and

large dividends were paid in January of 1903 and 1904. Wilkinson bought Bearrup's interest on December 17, 1904 and Edie's interest on January 10, 1911 (*Albuquerque Wool Scouring Mill Minute Book*, UNM Library). The business became less profitable as the years went by. In 1916, Wilkinson left the business and W. E. Rogers became manager. In 1922, the last year of the company's existence, Rogers was listed as "Agent" (*Albuquerque City Directories*, *op cit*, 1917, p. 326; 1922, p. 433).

3. In 1904, Bearrup founded the Rio Grande Woolen Mills Company of Albuquerque, a cooperative, which manufactured blankets, dress goods, mens fabrics and clothing (*American Shepherds Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 4, April, 1906, p. 334, UNM microfilm). The Company disappears from the 1909 listing of the Albuquerque City Directory although Bearrup was listed in that year as a resident. Bearrup was a candidate for Lt. Governor of New Mexico on the Socialist ticket in 1916. He received 2,069 votes out of 66,747 cast (see Twitchell, *op cit*, Vol. 5, p. 422).

4. V. P. Edie was formerly a partner in Hamm (Fred W.) & Edie, wool dealers in Albuquerque (*Albuquerque City Directory*, *op cit*, 1896, p. 112).

5. Charles Chadwick and Fred W. Hamm, Sheep Commission Brokers. Successors to Hamm & Edie (*Albuquerque City Directory*, *op. cit.*, 1901, p. 68. See note 4 above).

MAKE YOURSELF AT HOME, generally, and the way in which they go at business here is enough to take the breath away from a tenderfoot.

The streets of Albuquerque are crowded with Americans, Spaniards, Negroes, Chinese and Indians.⁶ The most picturesque of this hustling throng is the Indian with his brightly-colored blanket, his squaw following with her papoose. The Indians usually have in their hands some bows and arrows, pieces of pottery or other articles which they make to sell to the people from the East, and in that way pick up many striy [sic] nickels and dimes. Many of

THE RANCH OWNERS live in the towns, and have their ranches anywhere from 10 to 100 miles out. They have trusty foremen whom they leave in charge of their ranches while they enjoy the pleasures and privileges of town life, and educate their childrren.

The skies of New Mexico are nearly always blue, the air is bracing, and the people loyal to their territory. There are quite a number of ranch men in and around Albuquerque whom I did not get a chance to see, and as I visited them later on, I will describe their ranches.

THE ILFEL [ILFELD] BROTHERS⁷ do a thriving business in wool and pelts, besides being among the largest sheep owners in the territory.

I made a pleasant call on Mr. Garcia,⁸ who also does a good

6. *The Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*, records a total of 8 Chinese in the entire Territory (Vol. II, p. xxiv). The population of Bernalillo County, embracing Albuquerque, was 23,630 of which 332 was stated to have been of negro extraction and 4,758 to have been Indians (Vol. I, p. 549).

7. Noa and Louis Ilfeld. Noa came to New Mexico from Germany about the first of December 1871 and, if plans materialized, came with the teams of A. Letcher and Company from Kit Carson, Colorado to Las Vegas where his elder brother Charles was a partner in that firm. Louis came in 1873 (Wm. J. Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company: A Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico*, Harvard University Press, 1961, p. 362, fn. 52). Each joined a still older brother, Herman, in Santa Fe in a firm known as Ilfeld and Company (*ibid.*, pp. 362-363, fn. 58). Herman died in New York City, May 15, 1884 (*Family Prayer Book*, Office of Louis C. Ilfeld, Las Vegas, N.M.). Subsequently, the younger brothers, Noa and Louis, moved to Albuquerque where they founded a branch in Old Town (Parish *op cit*, pp. 362-363, fn. 58). By 1885 they had closed the Santa Fe store and restyled the firm, Ilfeld Brothers (*Charles Ilfeld Collection*, UNM Library, Ledger H, p. 252).

8. Probably Elias G. Garcia, sheep dealer who had a partnership with a Ben Johnson (Albuquerque City Directories, *op cit*, 1897, p. 42 and 1901, pp. 87 and 103).

business in wool and pelts, and runs quite an extensive band of sheep.

Leaving the town of Albuquerque by way of the Santa Fe, I stopped over at Laury [Lamy], where is located the great Onderdonk [Onderdonck]⁹ Live Stock Company and goat ranch. This company has

THE BEST APPOINTED RANCH that I have yet visited, up to Jan. 10. They raise the common goats, and for the past two years have been working out of them and getting into Angoras. The ranch buildings are located about one mile east of Laury [Lamy] in a small creek valley. The house is adobe, and square, having an open court in the centre. The true old Spanish type of house. For the benefit of those who have never seen

AN ADOBE HOUSE, I will say that it is constructed of sun-dried brick, built into a very thick wall, usually about two feet thick. It is then plastered inside and out. The roof is nearly flat, and usually composed of mud branches and poles. Some are made better. It is claimed by those who live in these houses that they are warmer in winter, and colder in the summer, than any other kind of a house. The one on the Onderdonk ranch is one of the best that I have ever seen. Their barns, corrals, breeding pens and stables are models of completeness and handiness. To the west of the house is a large, long, two story building, which is the store and storehouse. In this house I found almost everything, from goat pelts to groceries and supplies for the herders.

THE FOREMAN on the ranch is an educated Spaniard, and quite an entertaining talker, and ready to explain things about the ranch.¹⁰ The breeding season was on, and I found

9. Charles S. Onderdonck (Charles Ilfeld Collection, *op cit.*, Copy Book 53, May 8, 1899, p. 343).

10. Several years previous to this, one of Onderdoncks principal employees or associates had been Montgomery Bell, a negro, who became a confidant of Charles Ilfeld, the prosperous and large merchant in Las Vegas. Bell evidently had acquired a substantial competence as early as 1884, although it is generally thought that he added to it in the ranching business. Shortly after 1898 or 1899, Bell bought the William Frank home in Old Las Vegas. (Parish interview: Karl Wertz, Las Vegas, retired employee of Charles Ilfeld, Sept. 4, 1952). He had been a lender of funds, usually in small amounts, since 1884 or sooner and in 1889

them using five different bucks with their Angoras, breeding each where it would do the most good. Their watering system is a good one. They have windmills to pump the water up into large tanks, and from there it is distributed to the troughs placed conveniently around. The goats are driven into corralls [sic] each night during the winter season to get them into better quarters and to keep them away from the coyotes and mountain lions. They run about 650 Angoras and 3,000 or 4,000 common goats.

I must not conclude this little story without saying something about THE CHIEF SECRETARY, whose name at this writing has escaped my memory, but it is sufficient to say that he is a business man, and understands what ought to be done on the ranch, and does it. At the time of my visit the children were out from town, having a vacation on the ranch, and right here I wish to say that they kept things from getting dull in the least. The ranch has a few carloads of common goats for sale, and will have quite a number of yearling Angoras to sell next spring.

LAS VEGAS. The next stop was Las Vegas, where I called on the scouring mill run by Gross, Blackwell & Co.¹¹ I found that they had scoured about 3,000,000 pounds this last year, and were still at it. I had a very pleasant call on the foreman, who showed me all over the plant, and last, but not least, some very fine samples of scoured wools. They make a prac-

appears to have had outstanding a balance of at least \$2,000 due from Noa Ilfeld (Charles Ilfeld Collection, *op cit*, Copy Book 11, July 10, 1884, p. 142; Copy Book 17, June 27, 1889, p. 71; Copy Book 49, Sept. 7, 1898, p. 419). A letter from A. T. Rogers, Jr., of Las Vegas, Sept. 22, 1952 to Parish states in part: "I knew Montgomery Bell very well. I knew him in the early 90s when he was in the cattle and sheep business. I do not know the exact date of his death. His house on Hot Springs Boulevard used to be quite a show place. He was used generally as go between or agent in livestock transactions. He was a man of great probity and everyone here had the utmost confidence in his honesty and integrity. . . . My recollection was that he was manager of the stables [at the Montezuma Hotel, Hot Springs, in the early days]. During the operation of that hotel, they had quite extensive stables with horses to accommodate the guests and it is my distinct recollection that he, either alone at times and later associated with Ben Bruhn, had charge of that department of entertainment. . . . Montgomery Bell was not dark colored. He was undoubtedly a mulatto and his hair was not kinky. He undoubtedly had a great influx of Anglo blood. There were no children born to Bell and his wife."

11. Formerly Otero and Sellar & Company and subsequently Gross, Kelly & Company.

tice of taking a pound sample out of each lot of wool that they scour, and have it handy in the office for further reference. There are

FOUR OR FIVE SCOURING MILLS¹² in this place, and at present there is being erected a new plant,¹³ and a fine new steam dryer is being installed. This dryer is supposed to be the finest in the territory and to have the greatest capacity. There is a thing about this town that is rather misleading. There are two towns, Las Vegas, the old town, and East Las Vegas, the new town. If you have your mail directed to Las Vegas, as I did, and many others, you will land in the town and go to the post-office and inquire for your mail for three or four days, and worry why it does not come, and at last, as you are about ready to leave in despair the clerk may ask you if you have been over to post-office in the old town. At this hint, you proceed in hot haste to the post-office, and there find your bundle of mail that has been patiently waiting you all of the week.

There is one thing that impressed me very favorably, and that was the

EXTREME POLITENESS of the Spanish people. They will go out of their way any day to do a stranger a favor, and seem to enjoy doing it.

The largest general merchandise store in Las Vegas is that owned and controlled by Chas. Ilfeld & Sons.¹⁴ They informed me that it was twice as large as any other store of its kind in New Mexico territory. After a stay of about a week in Las Vegas, I next stopped at

WAGON MOUND, so named on account of a peculiarly-shaped mountain lying to the east of the town. This little

12. Ludeman Wool Company, John Robbins Wool Scouring Mill, James Robbins Wool Washing Mill, Arnot Wool Company (Gross, Blackwell & Co.) and the Ross and Browne Wool Scouring Company (First Annual Directory of Las Vegas, N.M. for 1895-1896, J.A. Curruth, Printer, 1895, and City and Business Directory of Las Vegas, 1900, Directory Publishing Company, Las Vegas, Highlands University Library, Las Vegas, N.M. *The Shepherd's Bulletin of the National Wool Growers' Association of the United States*, Vol. 6, No. 12, December, 1901, microfilm, UNM library).

13. Ross and Browne Wool Scouring Company was incorporated in December, 1901. *ibid.*

14. The correct name was Charles Ilfeld, Proprietor (Wm. J. Parish, *op cit.*).

mountain is nearly 7,000 feet above the sea level, and can only be ascended by one narrow and dangerous trail. The reason it is called Wagon Mound is because the top is shaped like the top of a prairie schooner. While there I called on the Vorenberg Mercantile Co.,¹⁵ who, according to some accounts, are doing about \$360,000 worth of business a year. They handle a large number of carloads of wool besides doing a good big business in general merchandise. The postmaster, Mr. J. R. Aquilar,¹⁶ has

A FINE FLOCK of about 9,000, and is one of the most careful handlers of sheep in this locality. He has leased and owns about 3,500 acres of land, besides his government range. Last year he raised 83 per cent of a crop of lambs. He puts from 2,000 to 2,500 sheep in each camp with two herders. The sheep are driven to water every day in summer, and every other day in winter. These sheep average him four pounds of wool to the head, and the wool shrinks about 40 per cent in scouring which leaves 2.4 pounds of scoured wool to each sheep which at the current price brings a little over a dollar a head. You can easily figure up

THE GROSS INCOME of a sheep ranch man, but when you come to getting at the expense and the net gain, you have a more complex problem on your hands. They generally hire their Spanish herders for \$15 or \$16 per month, and board them, which would bring the cost up to \$25 a piece. Most of them have two herders for every 2,000 sheep.

EXPENSES. Then for herders for a year we might count \$600; for shearing and marketing, \$175; for rams at \$10, \$150; for general hand, \$20, \$240; for wear and tear on wagons, horses, etc., \$100; total expense, \$1,265.

INCOME. For wool, \$2,000; for wether lambs to sell, \$1,400; total income, \$3,400; total expenses, \$1,265; net gain or income, \$2,135, under the most favorable circumstances.

15. Simon Vorenberg. He had purchased the Wagonmound farms of A. M. Adler and G. W. Bond & Bro. Company (See Twitchell, *op cit*, Vol. 3, p. 430), G. W. Bond & Bro. was purchased Aug. 3, 1903 (Frank Grubbs, "Frank Bond: Gentleman Sheepherder of Northern New Mexico, 1883-1915," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 36:149).

16. Biographical reference in Twitchell, *op cit*, Vol. 3, p. 432.

Take it one year with another: \$1,000 to \$1,500 would be a fair estimate. If any reading ranch men wishes to send his figures for the past year, I would gladly stand corrected or enlightened. There are quite a number of items that have been left out, such as maintenance of family, interest on the investment, etc. I would like to hear from any ranchmen on this question.

OTHER SHEEP MEN. The other sheep men whom I met in the towns are as follows: Vincente Mares, who owns 2,000 sheep; Placido Garcia who owns 2,000 sheep; E. Martinus [Martinez?], 3,000 sheep; J. D. Medina, 2,500 sheep; Mrs. McKeller, 400; Amedor Martinez, 3,000; Eugenio Idulph, [Rudolph]¹⁷, 2,000 sheep; Daniel Gallegos, 2,000; Lusiano Lobez [Lopez?], 3,000; L. A. Rawlins, 2,000; Herbert D. Romero, on the point of buying 2,000; Cleopes Romero, sheriff of San Miguel county runs 4,000 or over. The First National Bank, of Las Vegas, do a general banking business all over that part of the territory; J. D. McGrath has 2,000; Esperidion Garcia, 2,500; Alexandro Arellano, 2,000 or over.

These gentlemen were all met in the towns, and were very much interested in our work.

THE JARITAS RANCH OWNED BY FLOERSHEIM & ABBOTT.¹⁸ Nearly the first man I met in Springer was Mr. Abbott, who is part owner and boss at the ranch. The ranch is beautifully situated on a mesa or high tableland in the northeastern part of New Mexico. The ranch buildings are situated about 16 miles from Springer, which is their nearest post-office. Mr. Abbott nearly always drives the 16 miles in two hours, and has frequently made it in one hour and 55 minutes. As one approaches the Jaritas ranch, the view is very pretty. The house is adobe with walls nearly two feet thick, which keep them warm in winter and cool in summer.

17. A prominent family in the 1870's by this name lived at Rincon del Tecolote, northwest of Las Vegas. One branch spelled its name Rudolph (See W. A. Keleher, *Violence in Lincoln County, 1869-1881*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1957, pp. 349-351).

18. These gentlemen were described in detail by the "Old Observer" (*American Shepherd's Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 9, Sept. 1906, pp. 823-825, microfilm, UNM library).

THE HOUSE has green shutters, a red roof and a porch in front, 96 feet long. One hundred yards from the house is a pretty little artificial lake,¹⁹ from which in winter they get ice, and in summer use for irrigation. All the water used at the ranch comes from a sanitary still, so that all of the deadly alkali is taken out. The first question a person involuntarily asks is,

WHERE ARE THE SHEEP? Although there are some 25,000 or 30,000 sheep and lambs on the ranch, we had to drive some 10 or 12 miles to see 5,000 of them. They are well graded up with Merinos, and shear from five to six pounds of wool to the head. In the last four years they have raised 64,700 lambs. The proprietors of the ranch own and control over 50 miles of water; that is, they own the land on both sides of 50 miles of streams or lakes. They keep about 50 men the year around, and in lambing have 180 busily at work.

THEIR HELP is all Spanish except the book-keeper, Mr. Divine,²⁰ who is an American. The shearing house is 132 feet long by 30 feet wide. Nine feet of this width, the whole length, is used for packing the wool, seven feet is a raised platform to shear on, and the other 14 feet is for pens for the sheep. Each pen is 12 feet in width, and holds 50 to 60 sheep. There are generally three or four shearers in each pen, one being the boss. They count the shorn sheep as they go out, and the shearers' tally must correspond with that of the owner or there is a mistake some where.

THE DIPPING PLANT, which is hard by, consists of four

19. This artificial lake still exists.

20. This individual might well have been a member of the family of Matthew Devine. "M. Devine" was operating a store near Fort Bascom in 1878 and keeping an eye on some cattle owned by Charles Ifeld. In 1881, "M. Devine" was a partner with Charles Ifeld in the cattle business in the Red River country. This joint venture was closed out in 1882 (Charles Ifeld Collection, *op cit*, Copy Book 4, Nov. 23, 1878, p. 184; Copy Book 6, May 31, 1881, p. 245 and Jan. 6, 1882, p. 602). On February 1, 1883, lands situated at "Arroyo Sellado [Arroyo Salado or Salado Draw] in Range 23, East Township 4 North, San Miguel County, were deeded by Matthew Devine and wife, Susan, to partnership, Fuller, Devine and Company." Actually the land in question was in Sections 1 through 4 which would seem to be on the Pecos River north of the presently marked Salado Creek. On May 2, 1891, Susan E. Devine, guardian of Matthew's two children, sold the Devine interest. Mrs. Devine and the children were then residents of Mora County. *Legal Papers* in office of Louis C. Ifeld, Las Vegas, N.M.

large boilers, each holding 650 gallons of dip, and a swimming vat, 80 feet long. The dip is kept at 105 degrees to 110 degrees all of the time to get the best results; 2,500 to 3,000 are thoroughly dipped each day. This firm is also large dealers in feeding lambs and sheep, as Mr. Abbott was at one time in the commission business in Kansas City. This gave him a large reputation, and an acquaintance with nearly all of the sheep men of the West. In the past four years they have handled over 100,000 sheep. Francisco Romero,

THE TRUSTY FOREMAN, spends most of his time riding from camp to camp to see that the sheep have plenty of fresh grazing ground within reach of water. The sheep are driven to water every other day at this time of year. Every few miles as you ride over the range, you see what they call A CHIMNEY CORNER. These are built of stones by the Spanish herders, and greatly resemble the old-fashioned fireplace. In the winter the herders pitch their tents close to these open fireplaces, so that with dry cedar and pine knots which they bring down from the mountains on their burros, they can start a fire at short notice.

On the foot-hills one often sees a pile of rock work, five or six feet high, and about two feet square. These are called by the herders "MAJONERAS," or monuments,²¹ indicating that water is near. The herders lead a lazy, listless sort of life, and a Spaniard is better adapted to this business than men of any other nationality. If a Spaniard owns a small bunch of sheep grazing around his home, his boys begin to learn at five years how to take care of sheep, so that often they are brought up to do and know nothing else. This condition, however, is changing, and the Spanish children are nearly all sent to school, when there is a school near enough. Those I have met, for the most part, were well educated or were anxious to learn. All day long in the summer time

THE HERDERS sit and watch the sheep as they eat grass or lie down to rest. At sundown their duties are over, and the "Majordomo" assumes the care of the herd that are usually

21. "Majanos" is the Spanish word for "a pile of rocks."

lying close around the tent, and there they stay till morning unless their slumbers are disturbed by a storm or the barking of a coyote.

The amount of provisions required to run the Abbott & Floersheim ranch is surprising to an easterner. Their commissary adjoins the house, and here the book-keeper, Mr. Divine, [Devine?] deals out the provisions to the herders, who come in the first of each month for supplies. During the year they consume 3,000 pounds of coffee, 6,000 pounds of bacon, 25,000 pounds of flour, 500 gallons of molasses, 5,000 pounds of Spanish beans, 1,000 pounds rice, 3,000 pounds of prunes and 1,000 pounds of hominy; 600 sheep are killed for mutton. These are the

STAPLE ARTICLES OF DIET for the year. Potatoes are allowed only in the month of May when 50 100-pound sacks are dealt out to the men. In the commissary are kept clothing, shoes, tobacco and notions, which are sold to the herders, and charged against their monthly pay.

THE SPANISH KITCHEN adjoins the commissary, and is presided over by a very efficient Spanish cook, who for eight years was employed by a wealthy Spanish family as cook and housekeeper. His kitchen is immaculate, and you can look in any day and find everything in order and shining.

After taking a few views of the ranch buildings and one flock of rams, having spent a day and a half at Jaritas ranch, I bade my kind hostess, her little daughter, and Mr. Divine, "adios," and in two hours Mr. Abbot had landed me again in the little town of Springer.

(Continued)

JOHN BAPTIST SALPOINTE, 1825-1894

By SISTER EDWARD MARY ZERWEKH, C.S.J.

(Concluded)

On his return from a trip East, it was reported to Archbishop Salponte that some men were making use of his name before the Penitentes as endorsing their political views. These men told the groups that the Archbishop had approved or was about to approve all their rules. To contradict these statements and to clarify the situation Archbishop Salponte, on February 7, 1892, issued a circular which was read in all the Churches the following Sunday.

In this circular the Archbishop pointed out that the rules being exhibited by certain men were not the ones that he had formulated, nor had he been present at the General Council of the Counties of San Miguel, Mora and Taos on June 7, 1890, when these rules had been formulated. Furthermore, the Archbishop added that he did not intend to approve of the Council's rules.²⁵ The Archbishop continued to state his views as follows:

. . . the oath²⁶ that is asked of the Penitentes is immoral and unjust for it deprives man from obeying God according to the dictates of his conscience, and subjects him to the will of men. And for what reason do they require this oath? In order that the members obligate themselves to protect each other against imaginary enemies and above all against the Church which does not want to admit and approve the disorderly, indecorous and indecent practices of the Fraternity. And the oath of the youth of fourteen years of age, will it be a moral oath? It is so declared by the supreme chiefs of the Fraternity. . . . Not

25. Letter of the Most Reverend Don Juan Bautista Salponte [sic] to the Clergy and Faithful of Our Archdiocese, (Original in Spanish), February 1, 1892, (A.A.S.F.).

26. Archbishop Salponte likens the Fraternity to Masonry because of the following oath: "Under their oath and honesty to defend persistently and unitedly, the honor, privileges, and immunities of the members of the Fraternity, against any person or persons, who due to their conduct may show themselves enemies of the Fraternity, or any of its members . . . to protect themselves mutually and unitedly in all and for all, and to all that which might be just and beneficial . . . and to this each one is compromised from now to the future and forever, according to the principle of the ancient rules of the Fraternity." Cf. Circular Letter to the Clergy and Faithful, *op. cit.*

withstanding all this, they consider themselves humble and submissive sons of the Church and want to defend themselves against whom (singular or plural) may be opposed to any of their practices.

With what has been said we have sufficient to confirm the idea which we have had for more than thirty years, that those who take so much interest in making themselves the protectors of the Penitentes, are doing so more for political reasons than any other thing. For them the religion which they introduced is only a pretention, what they are looking for is the vote of the members of the Fraternity, for political ends.²⁷

In concluding his circular Archbishop Salpointe again states that all who resist his directives and orders are rebels to their mother the Church, and until such time as they submit, they will be deprived of the Sacraments.²⁸

Entered in Archbishop Salpointe's *Diary Account* under November 4, 1889, is the following sentence.

I left Santa Fe for a journey to Europe mainly to see the Holy Father about the residence of the Jesuit Fathers in the town of Las Vegas after the removal of their College from said town to Denver.²⁹

The Archbishop's decision to go to Rome was the culmination of a controversy which had existed between the Jesuits and the diocesan clergy of New Mexico. Four longstanding reasons are given for the strained relationships existing between the two. First, after the Jesuits became known to the laity of New Mexico, through preaching and missions, their ministrations in many instances were preferred to those of the pastor and they also received donations from the people. Second, occasionally a Jesuit would perform a marriage, baptism or funeral service in a parish at the request of a parishioner, but not always with the permission of the pastor.

27. Circular Letter to the Clergy and Faithful, *op. cit.*

28. This and other circulars, and the uncompromising position of the Archbishops of New Mexico have succeeded in greatly diminishing the influence and number of the Penitentes although they still persist to the present day. Cf. Chavez, "The Penitentes," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXIX (1954), 97-123; Erna Fergusson, *New Mexico, A Pageant of Three Peoples*, (New York: Knopf, 1951), pp. 79-108; "Flagellation, Inc.," *Time* 48 (April 22, 1946), 48.

29. *Diary Account, op. cit.*

Third, the jealousy evoked at various times when Bishop Lamy asked the Jesuit Fathers to administer various parishes. Fourth, the difference in the nationality and temperament of the two groups, the diocesan clergy being largely French, while the Jesuits were mostly Italian.³⁰

The proximate occasion of the controversy involved the Jesuits after they had founded a College at Las Vegas, New Mexico. The local pastor, Reverend Joseph Marie Coudert, complained of certain practices of the Jesuits and declared that these infringed upon his pastoral rights. One of these practices which assumed much importance was the First Communion Exercises held annually in the Chapel of the Jesuit College.

The accusations against the Jesuits at Las Vegas were summed up as follows:

1. They assumed power they had no right to.
2. They collected money in a manner contrary to the laws of the Church.
3. They forbid the day students from confessing to the parish priest.
4. They admitted some to First Communion whom the pastor later found insufficiently prepared.

The Jesuits replied that the first accusation was brought forth without proof. As for the second, fairs were a regular custom among Americans for raising money for the Church. . . . The third accusation was entirely unfounded. As for the fourth, the Fathers at the College stated that they were in a better position to judge the fitness of the youth than was the pastor.³¹

In April, 1886, Archbishop Salpointe asked the Superior of the New Mexico-Colorado Mission, Father Gentile, S.J., to prevent the faculty of Las Vegas College from holding First Communion Exercises. Father Gentile ordered the Fathers to allow the day scholars to receive First Holy Communion in the parish, but the order was too late and they had already made their First Communion in the College Chapel. In 1887,

30. Edward R. Vollmar, S.J., *History of the Jesuit Colleges of New Mexico and Colorado, 1867-1919*, (M.A. Thesis, St. Louis University, 1939), p. 46.

31. Vollmar, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

the Jesuits at the College asked Archbishop Salpointe if they could hold the same Exercise. For their reasons they stated that at the College Chapel there were fewer distractions for their students, the ceremony was held with less inconvenience to the pupils and teachers, and there was no law compelling the attendance at the parish church. They stated that Jesuit schools were not parochial schools and that Canon Law did not reserve for pastors the right to distribute First Holy Communion. The Jesuits closed their case by saying that in all lands the Jesuits gave First Holy Communion in their own Chapels—something which would not be allowed if it infringed upon the rights of a pastor.³²

Archbishop Salpointe refused to grant the Jesuits the permission and said in his answer to their request :

1. It was a cause of wonder that this affair should be brought up again as it was settled last year.
2. All those erred who took from the pastors the right of ministering First Communion.
3. The Jesuit schools were on the same level as the parochial schools, and therefore
4. It was the right and duty of the pastor to examine and admit, or reject, youth to their First Communion, though they may have been prepared by the Jesuits.
5. Finally he again called attention to the custom in New Mexico.

The Archbishop then added that unless the Jesuits ceased disturbing the affairs of the parish in Las Vegas, and obey him, he would refer the whole matter to the Holy See.³³

Since the Jesuits planned on closing Las Vegas College in 1888, and merging it with the one at Morrison, Colorado, they decided "to yield to the Archbishop for the time being."³⁴ When the news spread abroad that the Jesuits were moving their College, the people of Las Vegas used every means to try to prevent it, even asking Archbishop Salpointe to interfere. The Archbishop stated that the Jesuits were free to stay or leave, and, that if they left, it was because they thought the

32. Vollmar, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

33. *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51.

34. *Loc. cit.*

College would prosper better elsewhere. The Archbishop also asked the Jesuits to make clear that the sole reason for their withdrawal from Las Vegas was not the strained relationship between the prelate and the Fathers.³⁵

The controversy again arose when the question came up concerning the *Revista Católica*³⁶ press which was operating in Las Vegas. The Archbishop did not want any Jesuits to stay in Las Vegas after they closed their college.

After much correspondence, and several interviews between Archbishop Salpointe and Father Marra, the Archbishop offered the Jesuits permission to keep the *Revista Católica* press in Las Vegas provided that they did not celebrate Mass on Feast Days at the same hour as the pastor, and that they conduct a parochial school. There was no difficulty about accepting the first condition, but the second was impossible.³⁷

The Jesuits refused the second condition and decided to wait for an answer from Rome before taking any action. However, the citizens of Las Vegas this time took matters into their hands and, after three public meetings, sent a petition signed by about four thousand people to the Archbishop, and also wrote to the Pope. Archbishop Salpointe told the Jesuits that the day their College closed he would deprive them of all jurisdiction in Las Vegas. So, the Jesuits were deprived of their diocesan faculties on Commencement Day.³⁸

This was the state of affairs that prompted Father Stephan's remark to Miss Drexel in a letter.

. . . he [Salpointe] is very much harassed by the Jesuits who battle against him in Rome so that he intends to resign, although he is in the full right before God and men.³⁹

35. Vollmar, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-53.

36. In 1873 Father Donato M. Gasparri, S.J., (1834-1884), founded the *Revista Católica* Press in Albuquerque, New Mexico. It was moved to Las Vegas, New Mexico, in 1874. The Press publishes *Revista Católica*, a Spanish weekly newspaper, and since its establishment has published thousands of pamphlets, textbooks and a Spanish translation of the Bible. The Press is at present located in El Paso, Texas.

37. Vollmar, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

38. Vollmar, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

39. J. A. Stephan, Barstow, California, to Miss Kate [Drexel], February 22, 1889, (A.S.B.S.).

Archbishop Salpointe returned from Rome on March 28, 1890,⁴⁰ but it was several years after the College closed before the controversy between the Jesuits and the Archbishop was settled. The final settlement allowed the Jesuits to continue the publication of the *Revista Católica* in Las Vegas. However, the parish they had in East Las Vegas was given to the diocesan clergy.⁴¹

To fill the need for a school caused by the removal of the Las Vegas College, Archbishop Salpointe built a school at the expense of the diocese. It was called La Salle Institute and was conducted by the Christian Brothers. It opened on September 11, 1888. The cost of the building, the school furniture and maintenance for a period of two years amounted to about twelve thousand dollars. The main part of the building was a two story stone structure. For two years, in addition to teaching tuition students, the Brothers used one of the classrooms for a public school. In 1890, this was discontinued because the county was unable to pay the rent or teacher's salary.⁴²

With all his duties and obligations as Archbishop, Salpointe always retained his historical interest in the section of the United States which he served, and was eager for information which would deepen his understanding of the culture of the Southwest. During 1887 and 1888, Archbishop Salpointe asked Adolphe Bandelier⁴³ to prepare an elaborate history of the Southwest which would be offered to Pope Leo XIII on his jubilee. It was a manuscript history of fourteen hundred pages, illustrated with four hundred water colored sketches of the colonization and the missions of Sonora, Chihuahua, New Mexico and Arizona to the year 1700. This history is now preserved in the Vatican Library.⁴⁴

Archbishop Salpointe also encouraged the temperance movement of his era. In 1886, when two laymen of his Arch-

40. Diary Account, *op. cit.*, Notation of March 28, 1890.

41. Vollmar, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

42. 75 [sic] *Years of Service, 1859-1934, op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.

43. Adolphe Francis Alphonse Bandelier, born August 6, 1840, at Bern, Switzerland, was a Southwest archaeologist and ethnologist. He died on March 18, 1914, at Seville, Spain.

44. F. W. Hodge, "Biographical Sketch and Bibliography of Adolphe Francis Alphonse Bandelier," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII (1932), 358.

diocese, Don Guadalupe Otero and E. A. Dow, organized a branch of the Catholic temperance movement, the Archbishop formulated the rules and regulations for the group.⁴⁵

August 6, 1889, was an important day for Archbishop Salpointe because on that day he became a naturalized citizen of his adopted country.⁴⁶ It was a wise move because New Mexico at this time was striving for statehood, although it was going to be a long struggle.

On September 7, 1889, while the Constitutional Convention of New Mexico was in session, Archbishop Salpointe contributed a letter to the territorial press which attracted wide attention. There was much pressure and demand being put on the members of the Convention, both privately and publicly, regarding political and economic measures. The Archbishop's statement concerned the educational provisions of the Constitution as can be discerned from the following portion of his letter.

. . . The Catholics of the territory demand of the Constitutional Convention a fundamental school law which shall be truly liberal, in the right sense of this word, by recognizing the right of the parent to educate his child according to the dictates of his conscience. We demand a system of elementary schools which will give the citizens of the territory, of every shade of belief, equal facility to educating their children in such a manner they believe will conduce to bring about their happiness.⁴⁷

In the editorial of the same issues of the newspaper it was admitted that the Archbishop's letter was "an adept argument in favor of denominational schools, that is to say that public school funds be divided between the different religious denominations, or that the dominant church be permitted to select the teacher."⁴⁸

45. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 28, 1886. Cf. Paul A. F. Walter, "First Meeting of the New Mexico Education Association," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, II (1927), 76.

46. Naturalization Certificate of John Baptist Salpointe, (A.A.S.F.).

47. *Rio Grande Republican*, September 7, 1889. Cf. Marion Dargan, "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XV (1940), 176.

48. Dargan, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

The reply of the Convention to Archbishop Salpointe's appeal was given in the first section of Article IX of the Constitution, as adopted at that time, which states :

Provision shall be made by law for the establishment and maintenance of a uniform system of public schools, which shall be open to, and sufficient for, the education of all the children of the state, and shall be under the absolute control of the state, and free from sectarian or church control; and no other or different schools shall ever receive any aid or support from public funds. No sectarian tenet, creed or church doctrine shall be taught in the public schools.⁴⁹

The Constitution of the state of New Mexico as drawn up by the Convention was put to a vote of the people on October 7, 1890, and it was defeated by a vote of sixteen thousand one hundred eighty to seven thousand four hundred ninety-three.⁵⁰ Because of the Catholic Church's objection to the proposed Constitution on religious and educational grounds, an attempt was made to lay the blame for its failure entirely on the Catholic Church.

The *Albuquerque Daily Citizen*,⁵¹ however, declared that this was not just. As evidence it declared that 90 per cent of the whole population of Valencia County were Catholics, although it had given "the Constitution the largest majority it received in any portion of the territory." There can be little doubt that the role of the Catholic in the election has been exaggerated and that political and economic objections to the Constitution did much to swell the adverse majority.⁵²

The year 1891 was marked by two important events. On June 25, 1890, Archbishop Salpointe had begun the construction of a new archepiscopal residence in Santa Fe. This building which was built without contributions being solicited was finished and blessed on February 19, 1891. Because of failing health, Archbishop Salpointe asked that the Reverend Placid

49. *The Constitution of the State of New Mexico, Adopted by the Constitutional Convention, Held at Santa Fe, New Mexico, September 3-21, 1889, and Amended August 18-20, 1890, (Santa Fe)*, p. 23. Cf. Marion Dargan, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

50. Dargan, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

51. *Albuquerque Daily Citizen*, October 13, 1890.

52. Dargan, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

Louis Chapelle,⁵³ rector of St. Matthew's Church in Washington, D. C., be appointed his coadjutor. Archbishop Salpointe requested this because of Father P. L. Chappelle's acquaintance with the problems confronting the Indian missions, the latter having held the office of Secretary of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. Therefore, on August 21, 1891, Father Chapelle was appointed Archbishop Salpointe's coadjutor, *Cum jure successionis*.⁵⁴

Before coming to Santa Fe, Bishop Chapelle was consecrated by Cardinal Gibbons on November 1, 1891, in the Cathedral of Baltimore. He arrived in Santa Fe on December 7, 1891. Bishop Chapelle began his work of assisting Archbishop Salpointe, especially by visiting the various parishes to confer the Sacrament of Confirmation.⁵⁵

Early in 1893, Archbishop Salpointe asked Bishop Chapelle to go to Europe to recruit volunteers for the archdiocese because there were several parishes without priests. While the Bishop was in Europe, he had his visit with the Pope, who on May 10, 1893, elevated him to the rank of an archbishop with the Titular See of Sebaste.⁵⁶

On April 30, 1893, Archbishop Salpointe left with Father Stephan to visit Los Angeles, San Diego, and Tucson.⁵⁷ This was Archbishop Salpointe's last visit as the Ordinary of Santa Fe because on January 7, 1894, he resigned the office he had held since August 6, 1885.

V. Retirement and Death 1894-1898

Returning in 1893 from his trip to Los Angeles and San Diego with Father Stephan, Archbishop Salpointe remained

53. Placid Louis Chapelle was born in France, August 28, 1842; educated in Belgium and at St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, Maryland. He did pastoral work in Baltimore, 1865-1891; he was Secretary of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions and was active in the founding of the Catholic University of America. From Santa Fe he was translated to the metropolitan See of New Orleans, December 1, 1897. He was Apostolic Delegate to Cuba and Puerto Rico from 1891 to 1905. He died on August 9, 1905, at New Orleans. Cf. Code, *op. cit.*, pp. 45-46.

54. Salpointe, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

57. J. A. Stephan, Bernalillo, New Mexico, to Mother Catherine [Drexel], April 30, 1893, (A.S.B.S.).

for some time in Tucson because of ill health. His presence in Tucson did not go unnoticed and the following article shows that his absence of nearly ten years had not diminished his popularity in the Old Pueblo.

. . . The Most Reverend Archbishop J. B. Salpointe . . . is now in Tucson for his health. This prominent figure in religious circles, whose benevolent face is known to all and whose personality is one of the most respected in Arizona and New Mexico, came to Arizona as a missionary in 1866. He established the first school at San Xavier, where for a time he taught himself [*sic*]. Next he built another school in this city, and afterward in the same year began the construction of the present Cathedral. Mgr. Salpointe was consecrated in 1869. In 1870 he brought to this territory the Sisters of St. Joseph who have ever since served nobly in the cause of education, and of relief to those who are ill. It was Bishop Salpointe, too, who built St. Mary's Hospital which was opened in 1180 [*sic*] and which has done so much to alleviate suffering humanity.

Mgr. Salpointe was appointed by Pope Leo XIII, coadjutor and later Archbishop of Santa Fe. This necessitated his removal to New Mexico, and it is but lately that his venerable figure is once more with us. While speaking on the subject of this remarkable man, who has done so much for Tucson, it may be here stated that it is owing to the high esteem in which his merit is held in the church that the French Society of "Propagation of the Faith" has been sending from five to six thousand dollars, every year, to the Territory of Arizona, for the support of the Catholic clergy, the schools and the churches.¹

Archbishop Salpointe's resignation had been accepted and acknowledged by the Holy See by February 26, 1894, as determined from a letter to his successor, Archbishop Capelle. ". . . I suppose you know that Archbishop Salpointe's resignation has been accepted and I am now in charge of the Archdiocese."² Archbishop Salpointe had retired to Tucson as Archbishop of the Titular See of Tomi.³

Archbishop Salpointe was not one to long remain inactive. During the thirty-six years which marked his endeavors

1. *The Arizona Enterprise*, December 21, 1893 (XIII, 37), p. 6, col. 2-3.

2. Chapelle to Reverend Jos. Gourey, February 26, 1894, (A.A.S.F.).

3. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, February 19, 1894, p. 4, col. 2. "Archbishop Salpointe is now and has been for some time in Tucson, Arizona Territory."

to accomplish God's work for souls in Arizona and New Mexico, his unflagging interest in the history of the Southwest, coupled with an ardent admiration for the early Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries, urged the Archbishop to record that history to the best of his ability. Since his arrival in New Mexico, in 1859, he had studied every available source of information and had maintained contact with historical societies and individuals, who, like himself, wanted the knowledge of the ancient cultures preserved. It is no wonder then that this period of the Archbishop's life should prove as useful and beneficial to posterity as his former active ministry in the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona had been to his people.

The old adobe house in Tucson where he lived and worked, called by him his "palace," reflected the Archbishop's detachment from worldly goods and his love for the modest and simple manner of living. Mother Catherine Drexel, who visited Archbishop Salpointe in the spring of 1894, described his room as poorly furnished. The entire contents consisted of a small iron bed and three yellow chairs—no carpets, not even a rug. A crucifix hung above the bed.⁴ It was here at his "palace" that Archbishop Salpointe began to make progress in organizing the many notes he had accumulated on the Indians, the missions and the missionaries of the Southwest, the "Kingdom of St. Francis."⁵

In the fall of 1895, Archbishop Salpointe determined to make a journey to Europe. On his way East, he was given a grand farewell at Santa Fe by his friends who gathered to bid him God-speed and a safe return. On this occasion the Archbishop was presented with a beautiful gold headed cane. In Europe he visited his relatives and friends in France and then spent much time in the historical archives in Madrid, Spain, delving into the records of the past data relative to the early history of the Church in New Mexico, Arizona, and Mexico.⁶

4. *Report of St. Catherine's Industrial School*, Introduction, (A.A.S.F.).

5. See p. 133.

6. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, November 9, 1895, p. 4, col. 2.

Returning to Tucson, Archbishop Salpointe resumed the writing of his book. The following interesting public announcement concerning his book was published a number of months before the book was completed.

. . . It will be pleasing to those interested in the early history of this region to learn that the Archbishop is now and has been for many months engaged in the preparation of a book on the early Catholic missionaries and the founding of the missions, the christening of the valleys, and the mountains, and thus perpetuating the names of the saints in this region, in the names of our valleys and mountains. The publication will be one of much value for its authenticity and historical research. The publication will be issued during the next six months, and will contain about three hundred pages. It will be looked for with much interest. The title of the book will be *The [sic] Soldiers of the Cross*, which is both significant and suggestive of the scope of the work.⁷

Archbishop Salpointe's book was finished in the spring of 1898, and he had it published at St. Boniface's Industrial School, Banning, California. This school, like St. Catherine's Industrial School, Santa Fe, was also a Catholic boarding school for Indians. The book, *Soldiers of the Cross*, is a valuable source of information for all those interested in Southwest history, and it is for this achievement that Archbishop Salpointe merits the title, Historian of the Kingdom.

In June, 1898, Archbishop Salpointe lost the power of speech although his general health continued fairly good. However, in the following month on July 15th, he died.

. . . Monday he [Archbishop Salpointe] received visitors and was in excellent spirits, but the storm of Tuesday prostrated him and he passed quietly and peacefully away in St. Mary's Hospital, 3 a.m., July 15th.

Bishop Bourgade was absent in Prescott at the time. He was advised by telegraph and is expected to reach home in the morning [sic], when final arrangements for the funeral will be made. It will, it is expected, take place Monday morning about 10 o'clock.

Tomorrow afternoon the body will be placed in the Cathe-

7. *Arizona Daily Star*, (Tucson), July 28, 1897 (XXIX, 169), p. 4, col. 3.

dral where all may take a last look at a "Soldier of the Cross" who has done so much to make Arizona what it is today.⁸

As Bishop of Tucson,⁹ Bishop Bourgade officiated at the funeral ceremonies and Archbishop Salpointe's remains now lie under the sanctuary of St. Agustin Cathedral in Tucson, Arizona.¹⁰

That Archbishop Salpointe was a humble man and one who never pressed his achievements or stressed his accomplishments to gain favor or acknowledgment was recognized in both cities, Santa Fe and Tucson, where the Archbishop spent most of the years of his priestly life. The daily papers of both cities reflect this truth in the following articles.

Owing to circumstances possibly on account of the great popularity of Archbishop Lamy, whom he succeeded, also because of his radical [sic] modesty, Archbishop Salpointe, in some social circles, has passed almost unobserved and possibly full credit has not been given to his labors.¹¹

There died yesterday at the ripe old age of 73, a Godfearing and an upright man. With the death of this man, the Right Reverend J. B. Salpointe, there passes away one of the most important figures in all the early history of Arizona. He was a quiet and an unassuming gentleman and his personal interests were liable to be overlooked in the bustle and make up of frontier life, but his influence and handiwork was ever present. He was the man of God and he moved among men doing good always.¹²

VI. Conclusion

Below the shield on Archbishop Salpointe's coat of arms is the one word, *Fides*, faith. This motto he chose for himself, and it emphasizes the characteristic and governing virtue of this pioneer prelate of Arizona and New Mexico.

8. *Arizona Daily Citizen*, (Tucson), July 16, 1898, (XXXIV, 73), p. 4, col. 4.

9. The Vicariate Apostolic of Arizona was erected as the Diocese of Tucson on May 10, 1893. Bull. of Erection by Pope Leo XIII (A.A.S.F.).

10. *New Mexico; A Guide to the Colorful State*, compiled by Writers' Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of New Mexico (New York: Hasting House, 1940), p. 202. This book erroneously states that Archbishop Salpointe is buried under the high altar of the Cathedral of St. Francis, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

11. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, November 9, 1895, p. 4, col. 2.

12. *Arizona Daily Citizen*, (Tucson), July 16, 1898, (XXXIV, 73), p. 4, col. 4.

That the Archbishop's faith was deep and strong was manifested continually in his priestly life. The Archbishop's desire to carry that Faith to distant peoples and to share that Faith with them was evident from the first time, in the summer of 1859, that he heard Father Peter Eguillon speak of the need for priests in the Southwest area of the United States. Authorized by Bishop Lamy of the Santa Fe Diocese, Father Eguillon recruited a number of young Frenchmen, priests and Brothers, as volunteers to serve in his far away American diocese. Among these volunteers was Father John Baptist Salpointe. It took a lively faith to enable these young men to leave the country of their birth and to journey to a land comparatively uncivilized and infested with hostile Indians. The volunteers proved themselves equal to the challenge, and, after the experiences of ocean and overland prairie travel, they arrived on October 27, 1859, at the scene of their future labors, Santa Fe, the City of Holy Faith. This city was the See City of the Diocese of Santa Fe which comprised the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona.

Father Salpointe was given the task of teaching a few seminarians. In 1860, assigned to the parish of Mora as pastor, he repaired the Church and built schools. The Faith nurtured in these schools would show its effects in future generations.

A far greater field for the exercise of his faith presented itself when Father Salpointe was accepted as a volunteer for the Mission of Arizona in 1866. In the Arizona Territory there was a twofold mission. There were the many inhabitants who already possessed the gift of faith; some families having retained it for centuries. However, even these needed their faith to be enkindled and nourished. In addition to these there were many who lacked the gift of Faith. These had to be reached, and were reached through the zealous priestly activities of Father Salpointe.

To accomplish these ends, Father Salpointe, who was elevated to the episcopal dignity on September 25, 1868, ceaselessly devoted all his energies. He secured more priests, built

churches, schools and a hospital. He obtained Sisters to staff the schools, the hospital and to instruct the Indians at Mission San Xavier del Bac. As the bishop exercising jurisdiction in the Vicariate Apostolic of Arizona, he faithfully visited the parishes and missions, to encourage the priests and people and to administer the Sacrament of Confirmation. The visitations which Bishop Salpointe made during these years usually lasted from three to four months and the Prelate had to travel with the very least of conveniences and comfort. There was also the ever present dread of attacking Apaches. Bishop Salpointe admitted that he, himself, "always experienced a kind of painful apprehension for a few days before starting on a journey." He goes on to say, however, that "they [priests who were his co-laborers] must acknowledge that there has been a special Providence watching over them."¹ Faith in this Divine Providence was the key to his life.

Having been appointed coadjutor to Archbishop Lamy of Santa Fe on April 22, 1884, Bishop Salpointe succeeded to that See on August 6, 1885, upon the resignation of Archbishop Lamy. During the nine years that Archbishop Salpointe performed his duties as Ordinary of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, his faith, strengthened by previous trials and successes, enabled him to administer the affairs of the Church with the assurance of God's help. He faced the problem of "Los Penitentes" and attempted a solution. He instituted the first of the Archdiocesan Synods to regulate and systematize both the spiritual and temporal business of the Church. He succeeded in securing Government support for Indian schools and also saw the erection of St. Catherine's Industrial School for Indians, built with funds from Mother Catherine Drexel. He expanded the number of parishes and schools, and when the Jesuit Fathers moved their College from Las Vegas, New Mexico, in 1888, he had a diocesan College, staffed by Christian Brothers, built to replace it.

During the years he spent in Tucson after he had resigned his office as Archbishop of Santa Fe on January 7, 1894, Arch-

1. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-256.

bishop Salpointe, ever the scholar, collected and preserved for posterity that story of the spread of the Catholic faith that inspired and encouraged the early missionaries in the Southwest region of the United States. In his volume, *Soldiers of the Cross*, although not a definitive study, the story of the Roman Catholic Church in the Southwest is traced from its earliest beginnings down to 1896. The events mentioned towards the end of the volume are rather sketchy, which can no doubt be accounted for when it is realized that Archbishop Salpointe commenced this work when he was sixty-nine years old and completed it a few months before his death on July 15, 1898, at seventy-three years of age.

The Faith, which, in 1866, as Vicar General of Bishop Lamy, Father Salpointe labored to plant and extend in the Arizona Territory has today multiplied itself one hundred fold. In the Diocese of Tucson, according to the last official records, there are one hundred eighty-eight priests, governed by the Ordinary of the Diocese who is assisted by an Auxiliary Bishop. There are sixty-seven parishes, fifty-six chapels and fifty-eight missions. Four hundred fifty-six Sisters of seventeen different Religious orders staff the schools and hospitals. In the forty-four Catholic high and elementary schools over twenty-eight thousand youths are enrolled.²

These statistics are ample proof that the seeds of the Faith planted and nourished by Archbishop Salpointe in the fertile area of Tucson have blossomed and are monuments of recognition to Archbishop Salpointe and the other Soldiers of the Cross. This present study has endeavored to demonstrate the complete appropriateness of the one word embossed below the shield on Archbishop Salpointe's coat of arms, *Fides*, faith.

2. *Official Catholic Directory*, (New York: P. J. Kennedy, 1955), pp. 657-660.

Book Reviews

Guide to Materials on Latin America in the National Archives. By John P. Harrison. Washington: The National Archives, 1961. Vol. I, Pp. 246.

"The purpose of the guide," states Dr. Harrison, "is to describe and assist the investigator in locating the materials in the National Archives concerned with Latin America." This is a comprehensive regional supplement, the first such issued to the general *Guide to the Records in the National Archives* (1948). It is the first of two volumes to be issued on Latin America and covers the "general" records of the Government and of the Departments of State, Treasury, War, and Navy.

This is an impressive, detailed survey; it is the fruit of Mr. Harrison's half-dozen years of employment as Latin American specialist for the National Archives. The guide makes intelligible the complex organizational breakdown of the archives and describes the magnitude, nature, general substance, and possible research value of Latin American materials extant in the numerous record groups. The technique used is to describe representative documents in each record group in sufficient detail to suggest the possible value and interest the individual collection might have for the researcher.

Described under the section "General Records of United States Government" are the reports of the claims commissions, of the boundary commissions, and of United States participation in all the Inter-American Conferences and Commissions since 1826.

In the State Department section, to which about 40 per cent of the guide is devoted, Mr. Harrison places the descriptive emphasis upon little known and seldom used collections. Definitely not in the latter category are the Diplomatic Instructions and Diplomatic Dispatches, both of which are now available on microfilm. But for the person who wishes to dig

deeply this guide will suggest to him the mine of untapped information hidden in the voluminous consular materials and post records. There is also a section on the Territorial Papers.

The Treasury Department section deals mainly with the problem of customs collections at various Gulf Coast ports. This includes the activities of the Coast Guard. In the general report of treasury agents, there is a special section (pp. 145-146) dealing with smuggling and other activities along the Rio Grande.

Of main interest to Southwest historians, however, will be the War Department section, for the records described herein relate mainly to the Mexican border area. Main categories include the Mexican War, the subsequent border troubles (both Mexican and Indian) in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the Mexican Revolution (1910-1921). Also listed herein are fairly complete records of the activities of the United States Army in Cuba and the Canal Zone.

The final section, that dealing with the Navy Department, is the best organized. The reports from ship captains have a special importance, says Mr. Harrison, for "after 1830, whenever there was a revolution of national importance or a local political disturbance in Latin America that threatened the lives or investments of United States citizens, a United States naval vessel was likely to be on the spot." There is also a detailed account of the records available on the extensive Marine Corps activity in the Caribbean and Central America during the years 1915-1932.

This guide is an indispensable research tool both for historians dealing with Latin America, and with Latin America and the United States. In addition, it should be of special interest to scholars doing research on the southwest since 1830 because of the large amount of North Mexican and borderland materials described. Use of this first volume of the guide will be greatly facilitated by the publication of Volume 2, which is to contain the index for both.

The Cattle Kings. By Lewis Atherton. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961. Pp. xii, 308. Ills., maps, index. \$6.95.

Richard Trimble, a recent Harvard graduate turned cattleman, wrote home to his parents in New York City on February 22, 1883,

I am sorry thee has so little confidence in my ability to judge whether it is for my advantage to stay on the ranch or in Cheyenne. There are two sides to the cattle business, the theory and the practice, one of which is better learned in Cheyenne where men congregate and the other on the ranch.

(Trimble Collection, Western History Research Center, University of Wyoming)

These two sentences summed up in graphic manner the dilemma, theoretically speaking, which faced many eastern would-be cattlemen. A quick perusal of their annual reports is all the evidence that is necessary to discover that most cattlemen were not troubled by alternatives of theory and practice. As for Trimble, more conscientious than many of his friends, he alternated between the two cultures for three years before returning to Wall Street where he eventually became the first secretary of the U. S. Steel Corporation.

Lewis Atherton has written a socio-cultural study of the cattlemen with an added dash of economic analysis. Who was this figure of a cattleman? He came from a diverse and cosmopolitan eastern background. The motivations for leaving the East were as varied as the backgrounds; health, excitement, visions of economic rewards, or just plain wanderlust resulted in the easterner appearing on the frontier.

Once in the West he developed a way of life which was noted for both stability and paradoxes. A pragmatist, the cattleman had a live and let live philosophy. Yet when he was pressed by economic circumstances his laissez-faire approach could easily vanish. A firm believer in discipline, he, on occasion would succumb to lawlessness, as the studies of Wayne Gard and John Caughey have shown. Hard in his per-

sonal business dealings, he was often generous with his family and philanthropies (though the latter was frequently left to his wife). In that overworked phrase, he was a rugged individualist, who would co-operate with other cattlemen in forming stock growers associations for the purpose of solving problems of mutual concern. Yet his allegiance to these organizations was so tenuous that he would readily resign his membership (after the disastrous winter of 1886-1887, the cattlemen resigned wholesale from the Wyoming Stock Growers Association, a study in futility as well as economics). There was a more finely balanced mixture of individualism and co-operation than has been generally admitted.

The author offers his most viable contribution in revealing the common denominators between the Western cattlemen and the Eastern businessman. Was there as much of a clash of culture as has been assumed? An Eastern culture often did thrive when transplanted to the West. However the reverse process of the Western facade being grafted onto the East could be as artificial as false fronted architecture.

What seems to disturb the author most is why the central figure of the range economy has been neglected, when the cowboy has been transformed into a folk hero. The author suggests several reasons: there was a general distrust of business in the late nineteenth century, the cowboy was a more generally identifiable species than the individualistic cattleman, and the cowboy was good copy for writers—action rather than character subtleties were conducive to a complicated plot. What Atherton has left unanswered is why so much of this western range fiction is so inferior in literary quality. Little historical imagination is necessary to note that the cattleman may well have had a better fate in being neglected than the cowboy has received by being embalmed by hordes of pulp writers.

Atherton's announced aim of placing the cattleman in American culture has been achieved successfully with an ease of literary style that many historians might well envy.

University of Wyoming

GENE M. GRESSLEY

An Affair of Honor. Woodrow Wilson and the Occupation of Veracruz. By Robert E. Quirk. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1962. Pp. vi, 184. \$5.00.

Since the United States has been reaping in Latin America an unhappy harvest sown in an age of exuberant adolescence, the historian of diplomacy has virtually a mandate to berate the shapers and misshapers of an abortive foreign policy with the irreverence and zeal for exposé which characterized the muckrakers of the Progressive Era. Alas, poor Wilson! Once revered as a towering idealist, he has been steadily reduced in stature until one suspects he may subsequently appear in history—until resurrected by neo-idealists—as merely the first in a line of golfplaying presidents. Indeed, when the golf scores of chief executives are compared—a research task not yet accomplished—it is probable we shall learn that Wilson was as impervious to advice on the links as he was in the White House, thereby accruing shamefully high scores and falling into innumerable sandtraps, while insisting on using his old No. 3 iron despite the would-be peer group's advice to use a putter. Such is the inevitable fate, as David Riesman might say, of an inner-directed man in a society moving toward the other-directedness typified by Warren G. Harding.

Robert E. Quirk is unquestionably one of the most able and talented of those presently engaged in exposing the fables and foibles of United States foreign policy in the interventionist period in Latin America. The present work, awarded \$1,000 by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, was preceded by the author's *The Mexican Revolution, 1914-1915* (Indiana University Press, 1960), which received the Bolton prize of the American Historical Association.

Since Professor Quirk seems unable, or at least unwilling, to write anything less than a prize winner, one may wonder as to the secrets of his success. In the opinion of this reviewer, the excellence of *An Affair of Honor* rests on two qualities. One is thoroughness of research. The author has carefully

examined an impressive quantity of sources—Navy logbooks, newspapers, diaries, private papers, and appropriate files in the National Archives, the Departments of the Army, Navy, and Interior, and the Mexican archives. Like Justin Smith before him, who walked the routes of the United States army in the war with Mexico, Professor Quirk has viewed at first hand the site of the Tampico incident and has absorbed by observation, interviews with old residents, and intensive reading, the atmosphere of Veracruz in 1914, scene of the seven months' occupation by United States military forces.

Secondly, the author sketches his characters and scenes convincingly and with frequent evidence of artistry. One does not soon forget, even if one does not entirely agree with, Quirk's Wilson—so convinced of his own rightness that it was a standing joke at the White House that complete ignorance of Mexico was an indispensable qualification for talking to Wilson about it. About Wilson, Quirk observed that "nothing bolsters a man's confidence in his own rectitude more than scanty information."

Equally vivid are portrayals of Nelson J. O'Shaughnessy, the charge d'affaires in Mexico and his wife, for whom diplomatic life was a "mad whirl of entertainment." They are glimpsed most often in proximity with Victoriano Huerta—the Mexican president whom Wilson was trying to eject from power. O'Shaughnessy is pictured exchanging "abrazos" and jokes with Huerta; his wife, on many occasions, is seen "looking almost regal" when entering salons on the arm of the Mexican president. Rear Admiral Henry T. Mayo, "firm-jawed with a scraggly mustache," is unforgettable as the commander off Tampico who demanded official apologies for the arrest of some American sailors, while Secretary of State Bryan is portrayed as cheerfully misreading and misinterpreting dispatches from Mexico.

Nor will readers soon forget Quirk's description of Veracruz in 1914 where "sea and sky strive to match or surpass each other with azure blue for emerald green, filmy cloud for whitecap and spume." One may almost smell the city where

vultures reeked of carrion as they hopped about in the meat market feeding on waste scraps tossed on the floor. The occupation of Veracruz by some 7,000 troops is excellently presented—the massive cleaning up of garbage, of venereal disease, and of the vile prison of San Juan de Ulúa. Quirk is candid in his revelation of United States' soldiers abroad—lining up by the scores for their favorite prostitute. One almost suspects that humor won out over verity in the sources to read that American and other foreign prostitutes, barred from operating in Veracruz out of respect for Mexico's national feelings, protested that such restriction was in violation of freedom of trade.

An *Affair of Honor* does not so much reinterpret the events in United States relations with Mexico between April and November, 1914, as it demonstrates that American representatives abroad, whether of the military or diplomatic corps, distorted facts in their reporting of incidents which inflamed the nationalism of which Mayo, Wilson and others were, in their various ways, an expression. One does learn that the munitions cargo of the German ship, *Ypiranga*, originated with Remington in New York rather than in Germany as scholars familiar with only the documents in the *Foreign Relations of the United States* have supposed. But in general the main outline of developments, which have to do with Wilson's efforts to extricate himself from the sandtrap of upholding United States' honor, remains unchanged.

There are a few statements which tend to be misleading. In the preface, p. v, to point out that military occupation suppressed civil rights is to assume that such rights previously existed in practice. It is also only a partial explanation to say that Mexican resentment in 1914 was due to Wilson's injection of a moral issue into his non-recognition policy. It would appear that rising Mexican nationalism, rather than Wilson's moralism, was responsible for the reaction in Mexico which was so different than that displayed in 1847-48. The author also is inconsistent in saying that Wilson would sacrifice American property owners in Tampico to his policy of oust-

ing Huerta (p. 48), when on p. 18 he had stated it was Wilson's general policy (Huerta or no Huerta) not to protect property owners abroad. The author also yields rather too much to effect in saying the Americans "killed hundreds of Mexicans to take Veracruz" (p. 154) when he had earlier stated the figure was about 200, or possibly somewhat more. "Hundreds" imply many more than 200 as a descriptive statement of quantity. Lastly, those nurtured on Ray Stanard Baker's *Woodrow Wilson*, 6 vols. (New York, 1946) will find it difficult wholly to replace the favorable if biased image of Wilson in that work with the crochety, egotistical, golfplayer reflected in Quirk's book.

The virtues of *An Affair of Honor*, however, vastly outweigh any defects. For a picture of how individuals shape foreign policy, of conduct and misconduct abroad, and of the motivations and manners of leading figures in American diplomacy, this work achieves a high standard. The historiography of United States diplomacy has been greatly enriched by this contribution.

University of New Mexico

TROY S. FLOYD

El Morro: Inscription Rock, New Mexico. By John M. Slater. Los Angeles: The Plantin Press, 1961. Pp. xiv, 157. Illustrations, maps, bibliography and index. \$30.00.

El Morro is introduced to the reader by Lawrence Clark Powell with his usual poetic sensitivity to the Southwestern scene. He is followed by a brief historical sketch for the Spanish-Mexican period, beginning with Cabeza de Baca, that discusses the various travelers who passed by the rock and presents a translation of their inscriptions (pp. 1-25). The American Period (p. 27-50) includes selective inscriptions, largely before 1875, and an account of the establishment of El Morro as a National Monument.

A list of the inscriptions with a reference system to a map whereby the reader can locate the site of a particular item on the rock fills pp. 53-72, followed by pictures of the rock,

pueblo ruins, and inscriptions (pp. 74-133). These are photographs with a few reprints of sketches from older publications. The artistry is of the highest quality.

The book is an invaluable reproduction of an historical record that will be destroyed eventually by nature with its dedicated purpose of changing the face of the earth. El Morro is a monument of sandstone and cannot endure forever, least of all the recordings of travelers who *pasaron por aquí*.

F. D. R.

The United States and Pancho Villa: a Study in Unconventional Diplomacy. By Clarence C. Clendenen. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1961. Pp. xiv. 352. \$5.75.

Whether as an object of wild adulation or bitter hatred, or as a leading character in a Broadway musical, Pancho Villa has always evoked strong emotions. A winner of the American Historical Association's Beveridge Award for 1961, this scholarly book subjects one phase of Villa's colorful career to objective scrutiny. Its author is a retired colonel who began his army service on the Mexican border soon after World War I. Focussing primarily on the diplomatic relations between the Mexican leader and American officials during the Wilson era, Clendenen seeks to explain why, despite a half century of border clashes before 1914, a diplomatic crisis then developed. A large portion of the book traces the reverberations of the Mexican revolution in American foreign policy. Patiently the author fills in details to indicate Wilson's shifting attitudes towards Villa and Carranza. Clendenen feels that once the complicated patchwork of Mexican politics during the revolution is laid bare Wilson's policies are fully vindicated.

This volume makes at least two contributions towards a better understanding of United States-Mexican relations. As a student of diplomacy, Clendenen is able to ignore many of Villa's barbarities which are only incidental in this account, and to paint a more favorable portrait of the Revolutionary

leader. Until Wilson's recognition of Carranza in 1916, Villa was consistently friendly towards the United States. Among the political figures in Mexico there was none who was more favorably inclined towards the big neighbor in the north. In contrast, Carranza is pictured here not as a benign democrat, but as an implacable and obstinate foe of American policies, good or bad. Perhaps the greatest contribution of the book is to place the Mexican troubles into their proper context within American diplomacy. The author shows that these difficulties were of much greater concern to Wilson than has been realized by historians who have concentrated on his relations with German and European statesmen. The bandit raids of Villa had ramifications that were global. German military leaders, especially Ludendorff and Bernstorff, were convinced by Wilson's "watchful waiting" that the United States was weak, incompetent and indecisive and would not resort to war even under extreme provocation. This impression contributed heavily towards the decision to renew unrestricted submarine warfare in January, 1917, and to the ill-fated Zimmerman Telegram. If the skirmishes along the Texas border were sometimes of small magnitude, their implications were of world-wide significance.

Scholars will welcome Clendenen's book. In many parts the style is clear and the documentation adequate. Dr. Clendenen has relied primarily on American sources including State Department publications, Army records in the National Archives, and personal manuscripts like those of Pershing. Unfortunately he has not used Mexican sources. In Mexico City the personal archives of General Roque Gonzales Garza, president of the Convention in 1914, contain much pertinent correspondence with Villa. There are no references to materials in the Ejército Nacional or the Relaciones Exteriores. The absence of citations to Mexican or Southwestern newspapers indicates that the author has not extensively used vast and fruitful collections in the Hemeroteca Nacional and the Biblioteca de Mexico, or in the Library of Congress and the Universities of Texas, Arizona and New Mexico. Neverthe-

less, this is a useful account which can be read with profit not only by students of the Southwest, and of American diplomacy, but also by specialists in Latin-American studies. It illuminates the complicated web of domestic politics and diplomacy on both sides of the border in a period when both nations were in the throes of crisis.

University of New Mexico

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THE GREAT NEW MEXICO CATTLE RAID—1872

By CHARLES L. KENNER*

IN THE autumn of 1872 there occurred one of the most audacious events in New Mexico's turbulent history. John Hittson—a true Titan of the Texas cattle country¹—led a slashing raid into the territory searching for cattle which the Comancheros had stolen from his native ranges. For at least six weeks Hittson's armed bands terrorized the eastern outskirts of settlement rounding up and then brazenly driving several thousand cattle northward to Colorado. The raid's unsurpassed boldness has led writers from Joseph McCoy in 1873 down to the present to comment on it, but a synthesized account has never been published. The lack of one has led to the publication of much misleading data as, for instance, an account by the talented Mari Sandoz in her popular history, *The Cattlemen*. Miss Sandoz describes two raids—the first being led by H. M. Childress in 1872 which encouraged William Hittson, the Texas cowman known as Colonel John, to try his own raid in 1873. It supposedly was carried out successfully with the aid of only "three very good men with guns."² However, there was only one raid and that was led by John Hittson with at least ninety instead of three gun-

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1. For an account of Hittson's rise to prominence see the author's "John Hittson, West Texas Cattle King," accepted for publication by *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*.

2. Mari Sandoz, *The Cattlemen from the Rio Grande Across the Far Maras* (New York: Hastings House, 1958), 215.

men present. William Hittson, John's brother and an outstanding ranchman in his own right, was not even associated with it and H. M. Childress was only a subordinate on the raid.

When he decided to lead an armed expedition into New Mexico to recapture his stolen cattle, John Hittson was preparing to meet head-on a movement that had long scourged the Texas border, the Comanchero trade in stolen cattle. The Comancheros themselves had originated innocently enough soon after the conclusion of a lasting peace between the Comanches and New Mexicans in 1786, serving as small-time purveyors of civilization to the Indians. As early as the 1820's they probably began to accept cattle along with the buffalo hides they regularly received in payment for their trade goods.³ Until the outbreak of the Civil War, however, the number traded was so small as to go completely unnoticed; then the situation changed radically.

The Indians may well have been encouraged to raid Texas by some federal military officials in New Mexico hoping thus to injure the Texans' war effort;⁴ but a more significant incentive was the decreasing buffalo population on the plains which forced the Comanches to seek a substitute staple of exchange for the Comanchero's guns, ammunition, and whiskey, upon which they had grown dependent. Regardless of what motivated the Indians, the lush Texas ranges, teeming with practically untended cattle, were completely vulnerable to their lightning-like thrusts, and evidences of their activities multiplied as the Civil War continued.

In early 1864, H. T. Ketcham, a special Indian agent, visited the winter camps of the Comanches to vaccinate them for small pox and reported that not only were they holding herds of cattle, but that they were also preparing for another raid upon Texas.⁵ Later in the same year Lieutenant Fran-

3. In 1871 some New Mexicans said the cattle trade had been going on for over fifty years. *Santa Fe Weekly Post*, June 17, 1871.

4. "Report of Indian Agent Lorenzo Labadi," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1867* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), 215.

5. "Report of H. T. Ketchum, April 10, 1864," *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1865), 258.

cisco Abreu, the Federal commander at Fort Bascom in eastern New Mexico, stated that New Mexican traders were bringing in large numbers of cattle from the plains.⁶

Thus started, the trade was not injured by the closing of the Civil War; indeed, it was given a shot in the arm. The vengeance-minded Federals blindly stripped the border of all protection for a time, and their later half-hearted efforts to stop the Indian raiding were completely unavailing. Indicative of the raids is the report of Lorenzo Labadi, a veteran New Mexican Indian agent, who visited the Comanches trying to persuade them to stop raiding in Texas. Upon his return he reported that the Indian camps were "fairly swamped" with cattle and horses and that no less than eighteen war parties were out on raids against the Texas frontier.⁷ Since just one band of seventy-five braves were reported to have stolen 4,100 cattle in a single week,⁸ the damage caused by such wide-spread raiding was undoubtedly tremendous.

From bitter experience, John Hittson probably learned as much about the trade as anyone. In relating an account of its workings to a Denver reporter, he blamed the losses he and other cattlemen had been suffering upon three classes of people:

First and chiefest, are a set of men in New Mexico—merchants, who occupy prominent and responsible positions before the public. Next, are what are termed *Comancheros*, a low desperate class of Greasers, who are in the employ of these merchants to perform the dirty work and act as go-betweens. Then come the Indians I have spoken of. Their plan of operation is this: The merchants . . . furnish the *Comancheros* with provisions, blankets, trinkets, and other things which an Indian admires and will work for. The *Comancheros* go to the tribes with whom they are on friendly footing, being half-blooded some of them, and make known their wants—or give their

6. Lt. Francisco Abreu to Captain Robert Cutler, October 10, 1864. *War of the Rebellion, Official Records* (Series I), vol. 34, part 4, page 422.

7. "Report of Lorenzo Labadi," *op. cit.*, 215.

8. *Weekly New Mexican* (Santa Fe), July 21, 1868.

order, as it were—for a nice herd of Texas cattle. The Indians, who live upon this business, at once start upon their thieving mission, and are not unfrequently accompanied by these Mexicans, who are, on such occasions much more savage and expert than the Indians themselves.⁹

Hittson undoubtedly suffered heavily from the Comanche cattle raids, but it is impossible to determine the exact number of his losses. One of his hired hands testified many years later that "the number [of Hittson's cattle] was lessened by a fourth, or possibly a half,"¹⁰ but no estimates were made by Hittson himself of his losses. Despite his reticence, the possible scope of the loss he suffered can be surmised from the claims put forward by one of his less renowned neighbors, Lewis A. Dickson, of Wise County, who reported losing an estimated \$159,750 worth of cattle and horses to the Indians between 1868 and 1873.¹¹

After vainly urging that the Federal authorities take effective measures to protect the cattlemen by stationing "troops or well organized companies of civilians on the frontier with orders to arrest and bring to strict account all suspicious looking characters,"¹² Hittson decided to take matters into his own hands in the spring of 1872. He was convinced that he could find many of his stolen stock in the valleys of the Pecos and Canadian rivers in New Mexico and determined to recapture as many as possible.

Methodically he began to carry out the plan. First, he secured "powers of attorney" from "nearly two hundred" of his fellow ranchers in Texas giving him the right to represent them in the civil courts to recover their cattle as well as his own.¹³ Next he went to Denver and "outfitted three parties—about thirty men each." Arming them well, he sent

9. *Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), April 29, 1873.

10. Affidavit of M. L. Johnson, May 2, 1908. Indian Depredation Cases #2996, 2997, and 3000. Records of the United States Court of Claims, Washington, D. C.

11. "Indian Depredation Claims," *House Executive Document*, 49 Cong., 1885-1886 (37 vols., Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), XXXI, No. 125, p. 134.

12. *Colorado Chieftain* (Pueblo), July 11, 1872.

13. *Ibid.*, October 17, 1872.

them south into New Mexico where he soon joined them "and obtained another strong guard" in that territory.¹⁴

To assist him on the raid, Hittson recruited as lieutenants some veteran ranchers only slightly less notable than himself. Foremost of these was James Patterson who had operated the first large ranch on the Pecos below Fort Sumner while selling beef to the Navahos at Bosque Grande immediately after the Civil War. After selling his property there to John Chisum in 1867, he ranched elsewhere in New Mexico, rather uniquely marketing his beef through his own meat market in Santa Fe. These activities together with his continuing to sell beef to the government made him one of the largest Federal income tax payers in New Mexico in both 1867 and 1868. Sometime around 1870 he moved to Colorado, and when the New Mexican newspapers spoke of him during the raid his address was given as Denver.¹⁵

One of Hittson's more colorful aides was a veteran trail driver named H. M. Childress, the son of a remarkable pioneer Methodist circuit rider in West Texas. He had established one of the earliest ranches in Coleman County, from which he drove an average 2,500 head of cattle annually to Abilene between 1867 and 1871. Instead of prospering, however, he had "recklessly squandered many thousands of dollars" and was anxious to recoup his fortunes when he met Hittson and decided to accompany him to New Mexico. From his description he would seem to have been an important addition to Hittson's forces:

He will walk boldly into death's jaws to relieve or avenge a friend; has a nerve of iron, cool and collected under fire. Is a deadly pistol shot, and does not hesitate to use one effectively when occasion requires; yet would always rather avoid a quarrel than seek one, but will not shrink from facing the most desperate characters. . . . to his enemies he presents, in anger,

14. *Rocky Mountain News*, April 29, 1873. Other accounts place the number of Hittson's men at sixty (*Weekly New Mexican*, September 24, 1872) and one hundred fifty (*Colorado Chieftain*, October 17, 1872).

15. James Cox, *Historical and Biographical Record of the Cattle Industry and the Cattlemen of Texas and the Adjacent Territory* (St. Louis: Woodward and Tierman, 1895), 313; *Daily New Mexican*, September 19, 1868, July 17, 1868, and May 19, 1869.

that peculiar characteristic of smiling demoniacally whilst he is plainly and openly maneuvering to shoot them through the heart.¹⁶

Rather strangely Childress was not mentioned by the contemporary New Mexican newspapers. Instead, they dwell at length on the accomplishments of a Hittson aide named Martin Childers, who struck terror into the hearts of the Mexicans. One is tempted to believe Martin Childers and H. M. Childress might have been the same person, and either McCoy or the New Mexican newspapers misspelled his name; however, just as there was an authentic Texas rancher named H. M. Childress, there was also one named Martin Childers who was listed as one of the leading cattlemen of northwest Texas, running 10,000 head of cattle in 1870.¹⁷

Hittson's operations in New Mexico must be pieced together from a number of separate and often conflicting fragmentary sources. He himself only stated that his men struck first at "Port Dilune" [Puerto de Luna] on the Pecos River in July, 1872. His account maddeningly (to the historian) boxed the operations of the entire summer into one terse sentence: His men combed the countryside and "in a few weeks time recovered from four to six thousand of my cattle."¹⁸ Fortunately other contemporary records are not so scanty, and it is possible to fill out the details of the raid.

An unintended result of Hittson's operations was to help spoil a summer's campaigning by a hard-hitting army officer named R. S. Mackenzie. Mackenzie had painfully trailed a large herd of stolen cattle across the Staked Plains, hoping to capture the Comancheros who had taken them. Unfortunately for him, when he reached the New Mexican settlements he found that the robbers "had left . . . to escape capture by a party of citizens who were arresting cattle thieves, and tak-

16. Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* (Washington: The Rare Book Shop, 1932), 346.

17. John Ashton, "Texas Cattle Trade in 1870," *The Cattleman*, XXXVIII (July, 1951), 75.

18. *Rocky Mountain News*, April 29, 1873.

ing possession of stolen cattle.”¹⁹ Mackenzie was only the most important of several who left brief notations of some aspect of the Hittson raid, while remaining unaware of its over-all nature.

By no means did Hittson always act in a ruthless or violent manner while in New Mexico. He was comparatively tactful with the powerful Romero family, who were both the leading ranchers and office holders of San Miguel County—holding such lucrative positions as sheriff and probate judge as virtual personal possessions. When Hittson arrived at their ranch he diplomatically offered to repurchase any stolen animals that they might have unwittingly bought. His hosts, quite happy not to force the issue with the well-armed Texans, quickly agreed to his proposal and released his cattle with fervent expressions of regret—pocketing any rancor they might have felt along with his money.²⁰

The reasoning behind Hittson’s suave behavior is found in an agreement he and the Romeros made as part of their transaction. The Spanish *rico* agreed to keep secret the fact that he had been paid for his cattle. Thus, when the smaller Mexican ranchers saw how easily Hittson had regained his cattle from the all-powerful Romeros, they also had a resurgence of courtesy and released their “cattle with Texas brands . . . hurriedly with tactful Spanish [apologies] for the lamentable mistake.”²¹ Not all proved so tractable, as others ran their stock into the mountains and slaughtered them for their hides rather than docilely wait for their ill-gotten fruits to be stripped from them.

Inevitably resentment towards the Anglo invaders grew as Hittson’s activities intensified and his men flaunted their contempt for the native population. At Las Vegas a delegation of townsmen petitioned Don Miguel Otero, formerly New Mexico’s delegate to the United States Congress, to use his

19. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War*, 1872, 151.

20. Interview, George E. Crammer to Edgar McMechem, May 7, 1934. MS. in Colorado Historical Museum Library, Denver, Colorado.

21. Edgar McMechem, “John Hittson, Cattle King,” *The Colorado Magazine*, XI (May, 1934), 169.

prestige and prominence on the Texans. Reluctantly Otero undertook the task and—with his two teen-age sons—went to the raider's camp where he urged their leader "to have greater regard for the property of the citizens of New Mexico."²²

The Texan, remembered by young Miguel Jr.—the future territorial governor of New Mexico—as a "large, red-headed man with chin whiskers, weighing fully two hundred and twenty-five pounds," answered Otero harshly:

"These God damn greasers have been stealing our horses and cattle for the past fifty years, and we got together and thought we would come up this way and have a grand round-up, and that is why we are here. What is more we intend to take all the horses and cattle we come across and drive them back to Texas where they belong. My advice to your fellows is: Don't attempt to interfere with what we are doing unless you are looking for trouble."²³

That ended the conversation.

More violent encounters between the native population and Hittson's forces have been passed down by some of the veteran settlers there. Not too unexpectedly, it was more often the American element than the Mexican that resisted. J. Evetts Haley relates that Jim Duncan, an early freighter, recalled that a rancher named Simpson asserted that the Texans were not going to take the cattle he had bought from the *Comancheros*. As the Texans jerked open the gate to the corral where the cattle were located, Simpson jumped into the opening. Undaunted, the Texans shot him down and cold-bloodedly drove the cattle out over his body.²⁴

A similar incident concerning an Anglo rancher near Anton Chico, who had long done a thriving business in stolen cattle, was also recalled long years afterwards by an old *Comanchero*. With apparent gusto the old Mexican related

22. Miguel Otero, *My Life on the Frontier 1864-1882* (New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1935), 62.

23. *Ibid.*, 63.

24. J. Evetts Haley, "The Comanchero Trade," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXXVIII (January, 1935), 173.

his tale of the inevitable clash when the Texans arrived at the Anglo's ranch in their methodical search for cattle:

The *Tejanos* recovered about fifteen hundred head of cattle with their brands but not without a fight. The cowboys hired by the *Americanos* brought out their guns and there was real war. The *Tejanos* were victorious and besides recovering their cattle, they took one of the cowboys of the *Americanos* and lynched him. They left him hanging from a pine tree close to the house.²⁵

While the above accounts may have acquired more than a little garnishment during the many years before they were written down, at least one sensational clash between the raiders and the New Mexicans is substantiated beyond all doubt. At the little town of Loma Parada, located about twenty-five miles north of Las Vegas, the populace, led by their police chief and postmaster, Edward Seaman, decided to defend their cattle against the encroachments of the Texans. At the first they were successful for, when some of the Texans arrived on September 8, they found seven head of Hittson's cattle, but were prevented from driving them off. The next day they returned twenty strong "but found the police of the precinct awaiting them and they left." The Texans gave the villagers little time in which to celebrate their apparent victory for the next day a raiding party of sixty gunmen appeared, ready to brook no show of resistance.

Of the violent tragedy that followed, two lengthy but conflicting reports exist. According to the Mexican's official inquest,²⁶ the immediate trouble began when Julian Baca, a resident, refused to surrender two horses. He tried to run into his house to escape the Texans but "was seized from behind and pounded with pistols . . . until his body was black." A neighbor, Toribo Garcia, attracted by Señora Baca's screams that her husband was being killed, dashed into the street, gun in hand. Over-awed by the sight of the armed

25. Fabiola Cabeza de Baca, *We Fed Them Cactus* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1954), 60.

26. *Weekly New Mexican*, September 24, 1872.

Texans, he hastily retreated towards the protection of his home but was shot through the back by one of the raiders, dying almost instantly.

By this time Seaman had arrived at the scene with unfortunate consequences to himself. One of the Texans immediately accosted him with the remark, "What are you doing here, you d—son of a b—h," and following it up with a slashing blow with his rifle across Seaman's face, "cutting a deep gash across the cheek bone, and putting out the left eye." Delirious from the blow, Seaman unwittingly ran into the corral only to find it filled with his adversaries. When he turned to escape, he was dragged back into it by a Texan who snarled at him, "hold on you son of a b—h, we are not done with you yet." Desperately Seaman wrenched loose and stumbled towards the door of the house when he was "shot from behind, falling forward on his face—the ball entered the back part of the head and came out just above the forehead tearing away quite a large piece of the skull, and causing instant death."

After doing away with their chief foe, the Texans raced up and down the streets, firing wildly and running off stock. When the local *alcalde* ventured into the street to protest he was callously shot through both legs. This ended the Mexican's last shred of resistance, and they helplessly huddled behind their adobe walls until finally their tormentors left the tortured town to its misery.

The Mexican was not the only side of the story; James Patterson wrote a letter to the editor of the *New Mexican*, in which he explained that the Texans were acting purely in self defense. According to him Hittson's men were at the corral where the shooting took place:

. . . demanding the cattle of the men claiming them within the enclosure, when Mr. Seaman rushed into their midst loudly calling to a party of armed followers to 'come on,' and without further warning, presented a revolver in the face of Mr. Childers with a threat of instant death. So sudden was the attack that Childers had no time to draw and defend himself. A man

from behind seeing the peril of Mr. Childers . . . shot Seaman through the head killing him instantly. The cowardly crew who were to have helped in the attack, at this moment turned and fled, leaving the ground to the Texans.²⁷

Despite the Texan's version of the Loma Parda incident, a storm of controversy flared through the newspapers of the state as angry editors sought to turn their readers against the invaders. Bitterly the *New Mexico Union* described the Texans as coming into the area "with braggadocio, swaggering and offers of violence," complaining that "too often these blowing bullies have succeeded with their pretensions." It concluded its tirade with a rousing appeal for action :

We say no just . . . man should allow himself . . . to be trampled upon by the disgusting, cowardly pretender. The time has come when people should hold their rights in their own hands. We repeat our wonder at the submission of a wronged people. For weeks, men in bands from Texas have ranged with pistols, rifles and knives and have taken cattle where they pleased, under the pretense that they had at some time been unlawfully taken from Texas. Is there another county in the United States where the whole community would not rebel at the outrage? We say to the people, take care of your own interest. You have no safety but in your own hands.²⁸

While this overwhelmingly represented the majority viewpoint in New Mexico, it was not the only one. The *New Mexican* in the same issue that carried an account of the tragedy was surprisingly moderate. It summed up its opinion thusly: "there is a soreness on the part of the innocent purchasers of the stock, but they cannot deny the justice of the Texan's claims."²⁹

Regardless of the justice of the Texans' claims it is hard to excuse the brutality at Loma Parda. Hittson himself, perhaps not too proud of it, even sought to deny all connection with it. The next year he told a Denver reporter, "I had no engagement at arms with any parties, as they saw it was

27. *Ibid.*, October 1, 1872.

28. *The New Mexico Union* (Santa Fe), October 1, 1872.

29. *Weekly New Mexican*, October 1, 1873.

useless to interpose against my outfit. The death of two men was laid to my boys, but I am positive other parties were at fault."³⁰

As can be concluded from the above incidents, Hittson's raid could easily have degenerated into a state of complete lawlessness. Indeed many of the New Mexicans charged that this was the case. A standard complaint was that "when they came to recover their cattle, they would drive every cow which was in their path."³¹ Otero made no bones about calling them out and out rustlers and made the charge that the leader of the marauders "took the proceeds of the raid and invested it in Denver, erecting one of that city's largest office buildings."³²

Despite these charges, Hittson was not a furtive character while in New Mexico and was careful to operate within the admittedly lax limits of the law. Both he and Patterson were listed as frequent guests at the Fonda Hotel in Santa Fe,³³ and doubtlessly visited quite openly in Las Vegas and the other leading towns of New Mexico. Finally, the New Mexicans, unable to cope with his party by force, did turn to legal means for, in Hittson's words, "some of the parties from whom I had taken my own cattle, secured indictments against me to the number of about a dozen."³⁴ He posted bond to stay out of jail until the district court would meet the next spring. On top of this two of the area ranchers, Pribert and Kirchner by name, had obtained writs of replevin preventing their cattle from being driven from the state until the courts had decided their proper owner.³⁵

Bad as these difficulties were, they were compounded by other sources of annoyance to Hittson which served to dis-

30. *Rocky Mountain News*, April 29, 1873.

31. Cabeza de Baca, *We Fed Them Cactus*, 64.

32. Otero, *My Life on the Frontier*, 63. It is interesting to note in regard to this charge that in 1888 Hittson's sons-in-law did build Denver's first modern office building—Otero's account was first published some sixty years after the raid.

33. *Daily New Mexican*, July 30, 1872; August 8, 1872; August 19, 1872; September 14, 1872.

34. *Rocky Mountain News*, April 29, 1873.

35. *Daily New Mexican*, October 4, 1872.

tract his attention throughout the time he was in New Mexico. He had left his son Jesse in charge of the home ranch in Texas with instructions to send a large herd over the Pecos Trail to Colorado. This was done, but at a point on the Pecos near the Texas-New Mexico boundary a party of Apaches stole all but five of the herders' remuda. Only by borrowing a few horses from another trail outfit, that luckily was close by, did Hittson's crew reach Chisum's ranch near Fort Sumner where they could purchase more horses. When Hittson heard of the robbery, he unsuccessfully searched for the thieves and then on September 9 wrote a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, requesting compensation at a rate of one hundred fifty dollars per horse and two hundred dollars per mule, for a grand total of \$6,050.³⁶ This was the only claim for compensation he ever made, but it would be thirty years after his death before any restitution would be secured.

A more serious worry than the loss of his horses also plagued Hittson during the later summer. His brother William arrived in New Mexico with a herd of cattle and reported that Jesse had been killed by Indians.³⁷ Happily, this later proved to be only a mistaken rumor started by a cowboy who had fled the scene of an all day battle in which Jesse and eleven cowboys held off some seventy-five Comanches near the present town of Ballinger in July, 1872, although they were unable to save a herd of seven hundred cattle they had been tending.³⁸ William Hittson apparently heard the rumor about the time he left the Concho country on his trek towards the Pecos.

Even if the rumor was baseless, Hittson had good reason to be anxious about the seventeen-year-old son upon whom he had placed so much responsibility. On September 14, the *Weatherford Times* carried a report that young Hittson had

36. John Hittson to Francis A. Walker, September 9, 1872, Indian Depredation Case #3001, Records of the United States Court of Claims, Washington, D. C.

37. *Daily New Mexican*, September 2, 1872.

38. Deposition of Sam Gholson, November 30, 1899, Indian Depredation Case #3000, Records of the United States Court of Claims, Washington, D. C.

been attacked by four Indians in Stephens County. The youth reportedly killed one of them and then escaped while the other three were carrying off their comrade's body.³⁹ Lightly indeed did the frontiersmen wear their scalps.

Worry about the happenings in Texas, coupled with the fact that his New Mexican operations were halted until the court would meet the next spring, prompted Hittson to return to Texas. He left Santa Fe on the stage on October 25 after naming James Patterson and Thomas Stockton as his representatives in charge of recovering his stolen cattle and those for whom he himself held "Powers of Attorney."⁴⁰ The activities of these two, however, were sharply curtailed by the legal uncertainties, and troubles steadily mounted for their subordinates.

In December Martin Childers and several others were arrested to face charges of horse stealing and murdering Seaman and Garcia. They were placed in the Las Vegas jail, the "strongest and costliest edifice of its kind" in New Mexico, but escaped within three days. The disappointed New Mexicans, suspecting bribery, imprisoned the jailor and four of the five guards on duty when the escape occurred. Then woe-fully the *New Mexican* observed that "Vigorous efforts will be made for [Childer's] recapture, but it is safe to say that he will never again be heard of in our Territory."⁴¹

Meanwhile in Texas Hittson was making preparations for moving his headquarters to a ranch he owned near Deer Trail, Colorado. While working at this he received a letter from William Veale, the chairman of the Committee on Indian Affairs of the Texas legislature, asking for a detailed statement of his experiences and findings in New Mexico. Hittson replied that he had only partly succeeded in accomplishing his purposes of putting "a stop to the Indian depredations as far as possible" and recovering his stolen property. He had "got possession of between five and six thousand head of cattle, which are now being herded in . . . Colorado, but the

39. Copied in *Galveston Daily News*, September 20, 1872.

40. *Daily New Mexican*, October 26, 1872.

41. *Ibid.*, December 28, 1872 and January 5, 1873.

above were recovered at enormous expense, nearly equal to the value of the property recovered." In relation to a plea for state protection "without which these thieving depredations will continue so long as there is cattle or horses on our frontier," Hittson estimated the number of cattle driven from Texas and disposed of by the Comancheros during the previous twenty years was one hundred thousand head.⁴²

Even while Hittson was quietly working on his ranch in Texas, colorful accounts of his recent raid extolling his successes and virtues spread rapidly over the country. Speaking of reports, the *Rocky Mountain News* stated: "John Hittson's operations against the border thieves seem to have attracted general attention; and our bold, honest and wealthy stockman has gained a national reputation by the effectiveness of his operations and its entire lack of 'red tape!'"⁴³

A particularly vivid report was published in the *New York Evening Post* under the striking headline: "Cattle Jack—A modern Hercules to the Rescue!" Described by the Colorado papers as "descriptive, spicy, and entertaining," the story outlined Hittson's exploits: He "scatters his spies over [New Mexico] and hears of thousands of cattle with the marks he is seeking, 'drops upon' their present owner, and . . . says: 'You have got my cattle and those of my friends; I have come after them, and propose to take them with me.'"⁴⁴

Not even the courts were able to bother the Hittson of the reports: "He attends the sittings with his men and the judge's eyes are opened so that he knows good from evil immediately and every animal is forthcoming." The article concluded with the prediction that Hittson was likely to recover a million dollars worth of property, and "let us hope he receives a handsome part for his own."

Unconcerned with the grandiloquent descriptions of his

42. *The Daily Statesman* (Austin), February 2, 1873. In contrast to this Charles Goodnight stated 300,000 had been run off during the Civil War alone. Haley, *Charles Goodnight*, 138.

43. *Rocky Mountain News*, January 5, 1873.

44. Copied in *Colorado Chieftain*, January 16, 1873.

successes and attributes, Hittson returned to Las Vegas in March for the meeting of the district court. According to his own statement only one case was actually tried. When it resulted in a verdict favoring him, the district attorney dropped the remainder of the cases.⁴⁵ Unfortunately the court records were apparently destroyed in a subsequent fire so his account cannot be amplified.

The results of Hittson's New Mexico raid have been distorted. It has been generally accepted by writers that he recovered eighteen thousand cattle and that he sold them for the benefit of the original owners.⁴⁶ Hittson in April of 1873, however, stated, "I recovered between five and six thousand cattle that had been stolen from myself and immediate neighbors,—worth between \$60,000 and \$70,000,—and we have them still in our possession."⁴⁷ There is no indication how much, if any, the Texans who granted Hittson "Powers of Attorney" benefitted from the raid.

It is also difficult to gauge the effect it had upon the suppression of the *Comanchero* cattle trade with the Indians. Certainly the market for stolen cattle in New Mexico would have been hurt if it was established that the original owners could reclaim their stock there. Hittson's efforts, however, did not end the trade. It would be the forcing of the Indians onto reservations, the killing of their buffalo, and the relentless patrolling of the plains, not the actions of individual cowmen, that would do that.

According to Miguel Otero, an unintended outcome of the Hittson raid was an increase in race antagonism between the native New Mexicans and the Texans. He stated that the raid

. . . revealed that hostile and vengeful feeling displayed by the Texans which produced acts of lawlessness calculated to make the name "Tejano" a hated word among the New Mexicans. It is said that mothers were in the habit of censuring their

45. *Rocky Mountain News*, April 29, 1873.

46. McMechem, "John Hittson, Cattle King," *Colorado Magazine*, XI, 169; Walter Prescott Webb, editor, *The Handbook of Texas*, (2 vols., Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1951), I, 818; McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade*, 345.

47. *Rocky Mountain News*, April 29, 1873.

children with the dire threat: "If you are not good, I'll give you to the Tejanos, who are coming back."⁴⁸

It is difficult to arrive at definite conclusions on Hittson's raid. In the absence of absolute information on his motives, a number of interpretations could be placed on his actions. He might be considered a rancher trying to make the frontier a safer place to live, a hard-pressed cowman lashing out against his enemies furiously and blindly, or—as the New Mexicans seemed to think—a ruthless villain out to make as much profit as possible from an unfortunate situation. Whatever the case, it was an interesting, unique, and little-noticed episode in the history of the southwestern frontier.

48. Otero, *My Life on the Frontier*, 63.

SHEEP HUSBANDRY IN NEW MEXICO, 1902-1903

Edited by WILLIAM J. PARISH

(Continued)

*"The Young Observer" in Colorado and New Mexico **

A Drive Across the Southwestern Country

From Springer, N.M., via the Santa Fe, back thru the tunnel at Raton and over the beautiful white mountains, glistening in the sunlight, past the noted Spanish Peaks, I came to Trinidad, Colo. On the train, I asked a tall, bearded man how he liked the country. "Well" said he, "this is the damnedest country I ever saw. Here we have been trying to get past these Spanish peaks all day, and they are still in sight." (This was five o'clock PM) "I like a country where you can get some place some time." With a person not used to the atmosphere and to seeing great distances, the eye is easily deceived. The unsophisticated easterner often starts out to take a little stroll to a mountain which is 18 or 20 miles away, and, after walking perhaps an hour or two and finding the distance apparently not lessening, he gives up in despair and goes back.

IN TRINIDAD, I called at the Trinidad scouring mills.¹ I found them busy scouring last spring's clip and learned that they had enough on hand to keep them engaged for some time to come. The wool around here shows a longer staple and more Merino crosses than that farther South. It is quite common to find staple wools around Trinidad, and nearly all the flocks

* (From Our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 3, March, 1902 (pt. 1).

1. There had been at least two: the Forbes and Primrose scouring mills (*Charles Ilfeld Collection*, Copy Book 33, May 8, 1895, p. 466 and Incoming Correspondence Packet 35, Nov. 19, 1896, UNM Library). In later years Frank Bond of Wagonmound had an interest in the Forbes Wool Company of Trinidad (Frank Grubbs, "Frank Bond, Gentleman Sheepherder of Northern New Mexico, 1883-1915," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 35:298).

average from 5 to 6 pounds of wool to the head. There are many rich ranch men and feeders who have their homes in Trinidad. The school advantages here are fine, and Trinidad might be called a centre of refinement for southeastern Colo. and the surrounding country. I found here a man who had the courage to tell me wherein eastern stock is lacking in interest to the western man. Said he,

“YOUR EASTERN RAMS are all right, but they are no good to us here until they are acclimated.” “How long,” said I, “does it take an Ohio or Michigan ram to get used to your climate?” “Well,” said he, “it depends upon how he has been taken care of from his birth. If he has been fed all he wants from the time he was weaned till we get him, and never had to rustle for himself, he will die getting acclimated; but if, on the other hand, he has been turned out to pasture most of the year and learned to rustle for himself, he will get used to things out here in two or three months and do comparatively well on our dry gramma grass and water two or three times a week. The great trouble with your eastern sheep raisers is that they treat the sheep too well, and thereby destroy their constitution and capability of standing range life.” Our eastern sheep raisers should bear this fact in mind, and remember that the western ranch man can use these eastern sheep only when the rams know what it is to live on grass and grass alone. When they strike the range and are turned into the flock, they are more than liable to see no more corn or grain again in their lives. Quite a few of the feeders, who have their homes in Trinidad, have feeding pens in Las Animas or Fort Collins. These sheep, for the most part, are fed on alfalfa hay and corn. Some growers are feeding cotton seed meal and cotton hulls. These hulls are proving quite a success as a feed as well as a source of revenue for the southern cotton mills. The number of sheep fed in the above-mentioned places is a great many less than last year.

I have asked of many at what price they considered they could sell their lambs and obtain a profit, say, in April. The answer of nearly every one was, $6\frac{3}{4}$ to 7 cents a pound. Some

put it as low as 61½ cents, but none lower. Everywhere that I have been in New Mexico, there are numbers of

LAMBS YET UNSOLD. This will in the estimation of some, increase the wool clip of New Mexico nearly ¼ above that of last year. On account of the long spell of cold weather, there are many weak lambs and cattle on the range, and, if the weather does not turn soon, there will be large losses among the cattle and sheep men of Texas and New Mexico.

Leaving Trinidad, Colorado, I came to Clayton. CLAYTON IS ONE OF THE MOST PROGRESSIVE and business-like towns in New Mexico. In fact, I believe there is more business done in Clayton in a year than in any other town of its size in the territory. The business men are progressive, and are supported by a rich ranging country on all sides. The business of the town is divided between four large mercantile companies, the Lawrence Mercantile Company² doing the most business, M. Herzstein³ ranking next, and Phil Denitz and Max Weil⁴ following in the order named. The Lawrence Mercantile Company and M. Herzstein handle the bulk of the wool and pelts which come into Clayton. The contract price for wool seems to be about 13 cents.

After staying in the town for some little time, I accepted the kind invitation of Mr. Abel Martinez to spend a week at his ranch, which is located some 32 miles south of Clayton. We started for the ranch on a fine winter day, just cold enough to have a bracing effect. We traveled south at a merry

2. Albert Lawrence was president of the corporation. Other officers were A.M. Blackwell, Vice-Pres., Solomon Floersheim, Sec., and G. A. Franz, Treas. This company, along with Floersheim Mercantile Company of Springer, was partially owned by the Gross, Blackwell and Company of Las Vegas. Albert Lawrence was also a substantial stockholder in the Floersheim Company, his name appearing on Jan. 20, 1903 in place of Harry W. Kelly of Gross, Blackwell. On Jan. 21, 1914 his stock was purchased by the Company in return for 6% notes (*Floersheim Mercantile Company Minute Book*, pp. 30, 58, 65, UNM Library). The Lawrence Mercantile Company was sold to Christian Otto and Charles Schleter about this time although Twitchell is probably incorrect in placing the date about 1910 (R.E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, Vol. 4, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1917, p. 538).

3. Morris Herzstein. See Twitchell, *op cit*, vol. 4, pp. 542-543, for biographical sketch.

4. Was postmaster at Marguerita, San Miguel County, Mar. 19, 1891 to Oct. 13, 1892 (Sheldon H. Dike, *The Territorial Post Offices of New Mexico*, Copyright, 1958, S. H. Dike, UNM Library).

pace and reached the ranch headquarters at about three o'clock. The land around

THE MARTINEZ RANCH is somewhat broken. The adobe house is located at the side of his water hole, which is large enough to water one herd of sheep. It is fed by a fine spring of pure water, and is an elegant place for watering sheep. Mr. Martinez, with his father-in-law, has close to 4,000 sheep and several hundred head of cattle. There are many small canyons on their range where a good well can be dug, and where water can be obtained at a depth of from eight to 15 feet; so, you see, the water question does not bother them greatly.

As Mr. Martinez's wife was in town, we had to cook our own meals. It might have surprised some of his friends to see the "Bulletin's" representative cooking and baking. Talk about biscuits! The Indian herder on the ranch said that they would be a nice thing to kill coyotes with, and declined my offer to let him have a batch of them for his dog. Some of our trips out from the ranch were made on horseback, as Mr. Martinez owns some very fine riding horses.

RANCH LIFE. At the home ranch of nearly every progressive ranch man there is a corral fitted with hay racks and corn troughs for the feeding of the weak lambs and the old ewes which are to be fattened for mutton. Out of the 1,600 head of lambs Mr. Martinez raised last spring, he has about 150 up on feed. They are fed lightly, this year, for corn and alfalfa are very high here (sic) (corn being worth \$1.50 per hundred and alfalfa \$12 per ton). After the lambs are taken out of the flock there are few that die, for they are under the undivided care of their owner. It is claimed by a great many that an Indian herder is the most capable man that they can get to take care of their sheep. This is a disputed point, however, among sheep men. Let it be said, however, that the Indian herder on the Martinez ranch is certainly a fine one and takes excellent care of the sheep. Mr. Martinez, like many other sheep men in this locality, has his lambs yet unsold. They will be sold any time after shearing when the price is right. Lambs are held now at \$1.25 to \$1.75 per head, accord-

ing to the quality. The Martinez ranch proper consists of four claims. In addition to this is government land in every direction as far as the eye can reach.

After a pleasant week we returned to Clayton, where I stayed over Sunday. The next Monday afternoon, Robert T. Mansker, the deputy sheriff, and I started out on a ten day's trip to summon jurors, and to work in the interest of the "Bulletin." Leaving our Clayton friends behind, we sped over the brown, sandy prairie, out past

CHRIS OTTO'S RANCH.⁵ It is said by those who know, that some 15 years ago, the above-mentioned gentleman, in company with Charles Schleter, drove a herd of sheep overland from California into the territory of New Mexico.⁶ From that small beginning, by their thrift and business ability, they have made themselves the largest sheep owners in Union county, New Mexico. Their fortunes are variously estimated, but it will suffice to say that they produce the best and largest clips of wool of any individual owners in northeastern NM. They have attained this end by the careful breeding of good stock rams and by taking the best of care of their flocks. They have blood in their flocks that has come from many of the best flocks of the US, including the eastern and north central states. Passing the Otto ranch we drove over a wide mesa and then down into a little arroyo where the post-office of Barney is located. We stayed all night with a man by the name of Con Archuleta, who, with George Chavez, of the same locality, owns about 800 fine sheep. Archuleta started with nothing. For a long time he cooked for cow outfits, and finally got enough ahead to start in the sheep business for himself. This is an example of what a man can do if he tries hard and sticks to it.

Several miles across the mesa and down the Tramperos canyon we came to Beenham,⁷ and had a very pleasant call on

5. Christian Otto. See Twitchell, *op cit*, vol. 4, p. 538, for biographical sketch.

6. Confirmed in Alvis interview of Christian Otto, Sept. 8, 1934 (Berry N. Alvis, "History of Union County," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 22:256).

7. The parties must have traveled along the present route of highway 58. Beenham, in which a post office had been established April 29, 1890 (Dike, *op cit*) must have been just east of Pasamonte.

the jolly postmaster, an Englishman who has for many years been staying with the country raising cattle and sheep. When you talk with Charley Bushnell⁸ you cannot help feeling better and the world looks brighter because of him. He reported that his sheep were doing well and that he had had but few losses. Climbing out of the canyon, we journeyed across the mesa and got to Pasamonte for dinner. Our host, Carl Gilg and his wife, made our visit a pleasant one, and the dinner that we sat down to would certainly do credit to any woman, a true German dinner and one that was hard to beat. Mr. Gilg runs a general merchandise store, is postmaster⁹ at Passamonte, [Pasamonte] and a regular reader of the "Bulletin." He buys hides, pelt, and wool, as does almost every general merchandise store in New Mexico. After a small size blizzard had passed, we traveled south to the home of

ROMULO LUCERO who is ex-assessor of Union county and a prominent man in politics, as well as a successful sheep man. We enjoyed his hospitality that night and listened to many an exciting tale told by Mr. Lucero or "Bob," the genial deputy sheriff with whom I was traveling. They told of the wonderful holdups of Black Jack and his gang, how the Black Jack gang held up the express successfully at two different times, and finally of the capture of Black Jack himself on his attempt to hold up the train the third time. They told of

A CERTAIN GANG OF HORSE THIEVES and bad men who came through Clayton about 8 years ago. The sheriff organized a posse to capture them. The posse started out bravely with high hopes and gallant mien. When they came up with the gang they separated so as to surround and bag the game nicely. But they reckoned without their host. The bad men were fighters from the word go. Only one of the posse were wounded, but none of the robbers were hit or captured, and the general condition of mind of the posse was told in the words of one of its members. Said he, when he got back, "I fired my pistol many times—six miles," meaning, I suppose,

8. Charles J. H. Bushnell.

9. Since Feb. 18, 1899 (Dike, *op cit*).

that he was so scared that he forgot to fire his pistol until he was six miles off. It is told of another of the posse—who always wore his large 6-shooter out in plain view, had one of his pants legs out of his boot and the other one in, wore the largest white hat that the town afforded, and carried his bit red brand book in his left inside coat pocket—that, when the shooting became a little too interesting, he pulled out the big red book and, carefully looking through it said, “Boys, I cannot find their brand anywhere in this book, so I think we had better let them go.”

From Palo Blanco canyon, where Romulo Lucero lives, we drove over the mesa,¹⁰ facing a biting cold wind. About 10 o'clock we descended into Ute Creek canyon, which at this point is about 800 feet deep, and made a short call on Nicanor Romero, who is quite extensively interested in the sheep business. Along about three o'clock we pulled into DeHaven¹¹ where the post-office and general merchandise store is kept by Walter Traister,¹² an ex-cow-boy. On his present ranch he has dammed up the creek and is irrigating about forty acres of land, which is partly seeded down to alfalfa. On another part he raises sugar cane, and one small part is given up to an excellent garden, where this last season he raised onions, weighing from one to two pounds, cabbages, carrots, sugar beets, and other kinds of “garden sass” too numerous to mention. Said he,

“WATER IS ALL THE LAND NEEDS, but in most places that is the hardest thing to get.” We accepted his kind hospitality for the evening. He wanted to know whether I was the “Old Observer,” and I had to confess that I was not. That evening we were entertained by our genial friend with many a tale of bucking broncho or eastern tenderfoot; of an exciting midnight stampede of the herd, or of an Indian scare. He showed us with pride his 30-30 rifle, with which he easily shot a coyote through the heart at a distance of 325 yards. The next morn-

10. Turned south approximately in the vicinity of secondary road 120.

11. Evidently named for George W. DeHaven, postmaster from Apr. 15, 1895 to Aug. 15, 1900 (Dike, *op cit*).

12. Dike, *op cit*, records Daniel C. Traister as postmaster as of Aug. 31, 1901.

ing, after sleeping soundly in our host's bed while he slept on the floor, we continued our journey southward, still in Union county. We stopped at Oliverio Lucero's where we took dinner and looked over his excellent flock of 800 ewes, which were well bred up in Merino and sheared six pounds to the head. Almost every herd has from five to 25 goats in it to lead the flock, and for other reasons understood only by their Spanish owners.

After dinner we started on a long drive over another mesa and through the dry bed of Laguna Grande, or Big Lake, south to La Cinta canyon. There we had the steepest descent of our trip. The road is about two miles long and descends into the canyon, 900 to 1,000 feet deep. We tied both wheels, got out and walked down, and I assure my readers this was much more satisfactory than riding.

We spent the night with Parker Wells and his good wife at their ranch in La Cinta canyon, one of the most favored that I have ever seen.¹³ The walls of the canyon surround them on all sides except the south, thus making a natural fence. The grass in this canyon starts at least a month earlier than up on the mesa. With capital and industry it could be made a paradise, for in this canyon almost any fruit known to the temperate zone can be raised. With alfalfa, sorghum, kaffir corn and other rough feeds, it is the best ranching country a man could ask for. There are, however, some drawbacks. One of them is

THE PRAIRIE DOG. I saw 160 acres here almost destroyed by these little animals. The holes were so thick that you could almost jump from one to the other. It is a wonder to me that the ranch men do not poison them, for this, according to some, is a very simple matter. By dropping a teaspoonful of wheat soaked in a solution of arsenic, croton oil, and a little molasses at each hole, the prairie dog is put to death, and grass will be

13. La Cinta had long been a favorable ranching center. From 1884 to 1887 Charles Iifeld dealt with the following ranchers and storekeepers in that area: Simon Frankenthal, A. H. Sauter, M. Slattery, Fritz Eggert, Charles I. Kohn, and F. E. Herd (Charles Iifeld Company records, *op cit*).

made to flourish where before was a pasture close cropped by the pests.

Entertained by the Edison gramophone and a large music box, we spent what will be long remembered as one of the pleasantest evenings in Union county.

The next night we stayed at

THE RANCH OF T. E. MITCHELL,¹⁴ one of the finest cattle and sheep ranches in the county, excluding, of course, the famous Bell ranch. The Mitchell ranch proper, located on the wide and fertile valley of the Tequezquite [Tequesquite] Arroyo, supports something over three hundred cattle and many thousand sheep. The ranch house is finely appointed, but would be incomplete without the presence of Mrs. Mitchell and the three rollicking, bright-faced children, who show the patient care taken in their bringing-up. We spent the evening talking cattle and cowboy life, for in his younger days Mr. Mitchell followed the cattle business extensively. The reader must not think from this that our friend is an old man, for as yet he shows no gray hairs and is as young and active as any one. He has the largest and best-arranged corrals and horse stables that I have yet seen in Union county. Water for the house is supplied by a large windmill, and the surplus flows into a tank from which it is conveyed through pipes to the corrals and pens. Mr. Mitchell thinks of putting in a plant to irrigate about ten acres of alfalfa.

AT THE GALLEGOS POST-OFFICE and plaza, the Gallegos Brothers run a general merchandise store and are reckoned among the richest and most influential men in this part of the country. They own vast numbers of sheep and cattle, and it is doubted whether they themselves know just how rich they are. At present they are building quite a few small irrigation dams, and several windmills to water their cattle and sheep. We pushed south to the ranch of Nepomoceno Martinez, ex-treasurer of Union county, and one of the prominent men of

14. This must have been the Dubuque (Iowa) Cattle Company ranch of which T. E. Mitchell was manager (*Illustrated History of New Mexico*, Lewis Publishing Company, 1895, Chicago, pp. 492-493).

this section. It was after dark when we reached his home, but he welcomed us in true Spanish style. He runs quite extensive herds of cattle and sheep. He has, just back of the house, a fine spring which supplies drinking water for the house, and also for his stock. The last summer this spring brought to its owner quite a little revenue, for the men working on the new railroad, some eight miles away, purchased all of their drinking water here at the rate of five cents a barrel. This and other springs are also used for irrigation purposes. Mr. Martinez runs a small general merchandise store, and does his own freighting, hauling his goods and supplies from Clayton, which is about 100 miles away. It takes seven to ten days to make the round trip with a wagon.

The next morning we turned our faces towards Clayton and traveled back north towards the plaza of Gallegos, stopping on the way to make a short call on Martin Lucero. We found him just coming out to take charge of his flock of ewes that were quietly grazing in the arroyo west of his house. After a long day's drive, we reached the ranch of Don Leon Pinard, who is one of the county commissioners and a prominent man in politics and ranching.¹⁵ He runs at present from 10 to 15 thousand head of sheep and about three hundred cattle. Contrary to the usual custom of this country, he has shipped his wool to Boston for many years. So also has Nepomoceno [sic] Martinez,¹⁶ and they are of the opinion that it is a little the best way, if you can get an honest commission

15. Pedro Leon Pinard had been a partner of Mateo Lujan (See biographical sketch of Mateo Lujan. These men dealt extensively with Charles Ifeld and his former partner Adolph Letcher. Originally Charles Ifeld acquired lands on the Tramperos from Andres Sena and these were leased to Lujan and Pinard who also had land holdings of their own. Adolph Letcher, after he moved permanently to Baltimore, had flocks of sheep in the care of Lujan and Pinard. The partnership dissolved in Aug. or Sept. 1899 and a new one, Pinard and Romero, was formed with a post office at Leon. Mateo Lujan continued to operate at Bueyeros. A third center, Baca (Andres Sena had married into the Baca family) separated the two post offices (*Representative New Mexicans*, C. S. Peterson, Denver, Colo., 1912, p. 183. Charles Ifeld Records, *op cit*, Copy Book, 14, July 31, 1886, pp. 275, 992-994; Copy Book 55, Aug. 26 and 28, 1899, pp. 232 and 241; Copy Book 57, Dec. 19, 1899, p. 418. Berry N. Alvis, *op. cit.*, 22: 256; Parish *interviews* with Eugene D. Lujan, July 18, 1953, Santa Fe, and Rodney B. Schoonmaker, Aug. 21, 1947, Las Vegas).

16. Postmaster of Vigil, N.M. from Apr. 21 to July 17, 1882 (Dike, *op. cit*). Vigil was located between Mosquero and Bueyeros (Parish *interview* with Eugene D. Lujan, *op cit*).

firm to handle it for you. Mr. Pinard stated that he had repeatedly tried to irrigate the land, but that, on his sandy soil, it was almost impossible to get enough water as it sunk away and evaporated so quickly. He said he had continued to try to get alfalfa started, but failure had always attended his efforts. The hot sun on the sand had always burned it out in a year or two. Right here I must confess to

STEALING A DOG the day before. He was a fine fellow, and followed us all day through the sand and soap weed. He patiently gnawed a bone at our door all through the long night, interrupted only by growls and small frays with other dogs, much to the discontent of the "bulletin" men, but not to that of Bob, the jolly deputy sheriff, for his snores sounded right on through gnawings, growls, dog fights, and smothered curses from the other occupant of the bed. The next morning we looked around for our faithful canine, but alas! the mistress of the house had taken a fancy to him, and the gallant Bob could not refuse her.

As the sun began to get high in the heavens, we pulled up at the general store of J. Doherty & Company.¹⁷ This is one of the best-stocked general merchandise stores that we saw while out on our trip. Here we enjoyed a fine dinner; and as we enjoyed it and were late, we had to eat alone. Such appetites as we did have! All we ate was two pounds of beef steak, half a dozen eggs, coffee, countless slices of bread, and we finally wound up on pudding. Of course, I ate the most, for Bob is small, weighing only 220 pounds.

At Bueyeros we met the postmaster, M. G. Tixier¹⁸ (pronounced Teshay), and Don Leandro Vigil, a prominent ranch man of Bueyeros. That night we spent with Don Agustin Vigil. We were royally entertained by our host, who is 50

17. Joe Doherty. See Twitchell, Vol. 4, *op cit*, p. 547 for biographical sketch. The "Young Observer's" experience would indicate Doherty had a store near Bueyeros. Twitchell located Doherty's store at Folsom. Yet that town is too far north for the "Young Observer" to have been there on this trip. He had passed through Folsom on the train to Clayton so it is not likely he could have erred in recording the approximate location of this store. It is possible this was a branch store.

18. Miguel G. Tixier. Was appointed May 31, 1898 (Dike, *op cit*).

years old and has a father still living over eighty years of age. By the way,

IN THIS HEALTHFUL COUNTRY it is not uncommon to find people of that age or upwards. Mr. Vigil is as quick and active as a man of 25. He understands the English language well and reads it better than he speaks it. Although he had the privileges of a school for only four months in his life, he has by his own efforts made himself as well-informed a man as you will often meet.

The next morning, after a hearty breakfast of corned beef, veal, beans, bread, coffee, chile, etc., we journeyed northward to the post office at Clapham, where we arrived at about three o'clock and put our tired horses into a corral for the night. Mr. V. A. Overbay, who is the postmaster and runs a general merchandise store, spent the early part of his life as a cowboy on the plains of western Texas and New Mexico. He now has a fine herd of graded Herefords, which will make him a handsome profit this coming season. During the three hours' time till sundown, one of the party took

A HUNT UP THE ARROYO coming back with three quails in his pocket and a fine fat duck dangling at each side.

At eight o'clock next morning we were speeding on our way towards Clayton. Up hills and where the sand was deepest we walked, facing a stiff breeze, while the tired team took things as easy as it was possible to let them. Six miles south of Clayton, we came in sight of the ranch of Don Francisco Maestas. Mr. Maestas is a well known cattle and sheep raiser. He runs from two to three thousand of sheep and quite a large herd of cattle. This ranch, which he has recently bought, is located on the Perrico [perico] arroyo. It is so situated that a large tract of the land can be easily irrigated, and this, together with its proximity to Clayton, makes it a very desirable ranch.

At two o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, February 26, two weary, unshaven, and generally unkempt travelers drove into Clayton, to be greeted by their many friends, and the lucky Bob by his two little daughters.

*"The Young Observer" in New Mexico**Sheep Ranches and Sheep Men in and Around Folsom,
Union County

UNION COUNTY. NEW MEXICO. March 25, 1902. This is the windy season of the year for New Mexico. This is the time when the shepherd anxiously looks for the signs of an approaching storm. The storms of this season of the year are usually of wet snow, cold rain, or sleet. They usually cause great losses among the poor sheep and cattle. The pastures of this part of New Mexico have been refreshed by a heavy rain and a damp snow, and as soon as there come a few warm days the green grass will begin to shoot up among the brown and dead stems. Already, on the south sides of the canyons, where the sun strikes, the green grass is appearing.

After returning from my trip mentioned in the March number I accepted the kind invitation of Tom Gray¹ (the inspector) to go out to his ranch and spend a day or so.

TOM GRAY'S RANCH. Mr. Gray's ranch is situated about 12 miles south of Clayton. The land is somewhat sandy and the grass here starts quite a little earlier than it does at Clayton. When we arrived at the ranch, we found the ranch buildings empty. In one room we found the family cat nearly starved and the house dog looked rather gaunt. The fact of the matter was, that one of his numerous windmills had gotten out of order, and Pacos (the boss) was away fixing it. After appeasing the hunger of the well-nigh starved animals, we built a fire in the cook stove and proceeded to cook a good, substantial meal as we were somewhat hungry from our long ride. About that time Pacos arrived and we all sat down and enjoyed our supper together.

That night about midnight

OUR SLUMBERS WERE DISTURBED by some one pounding on the door. On going to the door we found two men there, who

* *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 3, March, 1902 (pt. 2).

1. This must be the same Tom Gray who Alvis interviewed on three occasions in September, 1933 on the early history of Union County (Berry Newton Alvis, "History of Union County, New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 22: 249, 257, 270).

were looking for a woman who had started across the mesa alone, and on foot, that cold day. She was a 16-year-old bride, who had become dissatisfied with her father-in-law's mansion for some reason or other and had left to find her 18-year-old husband, who was supposed to be at a house across the mesa, 15 miles away.

The men (her husband and brother-in-law) soon started out again into the night hunting for her.

At this writing I have not heard whether she was found dead or alive.

The next morning we started out

TO LOOK OVER THE RANGE and incidentally inspect a couple of Mr. Gray's flocks of sheep.

The land around the Gray ranch is very sandy, and on a windy day it is disagreeable traveling. The fine span of blacks, however, did not seem to mind it, as they pranced along over the mesa and down the dry creek bed.

The first windmill we came to was all right, and pumping right along. The second one had the pump rod broken. After doing the best we could for this one, we again started down the creek bottom to where the best flock of sheep were grazing. It was

A PRETTY SIGHT to see them walking through the grass and sage brush, daintily picking the grass here and there. The sheep on this ranch shear about six pounds of wool to the head.

I also saw some fine rams, which would shear anywhere from 12 to 20 pounds. Mr. Gray is justly proud of his ram flock.

After a pleasant visit we turned our faces northward and soon found ourselves at the cattle ranch of Dr. North,² of Clayton. He has a fine bunch of cattle and is rapidly becoming one of the large owners of this county.

After eating dinner with his foreman, we were again behind the swift blacks and after a couple of hours found our-

2. Alvis mentions Dr. S. T. North on two occasions and, later, a Dr. S. I. North who he states was the first physician in Clayton and the owner of the Clayton House, the town's first hotel (Alvis, *op cit*, pp. 260, 261, 270).

selves in Clayton, which we found rather dusty, as a stiff wind was blowing, and that condition in this country always brings sand with it.

Taking the train Monday morning at 3:19 a.m., I arrived in the town of

FOLSOM. According to some of the aspiring Folsom business men, this town stands at least next to Clayton as a trading centre. There are three mercantile companies, which do all of the business of the town. Folsom is, beyond a doubt, an enterprising town and does a large business in the handling and shipping of cattle, sheep and wool.

In this town some enterprising men have formed what is known as

THE FOLSOM MERCANTILE CO., Limited, incorporated under the laws of the territory of New Mexico. They now have the store in operation and as the season advances they expect to handle large numbers of sheep, cattle, and a large quantity of wool. Their business is steadily increasing and if their expectations are realized, they will do an immense business this year.

With Folsom situated as it is in the midst of a rich ranching country, the fertile valley of the Simeron [Cimarron] on one side and the rich malipi [malpais] mesas on the other, there is plenty of room for the three general merchandise stores of this enterprising little town.

METHODS OF PLACING STOCK. They are now for the first time, placing their stock on the markets and their methods of securing it and guaranteeing dividends, and paying them are as follows:

This company sells at present only unmatured³ stock, 50 per cent of which must be secured, or paid up, by the purchaser, the other 50 per cent of which the purchaser must mature by 9 o'clock a.m., January 18, 1905, the manner of maturing which is shown in the accompanying statement, to trate [?] more fully, suppose the investor which the reader is

3. Common stock subscriptions which are partially paid for. The balances are due on a succession of maturity dates.

referred. For cash purchases of stock the company proposes to guarantee or insure the purchaser against loss by gilt edge or gold bonds placed in escrow for the security of the investor, i.e., for every dollar cash the investor pays on the stock of this company he may have an interest-bearing gold bond back of it to secure him against loss; provided that the investor purchases as much as five shares, \$500, of stock and pays 50 per cent of it in cash. No less than five shares will be sold on a guarantee of this kind. To illustrate, an investor purchases five shares of unmatured stock in this company; he must pay the company 50 per cent or \$250 cash. The company would then place in escrow for the security of the investor an interest-bearing gold bond, interest payable semi-annually, for \$250, for which the investor can exchange 50 per cent of his stock at any time he desires. The other 50 per cent of his stock he is required to mature under the laws of the company as shown in the statement, the maturity of which he must also secure to the company. Thus it may be seen that the company not only secures itself, but is willing to secure the investor also.

Following is a statement of how stock will mature in the Folsom Mercantile Company. The statement is made upon the basis of ten shares or \$1,000:

STOCKHOLDER

To subscription (for stock) -----	\$2,000.00 ⁴
	<hr/>
	—\$2,000.00
By cash, 50 per cent paid up -----	\$1,000.00
By rent first year -----	300.00
By rent second year -----	300.00
By rent third year -----	300.00
By rent 20 per cent of 50 per cent of P. V. -----	100.00
	<hr/>
	\$2,000.00 ⁴

4. Either the "Young Observer" meant to imply that the subscription price was twice the par value in order to create a capital surplus, a possibility which could have been patterned after the national banking law, or his figures are incorrect.

Note. P. V. in the last item of the credit side of the above statement means par value of stock.

When the above conditions have been complied with by the stockholder, his certificate of unmatured stock must be exchanged for one of paid up stock. Thus the stockholder is given three years in which to mature 50 per cent of his stock.

If the reader is interested, he can gain all the needed information by writing Mr. G. W. Guyer,⁵ Folsom, New Mexico, manager of the Folsom Mercantile Company.

After staying in Folsom a couple of days, I accepted the kind invitation of Mr. T. P. James⁶ to spend a few days at his ranch.

RANCH OF T. P. JAMES. This beautiful ranch is located about 12 miles southeast of the town of Folsom. Mr. James has a fine, well furnished, nicely appointed ranch house of nine rooms, with high ceilings and wide verandas. The yard is well shaded by cottonwood trees, and to the south are the barns and corrals which are well built and substantial. Farther south are the dipping plant, and three large stone corrals, each of which will hold over a thousand sheep. Just west of the house is the fine spring and spring house. From this fine, sparkling spring there run pipes to all parts of the house and to the barns and the dipping plant which, in all, make

A COMPLETE WATER SYSTEM. Mr. and Mrs. James have been blessed with quite a large family. Two are boys and the rest girls. One son, John, is upon the Arkansas valley feeding sheep from the ranch, and the other, whose name is Light, is staying home taking care of their cattle and sheep.

Mr. James is a great believer in the educating of children, and has always hired the best tutors and governesses he could secure, besides sending his children to suitable colleges and seminaries when they became of the proper age. So all in their

5. Had been an editor of the Clayton News (*Illustrated History of New Mexico*, Lewis Publishing Company, 1895, Chicago, pp. 632-633).

6. Thomas P. James. See *Representative New Mexicans*, C. S. Peterson, Denver, Colo., 1912, p. 156 for biographical sketch.

turn have had the chance of obtaining a good education, and have to all appearances improved their opportunities.

The two daughters, Miss Bird and Miss May, still remaining under the parental roof, are bright, intelligent, resourceful young ladies with the world still bright before them and their school days nearly finished. Their education is by no means limited to books, for there is not a thing in the house or around the ranch which they do not understand how to do. Much of this practical training they owe to their mother, who is an ideal wife and careful trainer of her children in the ways of right and usefulness. On this range are about 10,000 sheep and some 750 cattle. The sheep are well graded and shear about six pounds of fine wool.

Mr. James now has under his consideration the purchasing of some fine bucks from Ohio to increase the weight of fleece, carcass and length of staple.

Mr. James, though not an old man, is

OLD IN EXPERIENCE. He came from a southern state some 10 or 12 years ago with almost nothing but a good reputation and good credit, and to-day by his thrift, industry and honesty, is one of the richest and most influential ranchmen in this part of the territory. He is thinking of decreasing his herd and improving it correspondingly. He is also thinking of improving his cattle by getting some fine Hereford bulls to take the place of the grades heretofore used. This very wise ranch man is doing—cutting down and improving his herds of cattle or sheep.

One day of my stay here was spent in taking a trip down to the ranch of Mr. Ed. Wight,⁷ who owns about the same number of sheep as Mr. James.

RANCH OF ED. WIGHT. What most attracted my attention here, was the fine shearing and wool house. The day I was there it was grub day, and all of the herders were in to get

7. E. D. Wight purchased a half-page advertisement in the July issue of *The American Shepherd's Bulletin* in an attempt to sell his ranch. Four pictures of his ranch were published in the issue. His ranch was described as being 4,000 acres with grazing privileges over 30 by 10 miles and having 10,000 head of sheep, shearing from 8 to 10 pounds per head (*American Shepherd's Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No. 7, July 1902, pp. 2381 and 2429, microfilm, UNM Library).

their weekly supply. They are a happy lot, and with many a joke and friendly jest they loaded their camp burros and leisurely wended their way back to their respective camps.

The next trip we took was over to the

RANCH OF MR. F. D. WIGHT,⁸ who owns some 15,000 sheep. We found no one at home, and after waiting around some time we went into the house, which was unlocked, and cooked ourselves a fine dinner. After dinner we looked over the fine flock of Lincoln bucks which, I understand, came from the Patrick Bros., of Canada. They were fine, large blocky rams, and will no doubt improve the mutton form and the length of staple of their flock. After lingering around some time we mounted our faithful little ponies and soon were at home again without seeing foreman or ranch owner.

After nearly a week thus pleasantly spent in and around the James ranch, I bade my kind friends adios and started for the McLaughlin ranch by way of Folsom.

THE MC LAUGHLIN RANCH is situated about 18 miles west of Folsom, New Mexico, and is in Colfax county. Here I saw the best flock of sheep I have yet seen in New Mexico. They are large Rambouillet ewes, called by some here, Arizona Delaines or Merinos. In fair flesh they will average 120 pounds and shear about 12 pounds to the head.

With this pure bred flock, Mr. McLaughlin is embarking in the stud flock business and hopes in a couple of years to be able to furnish 300 to 500 bucks a year to the surrounding ranch men. He is now feeding them a little corn each day, and they are doing nicely.

The next day after my arrival, we started to

BULL LAKE on a hunt for a new herder to take the place of a sick one. This lake (it is said) received its name on account of a curious adventure of a ranch man at that place. It seems that he had been out on a buffalo hunt and after an exciting hunt had wounded a large buffalo bull.

8. Frederick D. Wight maintained a home in Denver in 1900, having come to the West 28 years previously from Maine. He had been a lieutenant in the Union Army (*American Shepherd's Bulletin*, *op cit*, p. 863). He had been ranching on the upper Corruppa in 1880 with Briggs & Leighton as partners (*Alvis*, *op cit*, 22:251).

Unfortunately for the man, his last load was spent in slightly wounding the large bull in the shoulder. Thinking the shot fatal, he got off his horse to dispatch the huge fellow with his hunting knife, but alas, the bull was not dead, but taking a new lease of life plunged after the unfortunate hunter. It was all done so quickly that his only escape was in the icy waters of the lake. There he remained till night spread over him her protecting wings, and under cover of the dark he found his pony and managed, after much trouble, to gain shelter with a friendly Mexican. This lake has since then been known as Bull lake.

Just as Mr. Mack and I were coming off a small bridge, we felt the front of our buggy give way and, getting out, we found that the front axle had broken. It was half an hour's work to get some wire and a small fence post, which we wired under the axle and soon we were again on our hunt after the herder. But

OUR TROUBLES WERE NOT ENDED for, as we were going over the rough prairie something else gave way and nearly let us down to mother earth. After wiring this up (blessed be the man who first made wire) we climbed a small mountain and found our herder, a bright Spanish boy of 17, who is now earning \$17 a month taking care of Mr. Mack's 800 fine ewes, of which he is justly proud. Mr. McLaughlin also has a nice bunch of cattle, which he intends to dispose of, as he is able to get into sheep.

The next morning when we awoke we found the air full of snow, and by noon the ground was covered to the depth of four inches. This upset our plan of visiting Folsom that day, and so the time was pleasantly whiled away playing "high five."⁹

The country around this ranch is called a malipi [malpais] rock country. These rocks are all of volcanic origin, and to the east some 10 or 12 miles is an extinct volcano with a

9. One of a group of games known as "Cinch," "High Five" or "Double Pedro" counts the 5 of trumps and the other 5 of the same color as 5 points each. The only other points obtainable are one each for the Ace, Jack, ten, and deuce of trumps (*Hoyle's Complete and Authoritative Book of Games*, Blue Ribbon Books, Garden City, N. Y., 1934, p. 186).

wide, deep crater in the top. The scenery is beautiful and wild; rocks and pine trees are mingled in a picturesque way.

The fine sheep which Mr. McLaughlin is running are owned by the Arizona Sheep Company, who were forced to locate in New Mexico on account of the closing of the forest reserves of Arizona.¹⁰

There is much discussion pro and con about the lease law and I believe that, in this locality, the majority are in favor of a just law, one that gives the right ratio between the cattle and sheep man and will not ruin the smaller men.

10. The closing of forest reserves stemmed from an Act of Congress in 1879 for the establishment and control of national forests with provisions for use of products. The General Land Office had issued a circular in 1900 of rules and regulations governing the use of reserves for stock ranging. Prior to this time the policy had been to prohibit grazing in national forest reserves (Benjamin Horace Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies*, New York, 1924, p. 337).

In February, 1901, I. B. Hanna, Superintendent of Forest Reserves in Arizona and New Mexico, received an order from the Interior Department to prohibit sheep grazing on the Black Forest Reserve in Arizona. Grazing had previously been prohibited on the Gila, Pecos, and Black Mesa Reserves. It was estimated that as many as 300,000 sheep had been grazing on the Black Forest Reserve in Arizona the previous summer and that great hardship would thereby result from this order (*The National Shepherd's Bulletin of the National Wool Growers' Association*, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 116, microfilm, UNM Library).

A new policy was announced and was rescinded in 1902. The following order was received by Supervisor McClure and the Gila River Forest Reserve from Hon. Binger Herman, Commissioner of the General Land Office, Washington, D. C.: "On page nine of the Forest Reserve Manual, it is stated that when the secretary of the interior has allowed sheep grazing in a forest reservation, the application for the privilege is handled in two ways: (a) Where a wool growers' association exists, which includes a majority of the persons who are interested in the use of the reserve, the association may allot the range and sheep among the applicants. (b) Where such an association does not exist, or does not care to assume the responsibility, all applications are made to the supervisor direct (sic), who acts upon and forwards the same to the commissioner of the general land office, with his approval of other recommendations. The said rules were established by the honorable secretary's order of February 8, 1902. You are now advised that on October 25, 1902, the honorable secretary decided that in the future the wool growers' association will be eliminated from the matter of allotment or other control, and that the grazing be placed directly in the hands of the forest supervisors, under existing rules, and that the penalties and obligations imposed by department order of February 8, 1902, remain in force against all permit holders. When sheep grazing is allowed for 1903, and the supervisor has been advised of the number of sheep to be admitted, applications should be submitted to him direct (sic)" (*American Shepherd's Bulletin*, *op cit*, Dec. 1902, p. 3217).

Upon learning of this order, the Sheepbreeders Association of the Gila River Forest Reserve was incorporated in early 1902 with Solomon Luna of Los Lunas as President, and Abran ? Abeyta [Abeyta] of Socorro and Frank A. Hubbell of Albuquerque as associates. The association controlled 200,000 sheep and 150,000 were to graze this year by permission of the Secretary of the Interior. The *American Shepherd's Bulletin* explained such organizations as these were needed because the government had had no one to hold responsible for the destruction of timber by fires started by herders and "had consequently prohibited grazing in the forest reserve" (*American Shepherd's Bulletin*, *op cit*, Mar. 1902, pp. 3137 and 3139).

In my next I expect to tell you something of eastern New Mexico.

*The Sheep Ranges of New Mexico**

TUCUMCARI, N.M., APRIL 28, 1902.

The location of Tucumcari is now widely known. A hundred thousand people would like to know something definite concerning its environments. It is almost in the center of the largest tract of land occupied almost exclusively by sheep ranches to be found on this continent. There are twenty-five million acres of grazing land in this tract. A conservative estimate fixes the number of range cattle now held on this land at one hundred thousand. They would require two and a-half million acres for their subsistence. Estimating a half million acres for town sites, railroads, corrals and other uses, will still leave the sheep ranches in possession of twenty-two million acres, which is UNPARALLELED IN EXTENT in North America.

Eastern New Mexico, from the Colorado line to the Texas boundary on the south, is the ideal sheep range.

Three things primarily essential to success, are climate, feed and water. Pools of crystal water, springs and running brooks abound throughout this vast region, not on every section, yet in such proximity that almost every section of this vast area can be made available for grazing sheep.

At the present time, large tracts of this land are not pastured except for a period of about two months in each year, and that occurs during the rainy season.

It would not be expensive to construct dams and tanks on these lands, whereby stock water could be had, during the other ten months.

A FEASIBLE PLAN would be to divide the flocks into small bands of 800 head and haul water from a central station to the vicinity where the several bands are grazing. Pastures that have heretofore been a loss, could in this way be made valuable.

* D. J. Aber in *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 5, May, 1902.

In the vicinity of natural watering places, pastures have been overstocked, while remote districts have been untouched by the flocks. Certainly

THE WATERING PLACES could be multiplied and the area of grazing land could be increased in proportion, besides which the stock would receive better care, and the investment be made more certain and more profitable.

The sheep industry in eastern New Mexico is not new. With some exceptions, the primitive ranching methods, peculiar to a new country, prevail. Opportunity now presents to resourceful and energetic men, to secure by purchase, the nucleus of a large and profitable sheep ranch in this country.

These pastures are ample in nutritious grasses, and wanting in distribution of water. It is believed that without extraordinary expense

THIS DIFFICULTY CAN BE OVERCOME. The successes and occasional reverses attending the business of sheep ranching in this locality during a period of twenty years enable one to judge correctly of its hazards.

The aboriginal shepherd had no machinery with which to drill a well, nor inclination to do so. Success is now attending those who have made proper effort to secure water. Artesian water has been obtained in many different localities. It is fair to presume that it can be obtained in others, and very certain that the drill is the instrument which will enable ranchers to have water wherever desired.

CLIMATE. The thirty-fifth parallel passes near Tucumcari. The altitude will vary between 3,000 and 5,000 feet. Much of the surface is level or undulating prairie. Rains occur most frequently between May and November. No great losses from the rigors of winter are ever anticipated by those who have the experience of years in this country.

True it is that storms of more or less severity reach these plains in the winter months, yet the losses from that cause are not alarming. Managers of large flocks are alert as a sea captain, and generally succeed in making all things snug before the storm strikes them.

The duration of a storm is brief, lasting generally from one to three days, when the flocks can resume grazing on the open country.

CHANGES. The Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific railroad is a recent innovation, cutting this great country in twain. It has not produced disaster to the country nor wrought ruin to the people. On the contrary, it is the artery of subsistence. It is the smitten rock gushing out of the midst of plenty, giving new life to every industry. Marketing products or purchasing supplies can be accomplished now within a few hours, which required days to accomplish in former times. If there be a rise in the wool market in Boston at noon the rancher in the vicinity of Tukumcari may know it at eleven o'clock a.m. the same day.

THE COMING OF THE RAILROAD does not make more grass grow on an acre of land, nor increase the inches of rain fall, yet it does facilitate travel and transportation, and mail service, and renders even ranch life a pleasant task.

Seclusion and monotony need to seek other haunts. The headquarters of the sheep ranch may have its charms. It has its library, its magazines its daily papers with the markets and news.

I have spread before you the environments of Tukumcari, N.M. The elevation at this point is 4,000 feet above sea level. It is situated on the last wave of the foot hills of the giant Rocky Mountains.

Come up and see us and satisfy yourself that great opportunities are opening to those seeking investments and changes.

*"The Young Observer" in New Mexico**

The Wool and Agricultural Interests of San Miguel County.

SAN MIGUEL CO., N. M., May 28, 1902. When the readers of the "Bulletin" last heard from me I was in Tukumcari, Guadalupe Co., N. M. At that time there had been little or no rain

* (From our Traveling Staff Correspondence) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 6, June, 1902.

or snow fall in any part of New Mexico except in the northern tier of counties, at or in the Rocky Mountains around Trineda and Raton. The rest of the territory had been dry for seven or eight months.

AT THE BEGINNING OF LAMBING it was still dry, and no grass, consequently the lamb crop for the territory this year is about 50 per cent on an average; a few report less, and some more. But as a whole the sheep owners do not seem to be badly discouraged on account of their heavy losses of ewes and lambs, but, on the contrary, are looking forward to the shearing with pleasure on account of a slight advance in the price of wool over last year.

Nearly all the conservative buyers are holding back till the season opens, but a few of the plungers have taken hold of some good-sized lots. After leaving Tucumcari I went to Santa Rosa via the Rock Island, and from there took the Romero stage line to Las Vegas. This is one of the fastest stage lines in the territory, making the 65 miles in less than ten hours over a very rough road one-half of the way. At that time, which was before the rains commenced, the

PRAIRIE WAS DRY AND BROWN. It was pastured down very close, which gave evidence of one of two things, either it was unusually dry or the range between Santa Rosa and Las Vegas was badly overstocked. I think, from what I can learn, that the latter was the case. There are about 250 sheep owners in San Miguel county, New Mexico, and they own somewhere around 450,000 to one-half a million sheep. It is very hard to get the exact number, for you may go to the tax list and find men owning 2,000 sheep with only 200 turned in for taxation. This is the same way all over the territory, and the rate of taxation is consequently high. Where a poor man has only four or five hundred sheep the assessor puts them all in, and thus those who should pay the bulk of the taxes gets out of it and the small property and stock owners pay them.

SAN MIGUEL COUNTY is one of the most prosperous counties in the territory. Its largest city is Las Vegas, of about eight to nine thousand inhabitants, and a fine market for wool,

hides, pelts, mutton and beef. It is also quite a distributing centre for miles around, but the Rock Island, coming through Santa Rosa, cuts off nearly one-fourth of its tributary territory. The stock shippers can usually ship over the Rock Island, on account of slightly better freight rates. It is thought by many of the stock men and shippers that the coming of the Rock Island will force the Santa Fe to give better rates. This is

BY NO MEANS A SMALL THING when you consider the vast proportions of the stock interests of this part of the territory. Although essentially a sheep country, there are large numbers of cattle kept and ranged here also. San Miguel has always been one of the best agricultural counties in the territory and has always paid more attention to the raising of crops than most any other county in the northern half of the territory. Irrigation is carried on quite extensively and many crops are raised without irrigation, such as the native, or Mexican corn, Mexican beans, sorghum, kaffir [kafir] corn, etc. In many places you will find excellent peach and apple orchards, which raise fine crops of fruit.

WEST FROM LAS VEGAS and north there is more rainfall and corn is nearly a sure crop. Especially south of "Old Baldy mountain" it rains quite frequently in the latter part of May, all through June and July; in fact, they often have too much rainfall and floods occur in the narrow valleys and carry the pine bridges down stream. South and west of Las Vegas are

MANY FINE FARMS AND RANCHES which for the most part are owned and cultivated by the native Spanish people. They plough with one horse or two burros. They use a six or seven-inch plough and drop the corn every fourth or fifth furrow and plow it under. Some use a boat or clod crusher, but many of them have neither a clod crusher nor harrow. When the corn gets to the height of two or three inches and higher, the women and children hoe it and cut out weeds. This is usually

ALL THE CULTIVATION which the corn gets. In the fall, when it is ripe, they cut the stalks just above the ear, bind them into bundles and put them in some old adobe house to

be used next spring, or often to be sold. I have known cases where the corn and fodder were all sold and the horses went without anything but the dry prairie grass. These Spanish farmers also raise

THE NATIVE MEXICAN BEAN which is even more nutritious than the so-called army bean. The beans are usually planted with a hoe in hills three to four feet apart, putting from three to five beans in a hill. They are usually hoed more than the corn. In the fall when they are ripe and dry, the owner or owners scrape the sod off a round place usually 50 to 75 feet in diameter.

THIS THRESHING FLOOR greatly resembles a show or circus ring; it is sprinkled and patted down till it is quite hard. The beans are then scattered evenly all over it and a small flock of sheep or goats (the latter being the best) are driven round and round till the beans are trampled or threshed free of the pods. They then gather beans, dust and all, except the pods and vines, which are raked off, put the beans into sacks, and on some windy day they are fanned free of dust and dirt and the beans are then ready for the kettle or market. Many of these small farmers own a small flock of one to five hundred sheep, which are

TAKEN CARE OF BY THE CHILDREN and which usually shear from four to five pounds. In the summer they are taken away to the free government range and in the winter kept as close as possible to the home ranch. Some also keep goats, mostly the common goat, whose pelt is far superior to that of the Angora goat, but does not shear a fleece. They are often kept as a milk herd and the writer has used nothing but goats' milk for the last three weeks and does not hesitate to pronounce it superior to Jersey milk.

When one is traveling over a country like this, with so many undeveloped resources, it almost makes him angry to see the canyons that might be dammed up and make fine irrigating plants.

UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES. There are a thousand and one places in every county in New Mexico where the surface wa-

ter might be caged and made to serve man instead of running away to waste. When these things are looked into intelligently and such improvements instituted, there will be green fields of alfalfa where now there is only sparse gramma grass, and the sheep that early die by the thousands from no other cause than starvation will be fed corn and hay raised at home, and thus will be saved, and also thousands of dollars' freight which are annually paid to the railroad companies for hauling grain and hay. Do not think from what I have said that New Mexico is still a desert, for it is not. The old cowboys will tell you of a time when there was nothing but here and there a low adobe house and over the trackless plain nothing but grass, cattle and a few sheep. The sheep have come to stay, and so have the farmers and the irrigation dams and ditches, and each year will see more land irrigated and cultivated, but there is still room for irrigation dams and good hustling farmers to raise corn and hay for winter feeding.

*"The Young Observer" In New Mexico **

Echoes From San Miguel County—Sheep and Cattle Raising
—Resources of the Territory.

EAST LAS VEGAS, N. M., June 13, 1902. Since my last letter to the "Bulletin" quite an interest has been manifested in New Mexican affairs.

The last month, the month of May, was spent on a ranch, which is situated six miles from Las Vegas. This ranch has within its borders 1,004 acres, one hundred of which is fine, rich, sandy loam, and has been broken up and tilled for many years. One hundred or more is pine forest with some trees two and a half feet in diameter and the rest is fine grazing land. The present owner has out about 40 acres of corn and some four acres of Mexican beans, of which I spoke in my last letter.

At this writing (June 13) the corn is six inches high and has that rich, dark green color, which every farmer loves to

* (From our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 7, July, 1902.

see. The beans are just coming through the ground and some of the neighbors have not even stirred the ground for theirs. The reason for planting so late is to avoid the early hail storms which come any time up to June 5, and sometimes a lattle later. The ranch is

WELL SUPPLIED WITH WATER, having within its borders three good wells. Attached to the best of these wells is a good windmill, which throws a two-inch stream all the time, and does not seem to affect the supply, which is only six feet below, and is the finest kind of water.

The present owner has bargained for 350 fine ewes and with these for a foundation flock he will go into the raising of good range bucks. His idea is to breed for mutton and wool with wool as the main object. He will want in October ten of the finest bucks in the United States, as he is going to start right. With his home range, the free government range and the fodder which he will have, his

LOSSES WILL BE VERY LIGHT, and his next spring's lambing will be well up to 100 per cent. This is one of the best located spots in New Mexico for this purpose, having the large number of range sheep within a short distance of the ranch, being on the road between Las Vegas and Santa Rosa, and having the side track at Romeroville not a quarter of a mile distant, his facilities for handling and disposing of bucks will be the best.

ANOTHER IMPORTANT THING is that he intends to handle and acclimate eastern rams. To some of our readers this may seem strange, but the most experienced of the ranchmen tell us that an eastern buck is not of much use for service the first year, but the next year he is all right and does well.

Now the idea is this. Say, in December, when the ram trade is practically over, he intends to gather from the East as in Ohio, Michigan, and other surrounding states, the bucks that have been left over, especially the yearlings and two-year-olds, and some buck lambs, if the owners wish, ship them west to the ranch, keep them over winter on alfalfa hay, corn fodder, etc., perhaps a little grain, shear them in the spring

and in the autumn turn them over to the ranchmen, thoroughly acclimated, with the rams ready to do good service on the range. It seems to me that this is

ONE OF THE BEST IDEAS yet conceived, and we would like to know the opinion of our readers on this matter from a range point of view, also from the ram raiser's side of the question, too. Let us have this thing discussed thoroughly through the columns of the "Bulletin."

There might be more said about

THE WONDERFUL RESOURCES of New Mexico and especially San Miguel county. The county is singularly blessed in the matter of water, which is an absolute necessity to a good stock country. The Rocky mountains, which form the western boundary of the country, the Turkey mountains on the north, and the Sabinos and Huerfano mountains on the east, combine in giving the country an altitude which insures a heavy precipitation; in fact, the region is blessed with a "rainy season," extending from June till the latter part of August, which provides countless streams and hundreds of natural reservoirs, dotting the plains with an abundance of water until the volume is augmented by the snows of winter.

POPULATION. Owing to the fact that the larger portion of the county is occupied by a private land grant known as the Las Vegas grant, the rate of population to the square mile is rather low. But on the land which is subject to settlement, the water courses are fully settled by a population which, as a rule, are industrious and law abiding. The principal industry is stock-raising. The cattle are estimated at 25,000 head; sheep at half a million (this means owned by men residing in the county but not all ranged inside of the county); and horses 1,000 head.

There is a school in every neighborhood where a few children can be gathered together, and while the education to be obtained in these schools is not of a high order, the children can be fitted in them to enter the better institutions of learning afforded by the cities of the territory.

There are considerable tracts of land in this section suited to the raising of Angora goats, a highly profitable industry—and many people are now contemplating the advisability of entering the industry.

THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR in the improvement of the county is the completion of the Rock Island from Liberal, Kansas, to El Paso, Texas, which takes its course through the southwestern corner of the county. There is also another railroad in process of construction which will run from Tucumcari to Springer and give the county about 40 miles more of track.¹ When we stop to consider that San Miguel county alone is larger than the state of Massachusetts, we begin to realize the magnitude and extent of the territory of New Mexico.

THE BELL RANCH which is mostly within the county, is considered the best breeding ranch in the United States of America. It contains 800,000 acres of land all enclosed. The Canadian or Red River waters about 80 miles of the ranch, measuring the meanderings of the stream, and the many small tributaries make it a wonderfully fertile and well watered tract. They usually run from 20,000 to 40,000 head of cattle, but of late they have gotten in large numbers of sheep and there is talk of cutting up some of the best land into farms and selling it out to small farmers to raise alfalfa, corn and beans.

Turning from the Bell ranch and the cattle industry let us look at

THE SHEEP INDUSTRY. Of the 20 million pounds of wool produced annually in the territory, this county grows at least one-tenth of all of it and some place it [is] as high as one-eighth. Its markets have in the past handled about ten million

1. El Paso and Northwestern Railway (now part of the Southern Pacific Lines) from Tucumcari to the coal fields of Dawson. Tracks were laid east and north of Springer through Abbott and French. 132 miles of track from Tucumcari to Dawson (*The Official Guide of the Railways and Steam Navigation Lines of the United States, Porto Rico, and Cuba, National Railway Publication Company, April, 1939, N. Y., p. 844*). The tracks from French to Dawson have been abandoned (*Ibid.*, Mar. 1957, p. 919).

[A history of railroad building in New Mexico was published in the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. 32, no. 2, April, 1957. F. D. R.]

yearly, or one-half of the wool of the territory, from whence it is shipped to Boston or Philadelphia.

In consequence of the county being mountainous and having an abundance of water and grass, the percentage of loss is reduced to the minimum, and the mutton brings a good market price at all times.

In the fall a large number of feeders from Colorado points come to Las Vegas and from here go out and gather in many thousand head of lambs and wethers to be bred in the far-famed Arkansas valley in Colorado. As is the case among the cattle raisers,

THE SHEEP MEN are rapidly enhancing the value of their flocks by improving the blood through the introduction of fine rams from the central and eastern states. California has also figured quite prominently in this improvement of the sheep of New Mexico, and blood from the famous Blaco-Glide flock of Sacramento, Cal., has figured prominently in many flocks.

THE COST OF RUNNING SHEEP in this county is estimated at 35 to 40 cents per head and the percentage of increase on an average of ten years is 75 per cent. The price of ewes at present is \$2.50 to \$3 delivered on October 1; yearling ewes, \$2 per head; and ewe lambs \$1.50 to \$1.75 delivered in October. Comparing the sheep industry with the cattle, the former is considered by nearly everybody to be the most profitable and you can find men on every side who started in the sheep business ten or fifteen years ago and are at the head of ranches stocked with from \$25,000 to \$50,000 worth of sheep.

THE GOAT INDUSTRY. This business is constantly increasing. The small flocks owned by small owners are almost innumerable. It is only within the past few years that the hides of the common New Mexico kid began to be especially valued and considered an article of commerce worthy of notice or extension. However, it is now considered in the best markets of the world that the hides are unsurpassed for making varieties of the finest kid leather. European buyers, as well as those along the Atlantic coast cities, are now constantly seek-

ing them and in consequence the business of raising these animals has become profitable and each year finds more raised in the territory.

THE EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES of San Miguel are very good as compared with the rest of the territory. The county has 93 school districts and the average attendance during the last year was 2,960. In addition to this there is a very fine school for girls conducted by the Sisters of Loretto. There are also four other separate sectarian schools, which are liberally patronized by the city of Las Vegas and the surrounding country. Summing up the advantages of the county, as a whole, I think that the reader will agree with me that they are exceptionally good and not so far out in the wilderness as the easterner usually thinks.

*The "Young Observer" in New Mexico**

Wool Selling in the Territory—Matters of Interest
Relating to Sheep.

SPRING HILL, UNION CO., N. M., July 28, 1902. Since my last letter to the "Bulletin" I have spent most of my time in Trinidad and northeastern New Mexico.

About July 1 there gathered in the town of Clayton about six or seven wool buyers. Most of them were from Boston. Mr. Harry Kelly,¹ of East Las Vegas, was there, representing the Gross, Kelly Co.

According to their custom, Mr. Otto and Mr. Schleter put their wool up at public auction supposedly to go to the highest bidder. After the bids were all handed in, they were opened and all were rejected by Messrs. Otto and Schleter.² It was understood by the "Bulletin" representative that Mr. Kelly, of East Las Vegas, put in the highest bid and felt rather sore at not getting the wool.

* (From Our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 8, August, 1902.

1. See biographical sketches: E. A. Davis, Editor, *The Historical Encyclopedia of New Mexico*, New Mexico Historical Association, Albuquerque, 1945, p. 394, and *Representative New Mexicans*, C. S. Peterson, Denver, Colo., 1912, p. 161.

2. See reference, Mar. 1902, part 1, p. 5, manuscript.

But as Messrs. Otto and Schleter had reserved a bid for themselves, of course they had the right to reject them, one and all.

Nevertheless some of the buyers

LEFT IN RATHER AN ILL MOOD, and there is some doubt as to their coming to future wool sales of this kind. A few days later the bulk of the wool of that class was sold at private sale, the price ranging around 13c. Those who sold at that time and a little later were Robt. Dean, of Garrett, Okla.; T. E. Mitchell,³ Garrett, Okla.; J. L. De Haven,⁴ Christian Otto, Chas. Schleter, Thos. Gray, John F. Wolford, Alex. McKenzie, Clayton, N. M.

Most all of these clips, aggregating over a half a million pounds, were taken by the representatives of Brown & Adams of Boston.

Taken as a whole, these clips are among the most improved in northern New Mexico. At this writing there are only two clips of any size left in this part of the territory. They will amount to eight cars, and will probably be consigned.

At the present time northeastern New Mexico still has THE BEST GRASS of any place in the territory that I can learn of. The central and southern parts are improving under the recent rains which have fallen within the last two or three weeks.

The New Mexico sanitary board are taking vigorous measures to stamp out the scab and have increased the force of inspectors and are paying them \$100 a month. It is expected that by using this extra precaution they will stamp out the scab effectually.

The sheep men of this locality are looking with much favor on the operations of

THE ASSOCIATED WOOL GROWERS' COMPANY. Some have already sent quite large consignments in to them and a large

3. See reference, Mar. 1902, part 1, p. 9, manuscript.

4. Picture of J. L. DeHaven and his ranch is to be found in the *American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 9, Sept. 1902, p. 2776, microfilm, U. N. M. Library.

number of others are seriously looking into the matter.

The more the matter is looked into the greater it grows in favor with all of the thinking sheep men of this and other localities in New Mexico and southern Colorado.

The Forbes Wool Co., of Trinidad, Colo.,⁵ are having a very prosperous season, and many Colorado and New Mexican clips will find their way through their finely equipped scouring mill. There are quite a few feeders of Kansas and Colorado sending in inquiries for feeders.

Thus far, in spite of the wether market, all inquiries have been for wethers for feeding. The lambs that were saved in northern New Mexico are doing finely. Those who have lambs for sale are talking (sic) of holding them for \$1.59 a head. All of the ewe lambs will be saved this year on account of the heavy losses of this last spring during the drought. As a whole the sheep business of New Mexico is in a far better shape than it was a month ago.

*The "Young Observer" In New Mexico **

A Visit to the Northern Part of Union County.

FOLSOM, N. M., August 29, 1902. During my stay in Clayton this last winter I met Mr. J. L. de Haven, of the Alamocita ranch, some 15 miles north of Clayton, N. M.

From that time on it was my desire to visit his ranch, but for one reason or another I always had to refuse his cordial invitation.

At last one hot day about the middle of August I found myself nearing the Alamocita ranch. The ranch house is hidden from the road by a heavy growth of cottonwood trees. As you leave the main road, you follow the windings of the Alamocita. The day was hot and dusty and the shade of the cottonwoods looked cool and inviting.

We first came to

THE MESS OR CAMP HOUSE, the home of the buck herder,

5. See fn. 1, Mar. 1902, part 1.

* (From Our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 9, September, 1902.

and one more turn brought us in full view of the ranch house and corrals.

The ranch house is a substantial five room, one story, stone building, with flat dirt roof common in this country.

This ranch home has been the property of its present owner for only two years, but the fine flock of sheep which graze there has been bred and reared there for 25 years.

The flock was started by Mr. White,¹ a pioneer in New Mexico. Later on the ranch and flocks were purchased by Nichols & Davis,² of Trinidad, who ran the property quite successfully for a few years, and finally sold out to the present owner, J. D. de Haven. Mr. de Haven had been engaged in the sheep business in Idaho for 15 years previous to his coming to New Mexico. It was mainly on account of his health that he made the change to New Mexico.

THE ALAMOCITA RANCH, as it stands to-day, comprises 4,000 acres of patented land, besides the free government range surrounding it. The notice of this ranch would not be complete without mentioning the fine flock of rams which came from the noted herd owned by the Baldwin Sheep & Land Company, of Hay Creek, Oregon.

They have been pronounced by those who have seen them as the finest flock of rams in New Mexico.

All of this while I have neglected to speak of "the man behind the guns," or rather the woman.

Owing to the fact that Mr. de Haven has not had the best of health, Mrs. de Haven has been with him for the last 20 years, whether up in the mountains of Idaho, or at the winter-feeding station; whether going on an overland trip, buying large bands of sheep, or at home on their New Mexican ranch. Mrs. de Haven has always been with him, sharing the duties, responsibilities and pleasures of this out-of-door life.

Thus far Father Time has dealt gently with Mistress de

1. Henry White, a native of Massachusetts, entered the sheep business in 1879 on the Alamocitas, twenty miles northwest of Clayton (Berry Newton Alvis, "History of Union County," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 22: 251).

2. O. L. Davis and C. H. Nichols. They took possession October 1st (*American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 10, Oct. 1902, U. N. M. Library).

Haven for she has neither a wrinkle nor a silver lock to denote time's impress. She is

A TRUE RANCH WOMAN, hospitable, gracious and never happier than when entertaining some of her many friends.

Unlike most ranch men, Mr. de Haven believes in having fresh vegetables, and accordingly has a fine garden just south of the house.

In this garden there abound cucumbers, cantaloupes, watermelons, string beans, peas, sweet corn and in fact everything which goes to make up a first-class garden.

At this time of the year his sheep are away on the summer range, south of Cerra Grande. The country which makes up his winter range is

A WELL-WATERED MESA cut up at irregular intervals by canyons, which afford shelter in winter.

North of him is located the Col. (?) Arizona Sheep Company; south, the Otto & Schleter range;³ north and northwest, the Ed Wight range,⁴ and Cur-Runpaw Sheep Company. The nearest of these is 15 or 20 miles away.

At last my pleasant visit to the Alamocita ranch was ended and I was again on my way back to the Spring Hill ranch and from thence to Trinidad. Taking New Mexico as a whole, and Arizona, there is no more favored spot than northern Union county, New Mexico.

When I got back to Folsom, I found every water hole full to the brim and the grass growing at a great rate. The ranch men around Folsom are thanking their lucky stars that they happen to live in such a favored spot as northern Union county.

After leaving the Alamocita ranch behind we traveled east overland following the Old Santa Fe trail to what is known as the Santa Fe crossing. As we traveled on toward the Texas line the ranges presented a better condition and did not seem to be so badly overstocked as in some places.

3. See Mar. 1902, part 1, p. 5, manuscript.

4. See Mar. 1902, part 2, fn. 7.

About five in the evening we pulled up at the RANCH HOME OF W. B. PLUNKETT. Mr. Plunkett had recently located here some four or five miles from the Texas and Oklahoma lines. He is located on a fine strip of well-grassed country.

The grass is about equally divided between cattle and sheep feed, the coarse for the cattle and the fine, short buffalo or gramma grass for the sheep. He is running at the present time about [number omitted] cattle and will also put on this fall about 1,500 sheep. His wife is the daughter of Thomas P. James,⁵ of Folsom, New Mexico.

Mr. Plunkett was for many years a trusted employe of the F. D. W. outfit and seeing a chance to make a start for himself did so. He is just now erecting a nice little cottage and will soon be in shape to enjoy life. His energy combined with a good stock of experience will be sure to bring him the success his efforts deserve.

The next morning after a hearty breakfast we again started in a northeasterly direction toward Mineral, Oklahoma.

This day being the Sabbath, we only took

A SABBATH-DAY'S JOURNEY of 12 miles, which brought us to the beautiful ranch home of G. M. Givens.

On the way we passed the ranch of Honey Johnes, a noted old character, who used to buy honey up on the Arkansas river, and peddle it out down on the Cimarron to the numerous ranchers along it.

The grass through here was very good, but as we got nearer the Oklahoma line, it was shorter, and the cattle and sheep were not looking so well.

We stopped for a short call, on

W. E. CAMPBELL, of Mineral, Oklahoma. He came here many years ago for his health and incidentally for his pocket-book.

He has spent the time in the pleasant and profitable business of sheep raising and just lately has decided to retire.

5. See Mar. 1902, part 2, fn. 6.

He sold his ranch the other day for \$1,000, which is a big price in this country for 160 acres. He now wants to sell his sheep and retire completely from business on account of old age and being a widower and alone.

The Givens ranch was formerly owned by Bill Metcalf, a noted character north of Clayton.

Mr. Metcalf had spent a great amount of time and labor in making this one of the best improved ranches north of Clayton. This ranch is located on a branch of the Carizzo [Carrizo] river.

Mr. Metcalf had a system of five dams, which were located so as to afford

IRRIGATION FOR 40 OR 50 ACRES, which was mostly in alfalfa.

He, however, left about five acres for a garden and such a garden as it is this year under the care of Mr. Givens.

In the garden he has growing corn, sorghum, kaffir [kafir] corn, castor beans, peanuts, potatoes, both Irish and sweet, cucumbers, and last, but not least, watermelons and cantaloupes.

When we arrived there he was in fine state of righteous indignation over the dilapidated state of his melon patch. It seems that a day or so before, the two old mother pigs on looking for pastures new, had discovered the melon patch. Now it happened that these old pigs had a weakness for the melons which could not be repressed and they accordingly went through the patch and carefully selected those of the largest size and did the best they could. There are a few left to represent as well as possible the crushed hopes of the owner, for the melons raised on this ranch are highly prized in Clayton and a load of melons represents some \$25 or \$30.

Mr. Givens also has quite a start on a flock of sheep, but his main stock consists of cattle. There is

A FINE SHEEP RANGE around his ranch, and he will probably increase his flock in the near future.

I must not pass by without mentioning his two sons. They are nearly the same age, just old enough to be around every-

where and into everything, not of a bad disposition, but naturally hustlers and bright and wide-awake, as all boys should be.

The oldest one, who is about six, is already a good horse-back rider, and often takes a 10 or 15-mile ride with the men.

After dinner one of the neighbors, Mr. Loveless, his family and some visiting friends from Missouri, drove up and spent the afternoon. By some mistake or other the pigs had left three nice large, ripe melons and the way they disappeared before Mr. Givens' then increased family was a caution.

Mr. Loveless lives about 12 miles southwest of the Givens ranch. He also has a finely improved ranch.

He employes (sic) two windmills for irrigation, and has a fine orchard which is old enough to bear, and a good garden. He runs about 1,600 sheep and is thinking of increasing his flock to 3,000 or more.

His sheep shear from five to six pounds of wool and are A VERY FAIR FLOCK of improved sheep. Being so far from Clayton and school privileges, he always hires a tutor for his children and thinks that they get along nearly as well as when sent to the public school.

I cannot refrain from quoting a remark made by an unmarried lady, who came along with Mr. Loveless. Just as they were eating the watermelon, she looked around at the assembled crowd and said, looking at the little boys, "Here are the little boys, but where are the big ones, they are the ones I am after."

Now as the hired man and myself were not in the crowd at that time I am still in a quandary as to whether she was after us or some one else. It is quite a joke here about the ladies coming out here to secure husbands, but of course she only meant her remark as a joke.

After passing a pleasant and restful Sunday here, Monday morning again found us on our way up the Carrizzo, [Carrizo] toward the ranch of

DONALD & JOHN MCINTOSH. We first stopped at Kenton on

the Cimaron (sic) to get directions as to best route to Carizzo (sic) Springs and McIntosh's ranch, which is located a little north of Carrizzo (sic) Springs.

We found at Kenton, an old cow man who had been in the country since the 60's. He took particular pains to tell us the route and even made a map of the roads up as far as the abandoned mining town of Carizzo. (sic).

Here he said we would find the postmaster, the only survivor in the town, who would direct us farther on our journey.

We got to the store and post office all right, but failed to find the postmaster, as he had presumably gone out to make a social call to some of the vacant mining shacks. Still following the cow man's directions, we went on and by dint of great exertions on the part of both horses and man, we climbed the steep side of the Carrizo (sic) canyon. On reaching the top, we followed the road which wound in and around through the breaks, continually getting dimmer and dimmer till at last it played out entirely and we were left there on the trackless mesa,

WITHOUT ROAD, GUIDEBOARD OR GUIDE. Looking north we could see the black mesa on the other side of which was the ranch of the McIntosh Brothers. We started north over the mesa, thinking to reach the ranch that way, but we soon found ourselves confronted by the box canyon of the West Carizzo [Carrizo].

We then made a circle around to the west and north and again found the same deep canyon. We kept on circling to get around the head of the canyon till dark overtook us. When we were about to give up hope, and pass the night on the open prairie without tent or bedding, we heard in the distance the

WELCOME BLEATING OF SHEEP and soon reached a sheep camp.

Here the obliging herders cooked supper for us and shared with us also their bedding. The bedding of a herder usually consists of a tarpaulin, a couple of blankets and a number of sheep skins.

After quite a good deal of questioning, we found out that

it was still 15 miles around the head of the Carizzo (sic) and eight miles back down the big hill to the abandoned town.

We decided to take the course, so following our tracks back, we reached the post office at 11 o'clock, and found the one man, who gave us the required direction to our destination. Two o'clock found us tired, dusty, and cross at the McIntosh ranch. Here the clever wife of the foreman, Mr. McFarland, got us our dinner and the rest of the afternoon and evening was spent in much needed rest. The horses especially needed rest as they presented a forlorn condition, compared with their sleek, fat appearance at the start.

The next morning, following Mr. McFarland, we went out to

THE BUCK CAMP which is located about 14 miles west of the home ranch. Mr. McIntosh has in this herd about 500 rams, half of which are one-eighth Cotswold grade with Rambouillet.

They are fine, large rams and show good form and fleece. After a hearty meal on tortillas, mutton and coffee, we started on the homeward route known as the

OLD TRINIDAD ROAD. Evening again overtook us and we stopped at one of Fred Hee's sheep camps for the night. Mr. Hee is running about 22,000 head of sheep and is thinking of putting on 1,000 head of cattle on his range north of Mesa Myre. The range north of Mesa Myre is in good shape, having had two rains that did not strike farther east. Mr. Hee will have a fine, large bunch of lambs for sale in the near future—at least 10,000 or more.

We were tired and dusty with a week's growth of beard, and the horses looked as though they had just gotten over the horse distemper. Taking the range condition as a whole, it would be safe to say that for such a dry year as this, the range is a little overstocked.

*New Mexico**

The interior department has granted citizens of south-

* *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 10, October, 1902.

eastern Rio Arriba county the privilege of grazing 5,000 sheep and goats for 60 days upon the Pecos reserve. The drouth of the present season has proved a severe hardship to the small stock raisers in that section, consequently they petitioned Governor Otero to present their case to the Interior department which he did with favorable results.

The Sweetwater Wool Growers' Association has offered a reward of \$1,000 for information that will lead to the arrest and conviction of the leader or leaders of the raiding party of the New Fork country.

The county officials are still on the trail of the sheep men who pasture thousands of sheep in Eagle county every year, without paying anything for the privilege. They have levied upon 3,500 sheep over on the Frying Pan, belonging to one Smythe, not only for this year's tax, but for last year. Sheriff Farnum also collected taxes from a sheep man at Tennessee Pass, last week. The officers are determined to keep after these foreign sheep owners and see that they pay for grazing their animals in the county.

The Burtts Sheep & Cattle Company has been incorporated at Helena. Its purpose will be the buying, selling and raising of sheep and cattle. The incorporators are L. D. Burtts, Louis Gans and R. Lee Word. The capital stock is \$75,000, divided into 750 shares, of which three shares have been subscribed.

The shipments of wool from Clagrow this year were about 600,000 pounds, all of which was sold at prices from 13¼ to 16¼ cents, except one clip of about 15,000 pounds belonging to J. A. Russell, which was shipped on consignment to a Boston firm, 12 cents being paid down.

*The "Young Observer" In New Mexico **

Down the Pecos River—Sights and Scenes Among the Sheep Men.

FORT SUMNER, Oct. 20, 1902. When the month of October was yet young I started down the Pecos river to call upon

* (From Our Traveling Staff Correspondent) *The American Shepherd's Bulletin*, vol. 7, no. 11, November, 1902.

the many prosperous ranch men who have made the valley famous by their successful sheep ranching operations carried on so successfully in this favored locality.

The elevation is from 3,500 to 6,000 feet above the sea level. The climate, especially at this time of year, is perfect. When I left Trinidad there was four inches of snow on the ground. While down here I found green grass and leaves just turning yellow.

After reaching Santa Rosa, where the Chicago & Rock Island railroad system crosses the upper Pecos river, I found myself in the far-famed Pecos valley.

From the earliest Spanish history to the present day, this valley has been noted for its fertility and the abundance of grass and natural forage which it produces. The land, away from the towns and public highways, for the most part, is well sodded to the grasses peculiar to this region. Just below the town of Santa Rosa is the home of

CELSE BACA. For many years Don Celso Baca¹ has stood in the front ranks of politicians and many a time his influence has turned the tide of a political campaign.

As a ranch man and sheep raiser he also holds a place peculiar to himself. His ranch, situated as it is on the banks of the Pecos river, and also cut in two by a beautiful little spring creek, is a ranch that is highly favored in location. The land that is now laid out as the town of Santa Rosa was at one time part of his ranch. Below the house are extensive vegas where he annually cuts many tons of hay. A little farther down are a succession of lakes known as the bottomless lakes. The natives around here are very superstitious regarding these lakes, and on no account can they be persuaded to go bathing in them. One daredevil of an American went swimming in one of them one Sunday with a couple of

1. Don Celso Baca y Baca lived twenty miles north of Puerto de Luna on the east side of the Pecos River at the time the El Paso and Rock Island Railway came from the southwest and the Chicago, Rock Island and El Paso Railway was being built to the northeast. His wife, Doña Rosa Viviana Baca y Baca, lay buried in the Chapel of Santa Rosa nearby. The new town that sprung up was named Santa Rosa for Doña Rosa (Frank D. Reeve, *History of New Mexico*, Vol. II, Lewis Publishing Company, New York, p. 268).

companions and, contrary to the expectations of the natives, came out alive.

There are numerous springs on this ranch, but unfortunately the water from some of them is so impregnated with mineral that it

CANNOT BE USED FOR IRRIGATION except for the natural salt grasses growing in the vegas. Horses and burros that eat the grass after a frost become sick and in many instances die from the effects. The hay, however, is good and brings \$10 to \$12 a ton in Santa Rosa.

The next day I left Santa Rosa and traveled south and east till I came to the home ranch of

MR. CHARLES SUMNER, on the [San] Juan de Dios.

It was past supper time, but soon the welcome call of supper was heard and the victuals vanished very rapidly, for the ride had been a long one. It is said by all who have seen the flocks of Mr. Sumner that they are the best woolled sheep in this part of the territory. He has been breeding for many years in this line. His sheep at one time sheared on an average over eight pounds. His wethers frequently shear over ten pounds. It has been his custom in years past to keep his wethers over for two years at least, then sell them to feeders. Two years ago he purchased some fine, large Hampshire bucks and made a mutton cross in his sheep.

THIS YEAR'S LAMBS are the finest lot of lambs I have seen in the territory and will weigh on an average 60 pounds, which is 10 or 15 pounds more than the average of what other lambs will weigh. The cross he made in his sheep for some purposes was a good one, but for the wool he surely made a mistake, for he certainly had a fine clip before he made the cross. As a lamb producer and for the purpose of getting a good feeding lamb the cross was a good one, however.

Mr. Sumner came originally from England, where his family still live. His brother is engaged in the breeding of Lincolns and this year his ram won first honors at the Royal show. His home and grounds are finely fixed up. Fruit trees

have been planted and irrigated. Now every year he has an abundance of fruit for home use. The ranch and grounds show a great amount of patient planning and hard work, but it shows what can be done in this country with water, brains and money. Of patented land Mr. Sumner owns over 2,000 acres, besides the government range which his ranches control.

The next morning I moved down the [San] Juan de Dios and over across to the Alamogordo, which runs into the Pecos farther down. On my way I stopped at the ranch home of the SON OF JUDGE LONG,² OF LAS VEGAS. Mr. Long³ has here a fine ranch and runs some three or four thousand sheep. He is a firm believer in good stock and is steadily improving the stock of his sheep.

After a short chat I moved on down to the RANCH HOME OF HERMAN GERHART, [GERHARDT]⁴ who is now running about 6,000 sheep. Mr. Gerhart [Gerhardt] is an example of what a young man can do with nothing but a good stock of energy coupled with strict honesty.

Mr. Gerhart (sic) is a hustler, and, although starting with practically nothing, a few years ago, he is now running quite a large bunch of sheep, and, if the good price of wool continues, he will soon be out of debt.

After spending the Sabbath at the Gerhart (sic) home we started for the dipping plant some 16 miles away. On the way we stopped at the home of Mr. Herman Gerhart's (sic) father.⁵ Mr. Gerhardt's (sic) father, though getting along in years, is still a good, intelligent talker and likes the taste of some good brand of plug tobacco. In company with Mr. Herman I rode across the prairie and again stopped for a short

2. Elisha Van Buren Long, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of New Mexico from November, 1885 until 1891 (Arie Poldervaart, *Black-Robed Justice in New Mexico, 1846-1912*, NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 23: 40 *passim*). See biographical sketch *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, Lewis Publishing Company, 1895, Chicago, pp. 255-256.

3. Evidently Alfred H. Long.

4. Elder son of Frederick (Lillie Gerhardt Anderson, "A New Mexico Pioneer of the 1880s," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, 29: 253).

5. Frederick Gerhardt came to New Mexico in April, 1882 (*Ibid.*, 39: 245).

call at the Long ranch. We left just before dark, and some time after dark we reached the camp where he will dip his sheep.

The ranch men around here

ALL USE LIME AND SULPHUR DIP, according to the government formula.

There is quite a little scab in and around here on account of the dryness of the season and the prevalence of herds crossing the range at this point to gain the stake[d] plains, where grass and water are abundant this summer. These stake[d] plains constitute the finest summer range to be found, and every year, after lambing, many, or almost all, of the sheep men along the Pecos river start out for the stake[d] plains, where they range their sheep around some of the numerous lakes on these plains. From a recent letter from the inspector, B. F. McLaughlin, I quote the following:

"I have just been out on the stake[d] plains. I found here better grass, better water and better men than I had expected to find. There are at present (Oct. 1) about 76,000 sheep ranging out here, most of them from Guadalupe county. I found quite a little scab, but not as much as I had expected."

At this writing nearly all of the sheep have been dipped twice and well so that there will be little or no scab this winter in Guadalupe county, New Mexico.

Leaving my friend Herman to get his dipping plant ready for operation, I started north up the Alamogordo, to the home ranch of

THE ALAMOGORDO SHEEP CO.⁶ When I arrived there I found that Mr. Churchill,⁷ the manager, was in Las Vegas on busi-

6. The Alamogordo Sheep Company was incorporated some time in 1899. Its incorporators and directors were Arthur M. Blackwell, Joseph M. Cunningham, each of Las Vegas, and Lucius F. Churchill of Puerto de Luna. *The Shepherd's Bulletin of the National Wool Growers' Association of the United States*, vol. 4, no. 10, p. 680, microfilm, U. N. M. Library.)

7. Lucius F. Churchill became ranch manager for Charles Ilfeld in November 1903 after he had retired to New York State. He received a one-fifth interest in the Pintada Trading Company, a corporation formed to take care of Ilfeld's sheep holdings. Churchill resigned in three years pleading ill-health (Wm. J. Parish, *The Charles Ilfeld Company: A Study of the Rise and Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico*, Harvard University Press, 1961, pp. 189-190).

ness. So I learned all that I could from the man in charge, and after a good meal, I started on the return journey.

The Alamogordo Sheep Co. runs, as nearly as I could find out, about 12,00 or 13,000 sheep. They have a fine range and, from all reports, are doing well. Their home ranch is finely fitted up with a good, large house, barn and corrals.

After returning to the dipping plant, where my friend Herman was getting ready to dip, I was ready to enjoy another night's sound rest at his camp.

The next day I rode over to where

THE HON. CAPTAIN CLANCEY⁸ [CLANCY] was dipping his 20,000 sheep. The captain is one of the stand-bys and landmarks in the sheep business of the upper Pecos. For 24 years, winter and summer, he has been continually at it. His aim has been to produce a sheep with a good carcass and as much wool on the scoured basis as possible. When it comes to the sheep business, the captain is an enthusiast in the fullest sense of the word. He has personally visited and inspected many of the leading stud flocks from Vermont to California, and when it comes to judging a sheep, the captain is right there and in his element.

For many years the captain followed the sea and its romance. Starting from his Vermont home he rounded Cape Horn and sailed up the Pacific. Those were the days of sailing vessels and long voyages, and to sit and hear the captain spin sea tales by the hour was to me a rare pleasure. At last, after many years of sea life, he settled down in San Francisco as a mining stock broker. Seeing the uncertainty of this business and becoming convinced that the sheep business was a profitable and safe investment, he made an investment in Arizona, and afterwards moved the base of his operations to New Mexico on the lower Alamogordo. He calls

HIS RANCH "Alamogordo." The house is built somewhat in the style of a fortress with big watchtowers at each corner. Inside, on every hand, one sees the evidences of a refined taste

8. Captain John G. Clancy. See biographical sketch, *Representative New Mexicans*, C. S. Peterson, Denver, Colo., 1912, p. 51.

from the well-filled bookcases to the walls covered with paintings, from the pleasant fireplaces to the piano in the corner. The paintings are for the most part the work of his son Juan.

The captain rarely sits down to a meal, except there is some dish peculiar to the sea on the table. He still clings to the romance of the ocean and says that when he makes his fortune in the sheep business, he would like to build him a snug little schooner and sail around wherever pleasure dictated.

The most thorough job of dipping I have seen done this year was done by Capt. Clancey, [Clancy] and if his sheep have scab before spring it will not be the fault of the dipping. The captain is the most indefatigable worker I have yet met and there is hardly a day that you will not see him, the mules and buckboard on the road, either to Puerto de Luna or some camp.

Before finishing I must not fail to mention the

FINE HERD OF BUCKS which he annually raises. They are fine, large fellows, of a good staple of wool and good mutton type, just what a range sheep should be. Then, too, I must mention the herd of Shetland ponies, purebred ones, too, that the captain keeps for his own and his children's amusement and incidentally for the benefit of his pocketbook. He will deliver a well-broken Shetland pony any time of the year to those wanting these docile and pretty pets for themselves or children. He now has on hand some 14 head of well-broken ponies for sale.

It was with a feeling of sincere regret that I bade the genial and wholehearted captain goodbye and traveled down the Alamogordo and the Pecos to Fort Sumner.

Just before reaching the present town of Fort Sumner, we passed by the site of the old Fort Sumner, fort and reservation, where the government spent nearly a million dollars in irrigation dams and ditches, making a vast farm for the Indians. It

EVENTUALLY PROVED A FAILURE, and all that remains today is a long avenue, with majestic cottonwoods on both sides of it, and a few fruit trees, which feebly mark the site of

what was once a flourishing 40-acre orchard. It was not the fault of the soil, climate or water, but simply the fact that the Indians would not be civilized and live in this flat country. They longed for their native mountains and were continually running away, till the government gave it up and let the land go back to its native grasses.⁹ It is waiting now for some enterprising capitalists to put in another dam and ditches and resume operations again. There is no reason why 12,000 or 14,000 acres could not be irrigated from the Pecos and have vast alfalfa fields where now only wild grasses grow.

(To be continued)

9. See Frank D. Reeve, *op cit*, Vol. II, pp. 110-122. Also Charles Amsden, "The Navajo Exile at Bosque Redondo," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 8: 31-50.

THE TRIANGLE AND THE TETRAGRAMMATON¹

A Note on the Cathedral at Santa Fe

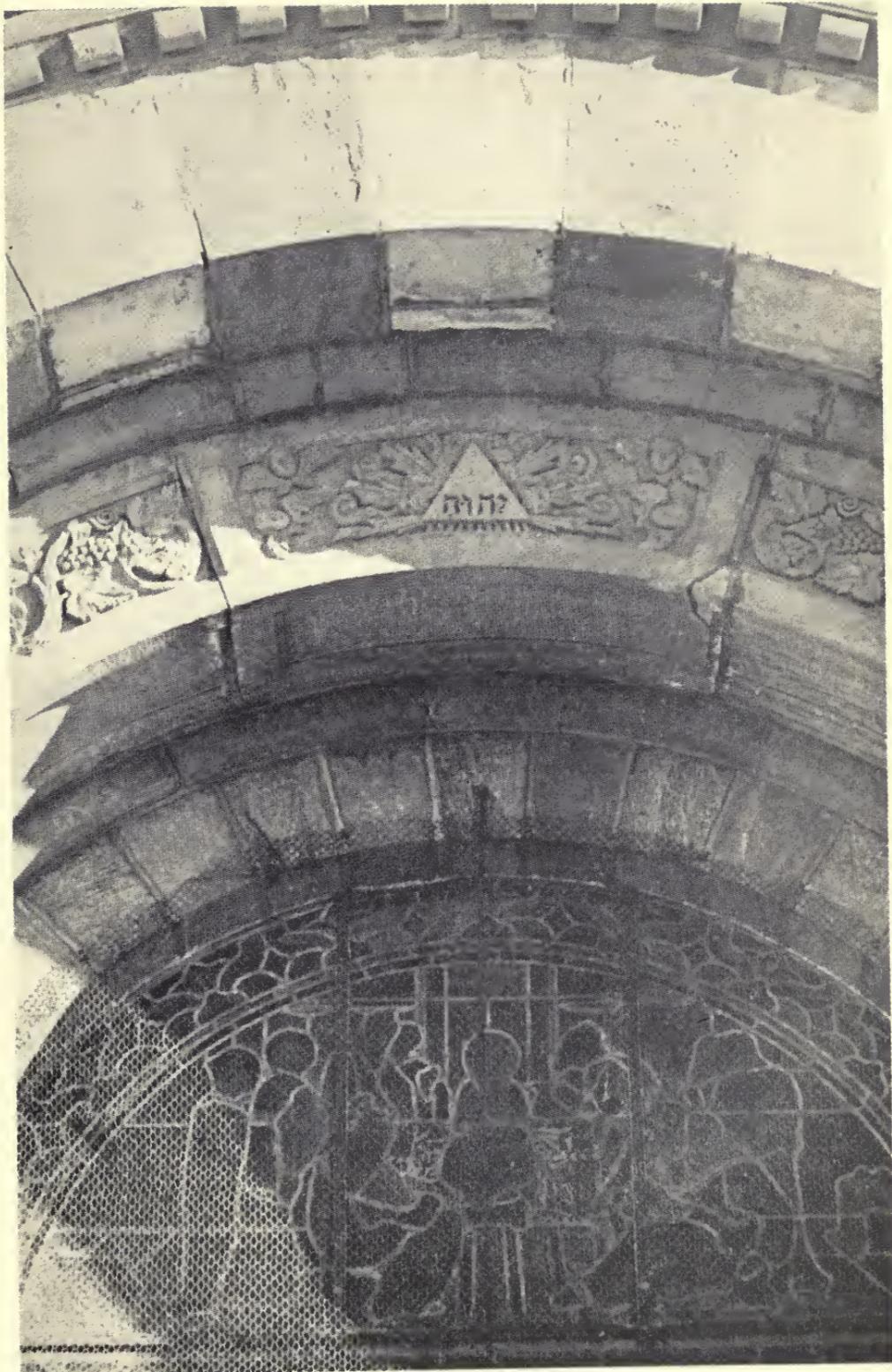
by FLOYD S. FIERMAN*

ONE OF THE MOST charming stories that has currency throughout the Southwest concerns the Cathedral at Santa Fe dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi. Above the entrance of the Cathedral² is a Triangle and inscribed within its borders is the Tetragrammaton, the word for God inscribed in Hebrew letters. The construction of this Cathedral was initiated during the episcopate of Archbishop John B. Lamy. Its cornerstone was laid on July 14, 1869 and, like many houses of worship, its construction extended over a period of years. Twitchell recounts that in 1912 it was still incomplete.³

In recent years it has appeared incongruous to many people that the Catholic Church, whose prayer language is Latin, should have a Hebrew inscription over its entrance, even though it was enclosed in a Triangle. It was not questioned or considered unusual at the time that it was placed in the archway, if the lack of reference to the symbol in the local newspapers is a guide. They are silent. When the curiosity about the whole matter began to become history can only be conjectured. Even Twitchell, who had an eye for the unique and who sought historical detail, overlooked it. Eventually, however, it became an oddity and stories began to circulate. "The Archbishop had a warm association with the people of Jewish faith who resided in New Mexico," is a theme running through the interpretations. "On various occasions when the Archbishop needed financial assistance, he sought the help of his Jewish friends. In tribute to these people and their

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Archway of the Cathedral at Santa Fé, dedicated to St. Francis of Assisi.

help, the Archbishop ordered that the Tetragrammaton in a Triangle be inserted above the Cathedral. It was the symbol of harmony between Catholic and Jew."

Is there any credence to this opinion? Did Archbishop Lamy place the Tetragrammaton in the Triangle in tribute to his Jewish friends in Santa Fe? Or is this another of the legends that grows with such ease in the parched earth of New Mexico tradition once it is irrigated with the moisture of the lips and the tongue?

A letter directed to Archbishop Edwin V. Byrne of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe brought a reply from the Chancery Office, written under the signature of Father M. J. Rodriguez, Chancellor.⁴ The purpose of the original letter was to determine whether the archives of the Diocese were open to students of history for investigation. The answer from the Chancellor was in the affirmative, but he suggested that to expedite matters a catalogue of the Archives be consulted. This catalogue, compiled by Fray Angelico Chavez, is entitled "Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe, 1678-1900."⁵

An investigation of the Chavez catalogue reveals that Archbishop Lamy had considerable correspondence with the Most Reverend J. B. Purcell of the Cincinnati diocese.⁶ This correspondence establishes that Lamy was in a diocese that more often than not was in financial straits. There is, however, no reference in this catalogue to any communication with any known people of the Jewish faith, indicating a loan or gift. The names of two Jewish families are recorded but these notes have nothing to do with the matter under consideration.

The two Jewish families that would have been inclined to assist the Archbishop in his program to build a representative Cathedral structure in Santa Fe were the Staab Brothers,⁷ Abraham and Zadoc, and the Spiegelberg Brothers.⁸ W. A. Keleher, in his *The Fabulous Frontier*, not only attributes the Lamy gesture to the Staab family, but he graphically records it:

. . . Then the churchman [Archbishop Lamy] hurried to the office of Abraham Staab, merchant prince of Santa Fe, to ask for an extension of time on promissory notes given in exchange for funds borrowed for the Cathedral project. Friends of long standing, the ranking Roman Catholic prelate of the Southwest, and the leading member of the Jewish faith in New Mexico, exchanged the formalities of the day. Mr. Staab had already made substantial gifts to the Cathedral construction fund. When money had become scarce in the hard times then prevailing, the merchant had become banker and loaned large sums to the Archbishop to prevent stoppage of the work. "How is the work on the Cathedral progressing?" inquired Staab. "Times are hard," answered the Archbishop, "but the Cathedral will be finished. All I ask is an extension of time on my notes." Staab went to a large iron safe, took out all the notes that the Archbishop had signed and said to him: "Archbishop, let me have a say in the building of that new Cathedral and I will tear up all these notes." Cautiously the man of God measured the eyes of the man of Commerce and Business and inquired: "To what extent, how, Mr. Staab?" Staab replied: "Let me put one word above the entrance of the Cathedral, chiselled in stone." "And what is that word?" parried the Archbishop. "You must trust me, Archbishop," replied Staab. Archbishop Lamy agreed to Abraham Staab's proposal. Staab tore up the notes in the presence of the Archbishop, tossed the fragments of paper into a fire in the stove in the office. When the Cathedral was finished, there for all the world to see, was the part that Staab had taken in its building, The Hebraic initials J V H [Y H W H] symbolic of the word "God" of the Christian faith, "Jehovah" of the faith of Israel.⁹

Mr. Keleher's account according to Rabbi Davir Shor of Albuquerque requires modification. Dr. Edward Staab, the son of Abraham Staab, has discussed the subject under question with Rabbi Shor. Dr. Staab has informed Rabbi Shor that his father did loan Archbishop Lamy funds toward the erection of the Cathedral. His father, he recounts, also destroyed the notes that were given by Lamy as security. But the Doctor avers that under no circumstances did Abraham Staab agree to tear up the notes if the Archbishop would place the Tetragrammaton above the Cathedral. He did not bargain with the highest religious officer of the diocese.

Abraham Staab did not place any obstacles before the Archbishop. After Lamy stated his plight, Dr. Staab claims that Abraham Staab asked the Archbishop to accept the loan as a donation.¹⁰ Thus, only a portion of the Keleher account, according to Abraham Staab's son, is verifiable. Furthermore, the untarnished escutcheon of the Staab family in all their business transactions would in itself substantiate that the Staabs never disadvantaged anyone, and, above all, not a clergyman.

Consequently, the Staab family must be eliminated as the Jewish family that Archbishop Lamy may have desired to placate. Let us consider the other possibility, the Spiegelberg Brothers. In this case, there is a contemporary newspaper article that directly involves the Spiegelbergs in the matter of the Cathedral.

On the Tuesday before the Sunday that the Cathedral was to be dedicated, a news item in *The New Mexican* of Santa Fe, described the plans for the dedication. A list of those people who contributed twenty-five dollars and upward was enumerated.¹¹ Conspicuous among the donors was the name Spiegelberg. This donation was undoubtedly a family gift. The Spiegelberg contribution was five hundred dollars, a sizeable amount of money in 1869. That the Archbishop and the Spiegelbergs were good friends cannot be denied. An overture of kindness toward the Spiegelbergs on the part of the Archbishop is brought to our attention by Flora Spiegelberg, the wife of Willi Spiegelberg:

In 1852, Lamy in company with two French priests, was returning from Kansas to Santa Fe by way of the Santa Fe trail. Halfway across the trail the Bishop and his caravan saw ahead of them a caravan of twenty-five covered wagons, which he was to learn were transporting merchandise to the Spiegelbergs of Santa Fe. Bishop Lamy knew the brothers well and halted to extend a friendly greeting to Levi, the second oldest of the brothers, who was in charge of the wagon train. He noticed that Levi was being carried into a cabin on the prairie. He was a victim of dysentery. Aware that an epidemic of cholera was prevalent, Levi's companions had become panic

stricken and refused to continue the journey with him. They had persuaded him to stay with a trapper in his cabin until he was able to resume his journey. But the Bishop would not have it so. "My two companions and I will make room for you in our covered wagon." Levi accepted the offer gratefully. He regained his health in a week. The remainder of the trip to Santa Fe, which took two months, found the kindly educated priests and the young merchant in pleasant conversation.¹²

Previous to the erection of the Cathedral, the Spiegelbergs and the hierarchy had maintained an open-door policy with one another. They endeavored to help one another whenever the occasion presented itself. But, in addition to the query of whether an Archbishop had the freedom to employ symbols according to his whim, there is the question of whether a donation to a Cathedral building by a Jewish donor would influence an Archbishop to honor the donor by incorporating the Hebrew letters for God on the archway. It would hardly be conceivable, no matter how generous the motives of the prelate, that he should act in this manner.

Careful inquiry leads us to the opinion that there is no mystery to the matter. Fray Angelico Chavez removes any doubts:

The Hebrew characters above the Cathedral entrance struck the historian as odd, and so he guessed that Lamy had it done because of his most cordial relations with the Jewish pioneers of Santa Fe. . . .

However, it is to be noted that the Tetragrammaton is enclosed in a triangle. In Europe, this was a common Christian symbol, denoting the One god of Moses and Abraham revealed in their New Covenant, as Three Divine Persons in one God . . . hence the Graeco-Latin term "Trinity." The symbol was carved in the Gothic and Romanesque churches of northern Europe, painted on sacred furnishings, embroidered in liturgical vestments. (I found one Chasuble¹³ or Mass vestment, imported from France by Lamy or his successor, with this same emblem embroidered with gold thread on the back of the most prominent part.)

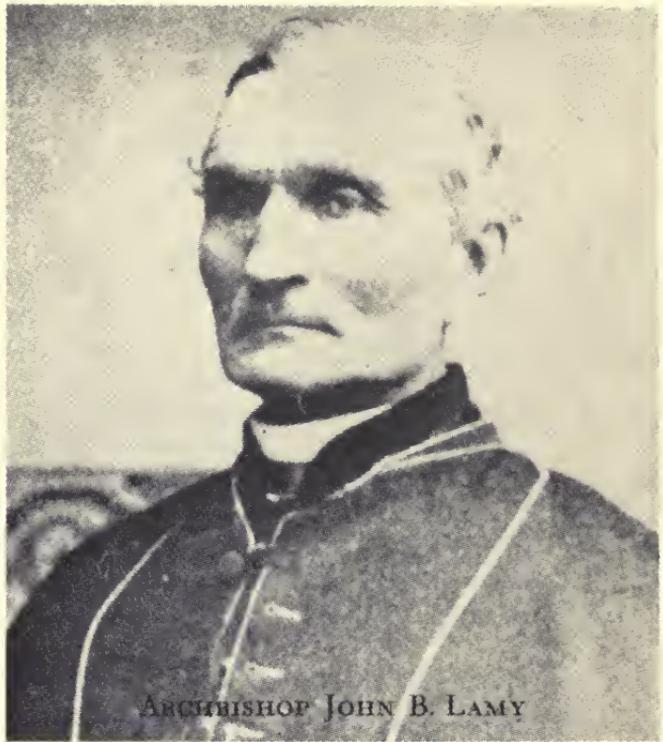
It follows that Lamy would not have been pleasing his Jewish friends by including the triangle! Or perhaps it was not



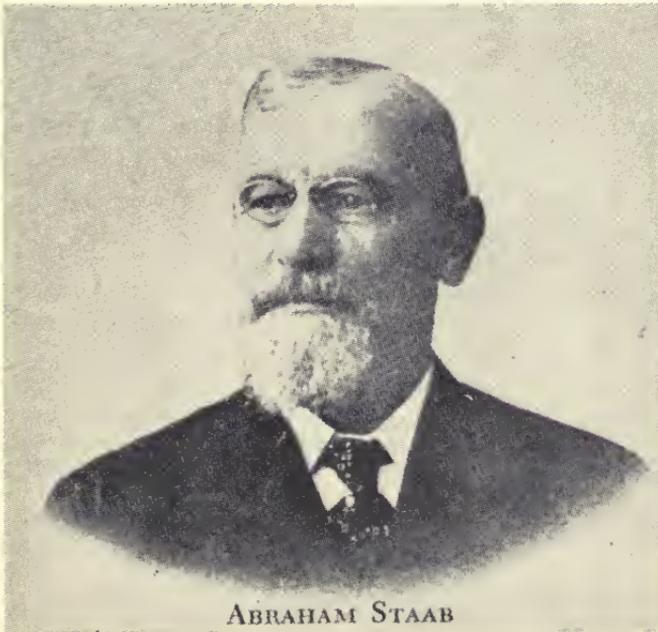
"THE LORD"



"THE ALMIGHTY"



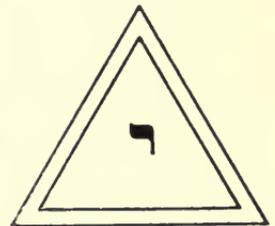
ARCHBISHOP JOHN B. LAMY



ABRAHAM STAAB



TWO YODS



YOD WITHIN TRIANGLE

Hebrew symbols shown on this page are used by the Catholic Church.

— F. R. WEBBER, *Church Symbolism*, 1927.

Lamy's own idea, but that of his French architect.¹⁴ It also could be, once the emblem was carved, that these Jewish friends, totally ignorant of the triangle's meaning, were actually pleased and did consider it a friendly gesture by Lamy! Which is all to the good in this world of strife and misunderstanding among peoples.¹⁵

To establish the fact that the symbol above the Cathedral was not unique, it was only necessary now to find the Chasuble in the Cathedral and identify it. Through the cooperation of Father Rodriguez of the Chancery office and Fray Chavez, the Chasuble was located and photographed. Two of the three illustrations included with this note are a photograph of the symbol above the Cathedral, as it now appears, and a photograph of the Chasuble.¹⁶

In addition to the evidence found in the St. Francis of Assisi Cathedral, research has disclosed other examples affirming that the Roman Church has used symbols with Hebrew inscriptions in places other than Santa Fe. F. R. Weaver,¹⁷ in his study on church symbolism attests that besides the Tetragrammaton, other Hebrew inscriptions were utilized as well. He illustrates four other Hebrew characterizations that were employed by the Roman Church.

This documentation directs us to the conclusion that the Tetragrammaton in the Triangle in the Cathedral has an old history. It antedates the Santa Fe Cathedral. It is coincidental that the gregarious Archbishop, John B. Lamy, had many Jewish friends in the diocese of Santa Fe. That he placed the symbol in the archway as representative of his friendship, we can assuredly conclude is merely a legend. It is of credit to the Franciscan priest, Fray Angelico Chavez, that for some time he has known that this was a legend, but because it augured friendship and not antipathy, he chose to leave it rest.

REFERENCES

1. The equilateral Triangle is the symbol of the Trinity, suggesting three equal parts joined into one. George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, Oxford University Press, New York. C. 1954 by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation, p. 276.

The Tetragrammaton (YHWH) was written but not pronounced according to its consonants in Jewish tradition. "The substitution in pronunciation of *adonoi* ('Lord') for the tetragrammaton, the *shem ha-mephorash* of the Mish, yoma, VI, 2) of which indications are to be found in the later Biblical books and which is clearly recorded in the Mishnah became the general usage of the Synagogue when reading from the scroll of the Pentateuch. The tetragrammaton had been retained, while the Temple stood, in the regular priestly benediction (Nu. VI, 22ff). . . . The true pronunciation of the tetragrammaton was not freely transmitted, but was esoteric, and communicated by the teachers only to qualified disciples. . . . The Mishnah so severely prohibits the utterance of the tetragrammaton that the pronouncer of it was threatened with exclusion from a portion of the world to come. Other pronomerastic substitutes for the name of God became common, e.g., Maqom, lit. 'place' . . . or "Our father in Heaven" . . . and frequently in Rabbinic texts 'the merciful,' 'The Holy one, blessed be He' . . ." James Hastings (Editor), *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, Pbl. Charles Scribner's Sons, C. 1928, Vol. IX, 177a.

2. The Cathedral is described by Twitchell as follows: "Its cornerstone was laid July 14, 1869 (*The New Mexican*, Tuesday, October 12, 1869, gives the date of the cornerstone . . . the cornerstone of the new Cathedral . . . will be laid on Sunday, 10th of October, 1869.) The main building with two imposing towers has been erected at a cost of approximately one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. It is still incomplete. The part of the building completed to the arms of the cross is one hundred and twenty feet long, and sixty feet broad, while the height of the middle nave is fifty-five feet. The ceiling is arched in Roman style. The walls are of native stone. The ceilings have this peculiarity; they are made of red volcanic tufa, very light; this substance was obtained from the summit of Cerro Mogino, about twelve miles from Santa Fe. The towers are of cut stone, now eighty-five feet in height, and the spires which will adorn them eventually, will reach an elevation of one hundred and sixty feet. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, Vol. II, p. 344, Torch Press, C. 1912.

3. Archbishop John B. Lamy "was born at Lempdes, France, October 11, 1814, of a family fruitful in vocations. Educated at Clermont and the Seminary of Monteferrand, he was ordained in December, 1838 . . . while assistant priest at Champre, in 1839 he volunteered to join Bishop Purcell for the Ohio mission. Stationed at Wooster and subsequently at Covington . . . (he) shrank from no toil . . . on the 24th of November, 1850, he set out for his vicariate by way of New Orleans and Texas . . . he met with an accident and was laid up for months at San Antonio, so that he did not reach Santa Fe till the summer of 1851." Lamy died February 14, 1888. His remains lie under the main altar of the Cathedral. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 329, note 256.

4. Correspondence with Father M. J. Rodriguez, Chancery Office, Archdiocese of Santa Fe, November 15, 1960, Protocol No. 303/60. Father Rodriguez writes: "If you find that our archives contain any material which might prove helpful to you, you are more than welcome to come here. If you find we might be able to be of help, please see me personally."

5. Angelico Chavez, *Archives of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe*, 1678-1900, Ibsds. Washington, D.C., Academy of American Franciscan History, C. 1957.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 117, 119-122, and other references. Index, p. 276.

7. Abraham Staab was born in Westphalia, Germany, February 27, 1839. In 1854, when fifteen years of age, he embarked for the United States in a sailing vessel, the voyage consuming five weeks. After his arrival, he proceeded to Norfolk, Virginia, where he found employment as an errand boy in a small grocery store, with a salary of one dollar per week, his board and lodging included. Having been engaged in this employment about two months, a prominent merchant of Norfolk, to whom he had delivered parcels daily, took a fancy to the young apprentice, gave him employment at three dollars per week and during the evening hours gave him instruction in bookkeeping. Having heard of the great opportunities for business in the far west, after a residence of two years in Norfolk, he removed to New Mexico, traveling by train and steamboat as far as Westport Landing (Kansas City, Missouri) and thence by wagon train, drawn by ox-teams, to New Mexico's capital, the journey requiring more than six weeks for its completion. Shortly after his arrival he

entered the employ of Spiegelberg Brothers, prominently engaged in the Santa Fe and Chihuahua trade, with which firm he continued for one year, and in 1858 entered into the business of general merchandising together with his brother, Zadoc Staab, the firm being known as Zadoc Staab and Brother. At first the business was principally along retail lines but gradually attained strength and proportion until in the sixties, it became the largest wholesale trading and merchandising establishment in the entire Southwest, covering a territory which included Utah, Colorado, Arizona and as far south as Chihuahua, Mexico. In the days preceding and during the Civil War, and for a long period thereafter, capital and courage were controlling factors in the commercial enterprises of the great Southwest. Caravans, drawn by six, eight and oft-times as many as ten yoke of oxen, were required in transporting across the Great Plains the immense stocks of merchandise required in the Southwestern trade. Military escorts furnished by the government at various times in the 'sixties accompanied these wagon-trains, supplemented as they were by their own well-armed employees who were constantly on the *qui vive* for the marauding nomads of the prairies. With many of these caravans, carrying the goods of Z. Staab and Brother, Abraham Staab rode on horseback across the plains of Kansas, Colorado and New Mexico, on the alert, night and day, to repel the attacks of murdering savages, who, in many cases, with trains insufficiently protected, were successful in their attacks upon the caravans, requiring the abandonment of wagons and contents to the merciless barbarians. The firm filled many immense contracts for supplies to the government in its support of the many soldiers and army posts in the Southwest. These contracts covered all sorts of native products, hay, grain, chile, beans, flour and buffalo meat, giving employment to many of the native citizens of New Mexico, who gained their livelihood as sub-contractors for this firm. Large quantities of buffalo robes, beautifully tanned and decorated, were articles of trade with the Indians of the plains as well as with large numbers of native *ciboleros* who hunted the buffalo on the llanos of northeastern New Mexico along the Cimarron and Arkansas rivers. The transportation equipment necessary in the filling of these government contracts, in these days of railway trains and motor trucks, should be recorded in the history of those who were pioneers in the progress of civilization in the Southwest. Many yoke of oxen, great droves of burros, mules and horses were the transportation used in supplying the military posts from the Arkansas to the Rio Grande. The story of Santa Fe and the great Southwest is found in the biographies of the Santa Fe merchants, participating as they did in the daily life and activities of all the communities and settlements of a tremendous geographical area. In the distribution of supplies, Santa Fe as the initial point, with the freighters bound for Chihuahua and the settlements of the Rio Abajo, was the scene of colorful events, filled with romance, unparalleled in the story of the great Southwest. The deliveries at army posts and Indian agencies of great herds of cattle, with their vaqueros and other employees, and military officers and men, the civilian scouts, picturesque in their garb of buckskin and beaver, in their detailed recital are epics for pen and brush. In all of this Abraham Staab played an important part. Southwestern society in its beginnings was limited but at the posts and agencies and in all the larger communities racial differences and prejudices were unknown and discountenanced. The friendships, confidences and intimacies of that period were beautifully close and almost without appreciation by those of the present day. The social life of New Mexico's capital, the brilliant functions of frequent occurrences given by the ladies and officers of old Fort Marcy, participated in by the civilians of the ancient city; and those given in return by its principal citizens are wondrous memories with those who were privileged to participate. In these social sidelights of Santa Fe history, the Staab mansion on Palace Avenue played a prominent part. Unostentatious but magnificent in their simplicity were the contributions of Abraham and Mrs. Staab, with their older daughters, to the social gaieties which shone with frequent brilliancy in the ancient city. Attended by dignitaries, military and civilian, governors, justices, visiting notables and officers of high rank, these entertainments made life at Fort Marcy and old Santa Fe preferable to that in many of the great regimental posts of the far west.

In all his business relations with the patrons and friends of the firm, the native New Mexican in particular, Mr. Staab occupied a position of intimate confidence, which was

never disturbed or broken. In truth, owing to the lack of banking facilities, his firm was the depository of large sums of money belonging to the leading native representatives throughout New Mexico, in the handling of which Abraham Staab served as advisor and trustee gratuitously, always appreciated and never forgotten.

After the coming of the railways, owing to the rapid increase in population in several of the rival cities of the Territory, with every session of the legislature efforts were made looking to the removal of the capital from Santa Fe. These failed in every instance owing largely to the influence of Abraham Staab and other prominent citizens of Santa Fe and the northern part of the Territory. Mr. Staab held a number of public offices; was a member of the board of county commissioners of Santa Fe county, a member and secretary of the first Capitol Building Commission and the first president of the Santa Fe chamber of commerce.

On December 25, 1865, he was united in marriage with Miss Julie Schuster, of which eight children were born, one of whom died in infancy, the others being Mrs. Louis Ilfeld of Albuquerque; Mrs. Louis Baer of Boston; Mrs. Max Nordhaus of Albuquerque; Julius and Paul, deceased; Arthur and Edward. Mrs. Staab died on May 15, 1896, and Mr. Staab passed to his reward in 1918. Ralph E. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, Pbl. Santa Fe New Mexican Publishing Corporation, C. 1925, p. 479-80.

8. Solomon Jacob Spiegelberg, the oldest of the Spiegelbergs, was the first to leave Germany. He crossed the Santa Fe trail in an ox-train and joining the command of Colonel William A. Doniphan, accompanied him to Chihuahua, Mexico. He returned to Santa Fe with the regiment where he was appointed Sutler. In 1846, he established a wholesale and retail general merchandise business. By 1868, Solomon's four brothers, Willi, Emanuel, Levi, and Lehman had arrived from Germany. Flora Spiegelberg, *Reminiscences of a Jewish Bride on the Santa Fe Trail*.

Levi Spiegelberg came in 1848; Emanuel in 1853; Lehman in 1857; and Willi in 1861. *Daily New Mexican*, Santa Fe, October 30, 1881, Vol. X, No. 206, p. 130.

Joseph and Solomon enlisted in the Union forces. Joseph attained the rank of Captain and Solomon that of Colonel. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, August 12, 1864.

9. William A. Keleher, *The Fabulous Frontier*, The Rydal Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1945, pp. 132-33. Correspondence with W. A. Keleher, Albuquerque, New Mexico, September 15, 1950.

10. Conversation with Rabbi David Shor, Temple Albert, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

11. *The New Mexican*, Tuesday, October 12, 1869. The donors listed are as follows:

Name-Residence	Amt.	Name-Residence	Amt.
Sr. Obispo Lamy, Santa Fe	\$3,000	Felipe Chavez, Belen	200
Anna Ma. Ortiz, Santa Fe	2,500	Jose Ma. Aragon, Tome	100
Sr. Vicario Egullion, Santa Fe	1,000	F. W. Helen, Santa Fe	50
C. P. Clever, Santa Fe	1,000	Jose Oct. Lujan, Santa Fe	50
Mache Magdalena, Santa Fe	500	Anastacio Sandobal, Santa Fe	50
Mannela [sic] Armijo Santa Fe	500	Juan C. Chaves, Belen	50
Spiegelberg, Santa Fe	500	Antonio Lerma, La Alameda	50
Ambrosio Armijo, Albuquerque	500	Pedro N. Valencia, Jemes	50
Jose L. Perea, Bernalillo	500	Thomas Rivera, Santa Fe	50
Manuel Anto. Otero, Peralto [sic]	500	Pablo Delgado, Santa Fe	50
Jose D. Sena, Santa Fe	200	Vicente Garcia, Santa Fe	80
Gaspar Ortiz, Santa Fe	200	Dolores Perea, Los Ponos [sic]	40
Thomas Cauglon, Santa Fe	100	F. B. Delgado, Santa Fe	30
Charles Blummer, Santa Fe	100	Francisco Perea, Bernalillo	25
H. R. Tompkins, Santa Fe	100	Jose Anto. Montoya, Bernalillo	25
Felipe Delgado, Santa Fe	100	Baltazar Perea, Bernalillo	25
Pedro Perea, Bernalillo	100	J. M. Baca y Salazar, Pecos	25
Jesus Perea, Bernalillo	100	Santiago Baca, Pecos	25
Eliza Herbert, Glorietta	100	Manuel Varela, Pecos	25
Judge Watts, Santa Fe	100	Pablo Martin, Pecos	25

The writer is indebted to Miss Ruth E. Rambo, librarian of the Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, for researching and making this reference available. Dec. 9, 1960.

12. Flora Spiegelberg, "Tribute to Archbishop Lamy of New Mexico," *The Southwestern Jewish Chronicle*, Oklahoma City, 1933.

The friendship of the Jewish Pioneer with the Catholic hierarchy, as has been indicated, was reciprocal. Another example of this reciprocity concerned the Bibos. In 1896, the Bibo Brothers, Solomon and Simon, of Laguna, New Mexico, wrote a letter to Willi Spiegelberg, who was then residing in New York, concerning the antagonistic attitude taken toward them by a priest who is referred to as Juillard. The Spiegelbergs had been instrumental in bringing the Bibos to New Mexico and because of this and the close relationship that the Spiegelbergs had always maintained with the Catholic hierarchy, Willi Spiegelberg's influence was sought. It is interesting to note, however, that the Bibos—Simon and Solomon—had already married out of their faith and hardly had any association with Judaism in the territory. Simon Bibo was married to Ramona Candelaria of San Mateo, New Mexico. They had eighteen children, "9 living to childhood or maturity." Solomon Bibo married a member of the Acoma tribe of Indians whose first name was Juana. He became governor of the Acoma Indians on two occasions, one being the year 1892. Correspondence with Arthur Bibo, July 25, 1953.

THE BIBO MERCANTILE CO.

*Dealers in Groceries, California Products, Provisions and General Merchandise,
Wool, Hides, and Pueblo Indian Specialties.*

Special Rate for Carload Lots

Wholesale and Retail

Mr. Willi Spiegelberg
New York

LAGUNA, NEW MEXICO, July 31, 1896

Dear Sir:

At a meeting held at Cebolleta a few days ago, the encl. Protest was drawn up. It certainly don't amount to nothing before the count (?), but it was drawn up by the Catholic priest Juillard. (It shows in that same) item! UN RICO ISRAELITO [a rich Jew] that he wants to inspire the people with hatred not alone against you but against the Jewish race. I have sent this paper to Don Anudo (?), who will present the case to the Archbishop [Archbishop Lamy died in February 14, 1888. He was succeeded by the coadjutor J. B. Salpointe] and as you have always helped the Catholic Church at Santa Fe you should write to the Archbishop a few lines in regards to this protest. The parties who signed the protest are only tools of the padre. I hope that you are doing well and that your daughters have grown up to be nice ladies and that they will make life a comfort to you and your estimable wife. We have all been well. I have five boys and four girls. . . . I wish to know your opinion of New York State and also about the general outcome of the election. I am somewhat interested as we have 100,000 pounds of wool on hand.

SIMON BIBO.

Another reference to the Archbishop's friendship with the Spiegelbergs is noted by Flora Spiegelberg: "Upon the eve of each holiday (Jewish holiday), he would send fruit, wine, or flowers to Mrs. L. Spiegelberg and to Mrs. B. Seligman (Mother of Governor Arthur Seligman) and to Mrs. Willi (Flora) Spiegelberg." Flora Spiegelberg, "Tribute to Archbishop Lamy of New Mexico," *The Southwestern Jewish Chronicle*, Oklahoma City, 1933.

13. "The Chasuble is the last liturgical garment with which the celebrant is vested. It is the outer garment covering the other vestments and the Latin origin of its name, CASULA (little house), aptly describes it. The Chasuble may be White, Red, Rose, Green, Violet, Black, Gold or Silver, depending on the season of the church's year or feast that is being observed. It usually has a cross embroidered on the back, which is an allusion to the Passion of Christ. Symbolically, this vestment alludes to the purple dress that Pilate ordered to be placed on Christ as "King of the Jews." It also recalls Christ's seamless garment, for which the soldiers on Calvary cast lots. Because the Chasuble covers the other vestments, its symbolic meaning is Christian charity and protection; charity being the virtue that should supercede all others." Ferguson, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

14. "The construction of the Cathedral was begun by an American architect; he was not qualified for the work and the contract was rescinded and given to two French architects, Antoine Mouly and his son, Projectus . . . the cornerstone contained the names of the President of the United States, General U. S. Grant, the Governor of New Mexico, and other territorial officials who were present. Coins of gold, silver and copper, documents and newspapers were also used. Three days afterwards, some miscreant stole the cornerstone with its contents and nothing was ever heard of it afterwards. . . . The building as now (1911) used was completed by two contractors, Messrs. Monnier and Machebeuf. . . ." Twitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 344, note 272.

In an effort to secure further information concerning the French architects, as suggested by Father Chavez, the writer received the following reply from Librarian Rambo in Santa Fe. "I found no references in the newspaper index to the two French architects, Antoine Mouly and his son, Projectus." Correspondence, December 9, 1960.

15. Correspondence with Father Angelico Chavez, November 22, 1960. The Santa Fe Cathedral Text and Format by Fr. Angelico Chavez, Imprimatur: The Most Rev. E. V. Byrne, Archbishop of Santa Fe, C. 1947. Part II, Section 1.

16. Marcel Pick of Santa Fe was gracious enough to arrange for the photographs.

17. F. R. Webber, *Church Symbolism*, an explanation of the more important symbols of the Old and New Testament, The Primitive, The Medieval, and the Modern Church. Pbl. Cleveland, J. H. Jansen, C. 1927, Second Edition revised, 1938. I am indebted to Gilbert B. Carter of El Paso for this reference.

Addendum

On May 8, 1961 Fr. Angelico Chavez in response to this article on the Santa Fe Cathedral writes: "Some weeks ago I found another example of the subject at the church of Peña Blanca, New Mexico. There are six brass candlesticks there, sort of Renaissance style. The base of each has three faces, one having a bas relief bust of Christ, the other of the Madonna, and the third *the Triangle and Holy Name in Hebrew!*"

Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins, Senior Archivist, office of State Records Center, State of New Mexico, May 11, 1961 advises: ". . . the Cathedral is still not complete, as Twitchell noted in 1912. One of the towers was never finished in detail. I read with interest the letter from Simon Bibb to Willi Spiegelberg of July 31, 1896 in the back of your article. I notice you have a question mark beside Don Anudo. I think it quite likely that it should be 'Don Amado' [Chavez],* important territorial office holder who lived part of his early life near San Mateo and Cebolleta. In 1896, Amado Chavez was in Santa Fe; later he became Superintendent of Public Instruction."

On May 15, 1961, Dr. John Porter Bloom National Park Service, St. Louis, Missouri, informed the writer on the back



The Chasuble which is housed in the Cathedral at Santa Fé.

of a picture postal card: “. . . I went out this afternoon to get this card to send you. [The color photograph on the front of the postal card is a reproduction of the old Cathedral, the Church of Saint Louis IX, King of France, St. Louis, Missouri. It is the oldest Cathedral Church west of the Mississippi River. This present church began in 1831 and dedicated in 1834, stands today as the most venerable religious monument in St. Louis. . . . Over the entrance of the old Cathedral chiseled into the stone, the tetragrammaton is enclosed in a triangle]. I can add nothing to what you will no doubt derive and infer from the picture. . . . The French derivation is obvious. It all tends to substantiate your article.”

W. A. Keleher of Albuquerque, New Mexico, May 17, 1961, graciously dissents: “. . . I am still standing my ground. I know Dr. Edward Staab and have known him for many years. He was born in 1875 and could have no personal knowledge of the incident. Personally, I can see nothing out of the way if Abraham Staab bargained with the Archbishop. I remember Mr. Staab very well. Time and again I saw him, and talked to him, never of course about the item in question. He was a very precise, diligent, business-like man. He may have wanted to make a gift of the notes to the Bishop, and on the spur of the moment adopted the means I described. In any event, no harm done. I am glad that the item in my book produced interest. It seemed to me that it demonstrated the splendid feeling that existed between a top ranking man of the Jewish faith and the top man on the Christian side so long ago.”

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